

Theme 2 - Social Economy and the Society

Which “place and non-place” do women occupy in social economy organisations?

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Abstract

Scientific literature has strengthened the perpetuation of inequality factors in the labour market based on gender, despite the on-going endeavour of various political bodies and legal norms against the vertical and horizontal segregation of women. National and European statistical data shows the relevance and timeless features of theories of market segmentation associated with the labour market dating back to the 70's of the 20th century. Hence, the European Community considers as a priority in the Europe 2020 strategy, the definition of “policies to promote gender equality [...] to increase labour force participation thus adding to growth and social cohesion”. If we consider that on the one hand, social economy is fairly recognised to be equated with market actors and the State for its economic and social role in tackling the current crisis, and on the other hand, that the ideals of the sector, systematised in the “Framework Law of Social Economy” (Law no. 30/2013 8th of May), particularly in article 5 proposing “the respect for the values [...] of equality and non-discrimination [...], justice and equity [...]”, we aim to reflect on indicators that uncover a vertical and horizontal segregation in the labour market. Departing from a mixed methodological approach (extensive and

intensive), subject to the topic of "Social Entrepreneurship in Portugal" in social economy organisations, we detect very high rates of employment feminisation, with a ratio of 1 man (23%) for every 3 women (77%). Women are mainly earmarked for technical and operational activities, arising from the privileged intervention areas, namely education, training, health, elderly, families, poverty, ultimately being underrepresented in statutory boards and, as such, far removed from deliberations and strategic resolutions. This is particularly visible in the existing hierarchy of functions and management practices of the responsibility of male members. Thus, it seems easily verified that the sector is travelling away from the ideals of justice and social equity, which can crystallise the "non-place" of women in the definition of a strategic direction of social economy and in the most invisible/private "place" of the organisational setting.

Keywords: feminisation, gender, segregation, social economy, social economy ideal

Introduction

The feminisation of social and solidarity economy

The social and solidarity economy sector constitutes a sector of activity in broad expansion with regard to its current recognition, despite being an old practice in Portugal that dates back to the 15th century with the role of the "Irmandades da Misericórdia" acting as welfare associations (Ferreira, 2000). The "Misericórdias" integrate in their mission, among their 14 "works", the following: feed the hungry, clothe the naked and attend to the sick and the needy, which means that these measures of support to the needy have characterised the unpaid work of women over the centuries.

Nowadays, the strong references to women's paid work on social and solidarity economy remain, given that women tend to have a bigger presence in this sector regardless of the spatial contexts: "whether it is handicraft production or agricultural groups, local exchange, solidarity finance, community associations or salaried employment in cooperatives, mutuals and associations, women are usually overrepresented" (Hillenkamp et al., 2014, p. 16).

The high rates of feminisation of paid work clash with the low participation of women in decision-making statutory bodies. As a matter of fact, international literature reveals that, with the exception of female initiative organisations, as is the case of feminist movements or activism in favour of female causes – i.e. movement “Labour with no pain” in France (Vuille, 2005) – the large majority of organisations is led by men. In their international approach of the initiatives of women in social and solidarity economy, Hersente and Guérin (2014, p. 67) claim that the existent inequalities in this sector in terms of representation of women in the decision-making bodies of the organisations are the same as in other sectors of activity, even though the sector is perceived to be naturally virtuous in this domain. According to the authors, “the charming appeal of respect towards universal values masks many unequal practices” (2014, p. 67). In Portugal, the recent study on non-governmental organisations also reveals a clear gender inequality, with 75% of the analysed organisations being chaired by men (Franco, 2015). According to the ideals of the sector in Portugal, manifested in the form of its principles in the “Framework Law of Social Economy” (Law no. 30/2013 8th of May), we note that in article 5, paragraph 2, it is postulated that the “the respect for the values [...] of equality and non-discrimination [...], justice and equity [...]”. Henceforth, equality in general and gender equality in particular, are explicit and core objectives of social and solidarity economy. We work under an ideological lode that believes that these organisations constitute an alternative in terms of management models and relationship with stakeholders, distinguishing themselves mainly for its ideals (Santos, 2004; Robert, 2007; Leitão, Ramos & Silva, 2009; Azevedo, Franco & Meneses, 2010; Martinho, 2011). Thus, concurrently with the socioeconomic order, we also pay attention to the socio-cultural and socio-political conditions brought about by Defourny (1998).

The question that caught our attention was the one related with understanding how does social and solidarity economy deal, specifically, with gender questions in a clearly unequal national context.

It is of utmost importance to contextualise and clarify the fact that the victory for formal equality in Portugal was slow. Despite the fact that the Republican struggle featured important achievements when it comes to equal rights, the establishment of “Estado

Novo” revealed itself to constitute a setback on women emancipation with the carrying out of legislation to restrict women's freedoms that had been won during the first Republic, particularly regarding access to a wide range of professions (Martinho, forthcoming). Hence, it was only with the establishment of the second Republic and the consequent constitutional revision in 1976, that formal equality was put into practice. The constitutional consecration of the principle of equality between men and women constitutes the base of all the subsequent legal forms (Carmo and Amâncio, 2004). The reasons behind the legal establishment of the equality rights are diverse and can be grouped in three interdependent categories. In the first category, we pair up the pressure coming from international entities both to make available data about the situation in Portugal and to expedite the process of equality in legal form. The second category encompasses the change in mentalities, which took place during the 60's, as a consequence of macro social changes. Such changes built up to the last category, related with the growing feminisation of the labour market that led to a substantial change of the active population. Since the early 60's that the lack of men in a productive age, as a result of the colonial war and massive exodus, translated into a reconfiguration of the labour market, mainly regarding its distribution by gender.

The changes were quick and substantial, at least in legal terms. With effect, between 1970 and 1980, a rather agitated period with political repercussions deriving from the Carnation Revolution¹, three important achievements were attained: i) the disappearance of the legislation that discriminated according to gender, with special attention being given to the Law of equality in 1979; ii) the international commitment with the equality agenda and iii) the creation of official mechanisms for gender equality: the Commission of the Female Condition (CCF) and the Commission for Equality at Work and Employment (CITE).

Presently, the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, which recognised the principle of equality and non-discrimination in function of gender in 1976 and the Labour Code have been essential pillars for formal equality. Point in fact, the successive constitutional revisions have effectively improved the law, as one can understand from the 1982 revision, in which fatherhood was equated with motherhood. Additionally,

¹ It should be noted that between the years of 1976 and 1980, Portugal lived in a climate of constant political turmoil, with the establishment and fall of six different Governments.

other revisions brought about significant and important advancements: the revision of 1997 introducing *Positive Action*² and the revision of 2000 introducing the Law of Parenthood, amongst a larger set of improvements and advancements.

The consecration of equality in law, however, does not correspond to a *de facto* equality as we will convey throughout the article, by exploring the topic within the social and solidarity sector, reporting to the general context of the Portuguese economy.

2. Methodological approach to the role of women in social economy

We depart from an adaptation of the concept brought about by Marc Augé, published in 1994, in the work entitled *Non-Places*, according to which the proposed approach to the role of women in social economy derives from the understanding of their invisibility in Portugal. When we attempt to answer our departure question with the guidance of official data, we are faced with a lack of available information on gender issues. The “Contas Satélite para a Economia Social”, published by the National Institute of Statistics, for the first time in 2013, is the most recent proof that the national official entities are not sensitised with gender issues, even though it is clearly perceived that women constitute an important part of the active population of social economy. We know nothing about women in positions of leadership nor about women who work in social and solidarity economy. We know even less about their political role in the quality of associates and members of boards. However, at an European level, recent studies on social economy also omit this information and despite the concerns entailed in the Europe 2020 strategy with “policies to promote gender equality [...] to increase labour force participation thus adding to growth and social cohesion”, we verify that there is a very reduced interest in the topic of gender in social and solidarity economy (Alvarez and Parini, 2005; Hillenkamp et al., 2015), which by these standards should be a priority field of intervention. Adding up to this situation, when focusing on previous empirical work (Martinho, 2011), we come to the conclusion that there are many other cases of distancing between the sector’s ideals and the management practices of paid human resources, namely concerning internal social responsibility and decent work.

² By *Positive actions* we mean the “measures aimed at a specific group, which aims to eliminate and prevent discrimination or compensate for the disadvantages arising from attitudes, behaviour and structures (sometimes called ‘positive discrimination’) (European Commission, 1998, p. 11).

In 2011, while being aware of the inherent limitations, during the conception of the instruments to collect information under the scope of the project “Social Entrepreneurship in Portugal”³ we introduced the gender variable in our analysis, in order to understand how work division based on gender in social economy organisations presented itself. Due to the lack of national and European data we sought to question, through a mixed methodological strategy, some of the segregation indicators regarding women.

The triangulation was accomplished through the implementation of a survey, the analysis of websites and in-depth case studies, inserted in a strategy that paired qualitative and quantitative analysis, named by Creswell (2013) as convergent parallel design. Given that we converged several techniques to gather information, their time horizon is not always coincidental and comprises a larger period of time.

The first applied approach is the most recent one. Conducted for the first time in 2011, it was updated in 2015 through an analysis of the official websites of the representative associations of social economy, which are a part of “Cooperativa António Sérgio para a Economia Social” (CASES), as a public entity responsible for advocating for the interests of social economy. The website analysis’ in two different points in time consisted of the identification of the gender of the members of its statutory board. Due to the fact that the data does not provide with a significant difference from the previous data, we chose to use and draw our conclusions from the data collected in 2015.

The extensive analysis focused on the indirect implementation of a survey to 89 leaders of social economy organisations, previously selected according to representativeness and criteria referring to legal status. The 89 surveyed organisations in 2011 were selected after the development of a non proportional quota plan, departing from the available data in one of the data bases made available by the representative organisations of the constitutive subsectors of social economy⁴.

³ The Project “Social Entrepreneurship in Portugal: the policies, organisations and practices of education/training (PTDCCS-SOC1001862008) was financed by the ERDF through COMPETE – operational programme through Fundação de Ciência e Tecnologia.

⁴ The population of 1853 organisations of social economy that constitute the sample was gathered by looking into databases from CASES and “Plataforma de Organizações Não Governamentais para o Desenvolvimento (ONGD)”, as well by gathering information from institutions of the sector, in December 2011, that acted on the social sector so as to gain access to the different existent legal forms (associations in general, local development associations, mutuals, social solidarity cooperative, social solidarity foundations, misericórdias and other religious institutions) and legal statutes (ONGD and “Instituições Privadas de Solidariedade Social - IPSS”). When we were unable to access information provided by these organisations, we consulted databases of their respective websites. The original sources were: Social Security database in the case of mutuals (national level), IPSS’ database, “Misericórdias” database, “Centro Português de Fundações” database, “Associações de Desenvolvimento Local” database supplied by

The 6 case studies that were analysed intensively and in-depth⁵ during the year of 2012, correspond to organisations that were classified, according to the abovementioned gathering of information and to a multivariate statistical analysis, as organisations with a strong or moderate profile of social entrepreneurship. These are organisations that are characterised by the search for initiatives directly or indirectly related with financial sustainability (moderate profile) or that combine this type of guidelines for sustainability with participative, democratic, developmental, enriching management models and/or enriching labour organisation (strong profile)⁶. In this approach, we work under the assumption that these 6 organisations, by presenting tendencies for social entrepreneurship profiles, assume themselves as more progressive organisations in their management and organisational models and would thus also honour the principle of gender equality. From this mixed methodological approach and interpretative combination of results, we propose to reflect on indicators that show gender segregation within social economy organisations.

3. The male position in leadership

Ever since the rupture with the dominating classic tradition on the labour market, then defined as a place for a balanced confrontation between offer and demand, that the theories uncover the existence of inequalities and segregation that reveals particularities (Marques, 2000). More specifically, the so-called segregation theory, brought about by Doeringer and Piore in their work “Internal Markets and Manpower Analysis” from 1971, claims that the labour market is constituted by a series of segments that interact among themselves imperfectly. This rupture with the homogenous and unified image of the labour market highlights its own imperfection, which is scarred by discontinuities in the processes of worker’s discrimination, as well as in the differentiated conditions of access to employment. Rodrigues (1992) mentions that this comprehensive version of the internal labour market is visible in companies, in which people are

the “Federação Portuguesa de Associações de Desenvolvimento Local - Minha Terra” – and by ANIMAR; cooperatives’ database supplied by CONFECOOP and FENARCERCI, “Plataforma de ONGD’s” database. The biggest difficulty when preparing the samples was to gather reliable information about the statutes (IPSS and ONGD) and legal forms, given that these overlap in legal terms, which originates incorrect classifications on the organisations’ part. For more information, see. Parente e Quintão (2014, pp. 70-72).

⁵ Cf. Parente e Quintão (2014: 73)

⁶ For more information on the classificatory analysis of the social entrepreneurship profiles, see Parente et al. (2014, pp. 103-106).

compartmentalised into two large categories: primary labour market and secondary labour market. In the primary labour market, we can find the highest-paying jobs, more attractive and with better conditions, greater stability, better career progression expectations and also of personal development. In the secondary sector the people who belong to disadvantaged groups such as the least qualified, youngsters, handicapped, immigrants and women are confined.

Inspired by the theories of segregation in the internal labour market of social economy organisations we pose the question, deriving from a gender approach, of whom takes on leadership in these organisations and eventually determines their orientations.

The gender approach on leadership was checked through the occupation of position in boards or top management bodies, integrating the elected/designated statutory social bodies. We propose two complementary perspectives: i) one referring to the representative organisations of the sector in Portugal; ii) and another one focusing on the base organisations with a descriptive and quantitative characterising emphasis on the boards of the 89 surveyed organisations, alongside with a comprehensive focus on the 6 case studies. Table 1 presents an analysis of the members of the board of the representative organisations of the sector, by gender.

With the exception of FENACERCI, in the remainder of the organisations, the person in charge – i.e. the president – is a man. Only this organisation and the “Centro Português de Fundações” have, in their main body of decision making, more women than men. The majority of boards has mostly male members (74.3%), being that three organisations do not have any women in their decision-making body.

	Women		Men		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Cooperativa António Sérgio para a Economia Social - Cases	1	33	2	66.7	3	100
Associação Portuguesa para o Desenvolvimento Local –	2	25	6	75	8	100

ANIMAR						
Confederação Cooperativa Portuguesa, CCRL – CONFECOOP	0	0	3	100	3	100
Confederação Nacional das Cooperativas Agrícolas e do Crédito Agrícola de Portugal, CCRL – CONFAGRI	0	0	10	100	10	100
União das Misericórdias Portuguesas	0	0	6	100	6	100
União das Mutualidades Portuguesas	1	14.3	6	85.7	7	100
Confederação Nacional das Instituições de Solidariedade – CNIS	3	33.3	6	66.7	9	100
Plataforma das Organizações Não-Governamentais de Desenvolvimento ONGD	3	42.9	4	57.1	7	100
Confederação Portuguesa das Colectividades de Cultura, Recreio e Desporto (CPCCRD)	3	27.3	8	72.7	11	100
Federação Nacional de Cooperativas de Solidariedade Social - FENACERCI	3	60	2	40	5	100
Centro Português de Fundações – CPF	3	60	2	40	5	100
Total	19	25.7%	55	74.3%	74	100
Sources: authors, with basis on the official websites of the representative organisations ⁷						

⁷ The analysis was a result of a search made on 11.05.2015 in the following websites:: Cases, available at: [http://www.cases.pt/sobre-nos/quem-somos/orgaos](http://www.cases.pt/sobre-nos/quem-somos/orgaos;); CPCCRD, available at: <http://www.confederacaodascolectividades.com/>; UMP website: <http://www.ump.pt/ump/>; UMP, available at: <http://www.pedromartinho.com/portal/portal.htm>; “Plataforma Portuguesa das ONGD” website, available at: <http://www.plataformaongd.pt/>; CONFAGRI website, available at: <http://www.confagri.pt/Pages/WelcomePage.aspx>; Confecoop website, available at: <http://www.confe.coop/>; “Centro Português de Fundações” website, available at: <http://www.cpf.org.pt/PT/index.htm>; ANIMAR website, available at: <http://www.animar-dl.pt/>; CNIS website, available at: <http://novo.cnis.pt/>.

In the second perspective, the narrative about the leadership of the organisations' boards included in the extensive analysis is branded with big ambiguity. Only 63 out of the 89 organisations provided us with reliable and complete information for the gender analysis, which represents a loss of information of about 30%⁸. This data limitation proved to be a challenge when attempting to undergo a deeper analysis of the type of leadership in the organisations through case studies, which could clarify the existence of gender inequality in a situation of vertical segregation regarding women. We note that, among the organisations with a formally established statutory board, in 54% of cases that same board is constituted by 5 members. In 11% of the cases, the board has 3 members, *ex aequo* with boards with 7 members.

In the analysis of the composition of the board according to gender, we opted to calculate its rate of feminisation. We should point out that in 55.6% of the organisations, women are the minority in the board, being that in 15.9% of the cases the board does not have female members whatsoever (10 organisations). This information becomes particularly relevant when we compare it to the high rate of feminisation of qualified labour. Thus, the strong feminisation of paid human resources of social economy organisations does not find repercussions in terms of their representation in the strategic decision-making of the organisations and, consequently, in the decisions that affect its positioning and future course of action. Despite the fact that women are those who run the everyday life of these organisations, they do not have the responsibility or possibility to pitch in with ideas for the strategic choices of the organisation. Thus, we witness a reproduction of the centralisation of decision-making process in men's hands (Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990).

The gender analysis, made departing from the case studies and systematised in table 2, confirms this dichotomy between feminised employment rates and the masculinised board. The organisation DEC is an exception to the rule by presenting a board only formed by women, thus having a female president. AVI is also presided by a woman but women are underrepresented in the board; in AVI there is gender equality between

⁸ The reasons for the lack of reliability of the information is that 15 organisations maintain that there is no statutory direction, in some cases because it coincides with the Executive Management, other because they are composed of other collective institutions and not individuals. In 11 organisations, the respondent did not have information about the statutory direction, which immediately can indicate the absence of an effective role in the organisations.

workers, which means equal division in labour positions between male and female workers showing an effective concern with gender issues. The same does not occur in DEC where the overrepresentation of women in the board does not guarantee gender equality between workers, therefore maintaining the tendency for feminisation – characteristic of the labour market in social economy.

Henceforth, we conclude that despite the fact that these 6 organisations present rather progressive organisational and management models, the same does not apply in the domain of gender equality even if we can find cases of good practices among them.

Table 2 Employment and occupation of the boards of organisations by gender						
Organisations	LAD	DEC	VEP	AVI	TOC	ECO
Gender of the top member of the board	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Male
Gender of board members	All male	All female	All male	Mainly male	All male	Mainly male
Employment rate female (%)	76.5	66.3	81.3	50	58.8	60
Employment rate male (%)	23.5	33.7	18.8	50	41.2	40

4. The women's place in the labour market

To the non-place of women in taking on leadership positions in organisations of social economy corresponds a place for them in the remaining positions and functions. We now turn to the development of a detailed analysis of some of the characteristics of the

overall composition of workers, mainly female, in 71 organisations⁹, looking to uncover the labour dynamics which are then further developed.

The universe of paid human resources that form the analysed organisations is of 2325 workers, a contingent clearly feminised with a ratio of 1 man for every 3 women, considering the total number of workers with a contract as well as freelance workers. The data reveals a rate of feminisation higher than the national average. As a matter of fact, according to data from INE, the employment rate (from population with 15 years and older) in 2014 was estimated to be of 49.6%, corresponding to 4499.5 people. From these, 54.6% are men and 45.3% are women¹⁰. Even though the feminisation of the labour market is a little bit lower than the European average, we verify that there is a decrease of lower employment for men than from women, in comparison to 2013. The analysis of the active population by gender, since 1974, shows that the feminisation rate has been steadily increasing and thus being equated to male in 2014 (51.3% - male and 48.7% - female). The attained information for the analysed organisations indicates a feminisation rate of around 77%, much higher than the national average.

This is a contingent of workers mostly integrated in a full-time regime (a little over 86%) (Table 3). The intersection of these two characteristics - working time arrangements and gender - allows us to weave some additional considerations with some interest, particularly if compared with the trends of the Portuguese labour market.

	Men	Women	Total
Full time	0.78	0.89	0.86
Part-time	0.22	0.11	0.14
Total	1	1	1

⁹ From a total of 89 respondents, only 79 answered this question because they did not possess, at the time of the questionnaire, the necessary exact information.

¹⁰ Source: Pordata/INE, accessed 19 February 2015

Attention must be paid to the fact that the number of people in a part time regime (around 14%) (Table 3) is higher among men. This fact contrasts with the dominating trend in the labour market as a whole where, where part-time work appears, in all OECD countries, as being done by females (the estimated rate of partial employment among Portuguese men constitutes around 6.5% of the total of employed men in 2009).¹¹

The reasons behind this particularity may be explained by the strong feminisation of employment in social economy, in which the daily and operational tasks of the organisations are done by women. Generically speaking, it seems like we are looking at rather simple structures in which, eventually, the part-time working regime might be associated with compatible functions with a shorter period of permanence in the organisations, such as activities related with support tasks as coined by Mintzberg (1979). Such as is the case of accounting or legal support or other activities that allow for the rotativity of the workers – i.e. sports, cultural activities, languages classes, music or theatre, among others. The analysis made to the quality of contractual links, which involved its classification in terms of evaluative attributes, turned out to be a framework favourable to women.

Before diving into the analysis of the results, it is of utmost importance to clarify the undergone evaluative analysis. We worked with a classification of different types of contractual links derived from its meaning in terms of greater or lesser levels of precariousness. Precariousness is understood in its simpler definition by being circumscribed to the indicator of legal employment link.¹² In order to make the analysis as detailed as possible we avoided oversimplifying the dichotomy of situations of precariousness, and choosing instead to take into account situations of “intermediate precariousness” Hence, job stability refers us to situations experienced by the individuals who are bound to their organisation via open-ended employment contracts; semi stability refers to those who have fixed-term contracts (certain or uncertain); whereas the precariousness of employment is experienced by those human resources develop their activity independently, in the mode of service delivery.

¹¹ Source: OCDE, 2011, OECD Family database www.oecd.org/els/social/family/database OECD - Social Policy Division - Directorate of Employment, Labour and Social Affairs Last update 15/04/2011 1. LMF1.6: Gender differences in employment outcomes.

¹² For its specificity of temporary connection to the organisation, we excluded internships and contracts of employment-insertion from the analysis.

To consider that the fixed-term work contracts (certain or uncertain) constitute a situation of semi-stability is explained by the fact that the existence of a link labour itself, confers them legal rights and, more specifically, the rights of social protection. Thus, there is a distinction regarding the situation of self-employed workers who generally do not enjoy any rights or warranties with regard to the organisations where they work.

For each of the 3 assessment categories of the degree of stability/precariousness considered, and including the gender analysis, we calculated the weight of each situation in relation to the total number of workers in one of three situations, full or partial time (%), out of the total of workers. Table 4 summarises the main descriptive statistics for the respective distributions.

Table 4 Descriptive statistics of the categories of precariousness/labour stability, by gender (values in % of the total amount of workers)						
Male workers				Female workers		
	Stability (%)	Semi-stability (%)	Precariousness (%)	Stability (%)	Semi-stability (%)	Precariousness (%)
N	53	53	53	68	68	68
No information	36	36	36	21	21	21
Mean	58.11	21.06	20.83	62.52	23.40	14.08
Median	70	4	,00	75	9.45	,00
Standard deviation	40.64	30.47	33.22	35.73	29.59	24.52

Broadly speaking, the following findings stand out: i) job stability is a relatively dominant trait among organisations given that it is, on average, a labour condition

experienced by 60% of the workers - both men and women; II) about 50% (median) organisations do not indicate any type of situations of precariousness.

We conclude that the stability of working contracts in the third sector is higher than that of the public sector but less stable than in the private sector. We expected that to conclude that, due to data that we gathered in 2006, “the stability of work contracts in the private sector is higher, followed by the third sector and lastly by the public sector” (Parente, 2012, pp. 270). Specifically, regarding the gender approach, we verify that women assume a relatively more comfortable position. Although there is only a slight the difference both in the stability category, and in semi-stability, this increases in the category of situations of precariousness, which is proportionately more frequent among men. This trend deviates from what we know about the labour market in general, where, for example, according to the data “Quadros de Pessoal of 2013”¹³, it turns out that employees with a link to organisations make up 2384121 individuals, virtually distributed equitably among both sexes (women - 47.9% and men - 52.1%).

Even if the contractual situation is presented as being more favourable to women, salaries follow the reverse trend, presenting itself as an indicator of vertical segregation on the information gathered in the investigation, following the trend observed in the labour market in general, as you can see in table 5.

Point in fact, the remuneration numbers are one of the most recurrently used indicators to assess equity between men and women, being generically higher for the former rather than for the later. With effect, in Portugal, according to data from the “Quadro de Pessoal of 2014”, male workers employed full-time, had average monthly earnings higher than those of women, with 1 233.47 Euros and 982.36 respectively, corresponding to a difference of 301.11 Euros. According to data provide by PorData, both the average remuneration and the average earnings ¹⁴ are lower for women, so it is not just a monthly wage differentiation, but a wider inequality, which extends to the whole plan of rewards (CITE, 2014).

¹³ Source: Quadros de Pessoal (2013)—published by Gabinete de Estratégia e Estudos do Ministério da Economia,

¹⁴ The earnings include more than the monthly wage. Other components include others such as the compensation for additional work, prizes and other benefits.

In the case of social economy, these differences may be aggravated by the characteristics of some of the activities carried out, particularly "human health activities and social support", in which, according to data from "Quadro de Pessoal", in 2014, the percentage deviations were more pronounced in men's earnings in comparison to the average of each activity, with a total of 35% above the level of the average earnings of the respective activity.

Table 5 systematises information provided by the analysed organisations that allowed us to calculate wage averages of the various professional groups. As we can see only a few organisations provided us with this information, varying between 19 and 49 organisations (excluding the category of leaders given that this function does not provide a pay check), which may not only entail a matter of confidentiality with regard to remuneration, but also the fact that many of these organisations do not have all of the analysed hierarchical ladder and that those surveyed are not aware of the values of the wages. In any case, and given that this is a sensitive subject whose data is only indicative, we opted for a reading of exploratory scope that rather than conclusions, raises questions, calling in some numeric data with illustrative value.

The general rule for the members of statutory boards in social economy is for their work to be nonpaid.¹⁵ Therefore we only have 5 and 7 organisations with both male and female board members. These are statutory leaders who accumulate functions of executive leaders, in a total of 11 of the 89 surveyed organisations.

An overall evaluation of the economic sustainability of the organisations, could consider this nonpaid work to be advantageous, however, in a gender approach that can be highly questionable. Gratuity may constitute yet another obstacle to women's participation in these type of positions since national data¹⁶ shows that women accumulate the functions related with their work with nonpaid work related with

¹⁵ Pursuant to art. 18 of the Statute of IPSS, under the heading "Conditions of exercise of the offices", the exercise of any position on the boards of institutions is free, but can justify the payment of expenses inherent to its exercise. Thus, there is the establishment of gratuity of duties of administrator (art. 18, no. 1), even if it allows to "when the financial movement volume or complexity of the administration of the institutions require the prolonged presence of one or more members of the managers" they can be paid, since the statutes allow for so to be the case. In the case of organisations of public utility statutes and DNGOs there is no mention regarding the payment, or lack thereof, of members of the boards.

¹⁶ Source: CITE, 4º Inquérito Europeu às condições de trabalho de 2005). Published online: <http://www.cite.gov.pt/pt/acite/mulheresehomens04.html>, accessed 25 May 2015.

domestic life, motherhood, among others. This factor is frequently pointed out as having explanatory potential of the low participation of women in the public sphere. This nonpaid working time, calculated in more than 16 weekly hours of work¹⁷ seems not to allow for any available time to be spent on other chores, such as, for instance, the board of social economy boards.

Coming back to the analysis of table 5, we verify that, having into account, the maximum and average wage, the distinction between men and women is bigger in the higher positions, mainly in the case of statutory and executive leaders and superior technicians with managerial functions, in which men always earn more than women. As we go down in the professional hierarchy the difference in the average wage tends to be smaller. CITE's report on the progress of gender equality in the workplace, employment and training (2014) highlights the fact that inequality regarding wage, in favour of men, is directly proportional to the levels of qualification. In other words, it increases as the level of qualification increases, being particularly high between higher positions. "In this level of qualification, the ratio between women's and men's wages is of 72.6% regarding the base average pay, and of 71.4% regarding the average of wages" (2014, pp. 45).

Table 5 Wage average of several professional groups				
Professional group by gender	N	Maximum wage value	Wage average	Standard Deviation
Statutory and executive leaders				
Men	5	5482	2738.45	1655.267
Women	7	2805	1484.48	861.198
Superior technicians with managerial functions				
Men	32	5438	1836.77	1012.122
Women	49	4170	1521.07	727.483
Superior technicians without managerial functions				
Men	32	2000	1166.49	372.066

¹⁷ Ibid.

Women	48	2100	1157.43	313.581
Operational qualified personnel				
Men	27	1528	798.30	315.344
Women	40	1603	733.89	251.992
Administrative qualified personnel				
Men	19	1400	863.34	290.728
Women	41	1400	780.14	217.346
Undifferentiated personnel				
Men	21	900	622.33	137.845
Women	33	1053	581.49	131.821

Conclusion

Internal segmentation is a characteristic that social economy organisations reproduce from the general dynamics of the labour market, contributing to reinforce gender inequality and pushing them away from their ideals.

Both the access to positions of power and higher wages tend to be directed to men, leaving women to fit lower position with lower income, even in a sector dominated by women who frequently occupy technical positions with leadership functions. Thereafter, women have a place of bigger invisibility that we can call a non-place.

Women are put aside from leadership positions in social economy both because statutory boards are traditionally led by male presidents who are frequently crystallised in the position ever since the foundation of the organisation (Parente et al., 2014) and due to the fact that such functions are not paid, clashing with chores which are non-work related. Nonetheless, women are those who assure the everyday functioning of these organisations, which present rates of feminisation relatively higher than the labour market in general.

Hence, we corroborate that “even if some women occupy positions of responsibility, equality in terms of representation and wage equality has not yet been attained” (Hersente and Guérin, 2014, p. 67)

Their central role as workers finds recognition only related with the indicator of their work contract in which the situation of non precariousness ends up revealing a favourable context for women.

We are led to conclude that due to a tendency of reproduction of gender inequality in social economy leads to a consequent detour from their generic ideals of gender equality, non-discrimination, justice and equity. Such is crystallised in the “non-place” of women in the strategic definition and public visibility in social economy and in the most invisible “place” and private of the everyday chores of the organisation.

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