

University of Mississippi

eGrove

Honors Theses

Honors College (Sally McDonnell Barksdale
Honors College)

2018

Mujeres Modernizadas: Defining the Implications of Modernization for Basque Working Women

Natalie Gagliano

University of Mississippi. Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College

Follow this and additional works at: https://egrove.olemiss.edu/hon_thesis



Part of the [Sociology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Gagliano, Natalie, "Mujeres Modernizadas: Defining the Implications of Modernization for Basque Working Women" (2018). *Honors Theses*. 727.

https://egrove.olemiss.edu/hon_thesis/727

This Undergraduate Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Honors College (Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College) at eGrove. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of eGrove. For more information, please contact egrove@olemiss.edu.

MUJERES MODERNIZADAS: DEFINING THE IMPLICATIONS OF
MODERNIZATION FOR BASQUE WORKING WOMEN

By: Natalie G. Gagliano

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for completion
Of the Bachelor of Arts degree in International Studies
Croft Institute for International Studies
Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College
The University of Mississippi

University, Mississippi
May 2018

Approved:

Advisor: Dr. Miguel Centellas

Reader: Dr. William Schenck

Reader: Dr. Amy McDowell

Abstract

While studying abroad in Bilbao, my daily routine consisted of morning classes, tea at the café next to the Guggenheim museum, leisure time with friends in the late afternoon, and finally coming home at 9 pm to a dinner cooked every night by my host dad. The entire day, I was surrounded by the immense pride that the Basque people had for their region, history, and culture. The region is in a state of impressive transformation into a more modern society, while it still maintains the historical aspects of the region that its people take such pride in. Among these transformations is the endeavor to become a more service-based and competitive economy with STI policies. With an impending entrance into the job force myself; curiosity led to how these changes in the region would affect the women working there.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my mentor, Dr. Miguel Centellas, for his continued advice and support throughout the writing process. I would also like to thank my second and third readers, Dr. William Schenck and Dr. Amy McDowell, for their suggestions and demonstrated interest in my topic. I am eternally grateful for my parents who have provided a life full of constant love and support that has been instrumental to my college experience. Without them, I would not be where I am today and I am forever inspired by their wisdom, guidance, and encouragement. Finally, I am grateful for the academic challenges and opportunities provided by The Croft Institute for International Studies and The Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College for making my experience at The University of Mississippi one that I will surely never forget.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction..... 3

Chapter 2: Movements in Society 11

Chapter 3: A Piece of País Vasco 19

Chapter 4: Data and Analysis..... 28

Chapter 5: Conclusion 39

Bibliography..... 41

Appendix A- Translated Survey 43

Appendix B- Frequency Tables 46

Chapter 1

Introduction

While studying abroad in Bilbao, my daily routine consisted of morning classes, tea at the café next to the Guggenheim museum, leisure time with friends in the late afternoon, and finally coming home at 9 pm to a dinner cooked every night by my host dad. The entire day, I was surrounded by the immense pride that the Basque people had for their region, history, and culture. The region is in a state of impressive transformation into a more modern society, while it still maintains the historical aspects of the region that its people take such pride in. Among these transformations is the endeavor to become a more service-based and competitive economy with STI policies. With an impending entrance into the job force myself; curiosity led to how these changes in the region would affect the women working there.

Research Question

This study explores the perception of gender division in the labor market across different demographics, following changing economic conditions in the Basque region of Spain. Since the 1990's, the Basque region has rapidly transformed into a modern, innovative, and economically competitive region. There is new, contemporary architecture, exemplified in the Guggenheim museum, along with an influence of traditional culture, which has persisted despite many changes politically and economically throughout the years. The occurrence of these transformations results in changing working environments and styles. The shifting focus of the industries in the

region led to my curiosity of how this change affects women's role in the workforce specifically. This study aims to see how the recent modernization efforts are revealed in the distribution of gender across various important sectors of the workforce in the Basque region and the perceptions of the Basque population on female integration into the workplace as a whole.

Rationale

A case study of the relationship between economic transformation and gender roles in the Basque region has relevance well beyond this case. The Basque region's rapid economic transformation is not unique. The last three decades have seen countries as diverse as Chile, China, and South Africa, among others, go through rapid social and economic transformations. My personal experience studying in País Vasco, the Spanish name for the Basque region, allowed me to view it and its people firsthand. The Basque country is ideal for this study due to its multi-faceted nature.

This evolving economy can be described as autonomous, with some degree of political and economic power, post-industrial, and post-authoritarian. This study is significant in its relevance apart from the Basque region for its contribution to studies on women in the workforce following an economic transformation. The three defining characteristics are what make the region comparable to other parts of the world. For example, País Vasco enjoys the kind of political and economic autonomy similar to US state governments or Canadian provinces. Also, other post-authoritarian cultures recently transitioned to democracy such as Chile. Finally, post-industrial economies and mindsets have been influential in the development of many current economies. The spread of

technology or service-based economies leads to less physical labor and is sweeping the globe in areas such as Silicon Valley of California and Berlin in Europe, making the transformation of the Basque region's economy far from distinctive (Hage and Powers 1992).

Unlike other European societies, women in the Basque region were integrated into the workforce much later (Rodríguez-Modroño, Matus Lopez, and Gálvez-Muñoz 2016). In addition, women of the region have had a unique history of great respect and importance prior to the spread of Christianity and before adopting domestic roles in a patriarchal society that has culminated in recent workforce integration (Gimbutas 2001, 236). Furthermore, the extreme variance in geography allows for different working environments and norms between urban and rural areas.

Theoretical Framework

This project builds on the literature of modernization and social change, the integration of women into the workforce, reasons for disparities among gender in certain occupation fields, and the specific case of Basque women in history. Studies such as Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* (1944) focus on the effects of modernization on society as a whole and how societies are intertwined, and how changing economic policies inevitably lead to social change. Dean Tipps (1973) focuses on the ambiguity of modernization and the difficulty in assessing an effective modernization of a nation due to a lack of measurement tools and benchmarks. The impact of modernization on society is central to this study. As a precursor of workforce specialization in Spain, the effects on adolescents correlate to separations in the workforce due to malleability of teens and

early career path decisions (Correll 2004). The direct effects for adolescents are seen through a new wave of technology, media importance, and shifting in social powers (Panahi 2015).

The effects of modernization are only one prong of the study, the other part being the integration of women into the workplace. To begin, a general overview of female oppression shows different opinions of what the root cause of gender segregation is. In order to cover multiple options for the root cause of gender segregation, the multi-level approach aims at attacking the segregation from multiple fronts and making, ideally, more permanent movements (Ali 2015). Gender discrimination, and as a result segregation, in the workforce can be examined through determining the importance self-efficacy and role descriptions and tackling the issue on multiple levels as suggested by Ali (Correll 2004).

Finally, this thesis presents the unique case of the Basque region and its transitioning economy. Along with the changes in the economy, it studies the subsequent incorporation of women in the workforce. There is also a distinct difference displayed in workforce integration for the region between rural and urban areas (Mintegui 1995).

Research Design

The focus of this study is on the Basque region of Spain and its recent expansion and modernizing trends in an attempt to become a more competitive market along with the direct effects seen for women in the labor market. With the changes, I anticipate a rise in the perceived opportunities and actual job placement for women. To test this I collected data on public opinion of Basque citizens on working conditions through an anonymous

survey. The results of this survey are used to analyze the progressions made on an individual, organizational, and regional level of female integration in the workforce amidst a modernizing society.

Case Selection

Spain is a country with a recent history of change, both political and economic. There are three facets that make the Basque region unique and show its consistent change in past years: post-authoritarianism, post-industrialism, and being an autonomous community. First, as a post-authoritarian region, a sense of repression was established that demanded a large change following the fall of the Franco regime. There were many high expectations for rapid change and advancement towards Western ideals and democracy after the strict restrictions put in place by Franco were destined to fall following his death in 1975. Unfortunately, Franco still had influence over men in powerful positions and the progression of the “new” Spain fell short of the expectations that many had hoped for (Kurlansky 1999). Despite the oppression during the time of Franco, the Basque region was able to maintain an air of independence with its own language and literature that united the region. This sense of camaraderie around the culture helped in moving forward, albeit not very quickly during the regime (Kurlansky 1999). The changes following the fall of Franco eventually led to a shift in economic focus. As a post-industrial economy, the Basque region has been modernizing for almost 30 years. Changes were put in place by the Basque government, the regional authority, to promote competitiveness and drive the economy of the region and are constantly being modified and developed to continue the growth and maximize effectiveness (Obregón

2012, 3-5). Finally, these advancements were made possible by the ability of the Basque government to have control over decisions regarding the region due to its status as an autonomous community in Spain. This means that the region is decentralized from Spain as a whole and has a sense of control in regards to economic and political decisions. This freedom has allowed the region to implement innovative economic plans with the potential to lead to great social change, including integrating women into the new economy as a result of new economic opportunity.

Data

I measure the division of gender in the workforce by comparing different aspects of gender inequality and collecting data that explores perceived division in the labor force in addition to real-life experiences. I use data collected by other sources for relevant background information and as a basis of comparison for my own research. Also, I use a survey of my own design providing opinion data collected from people in the region.

I use Eurostat data on gender gaps in education and employment as indicators for gender inequality. This will be used to show the recent progressions of the region and trends for the effects of modernization. In addition I have data from OECD that separates the sectors of the workforce and higher education to track changes over time and variances of gender across different sectors of importance in the region.

In addition to using secondary data, I gathered primary data through a survey of Basque residents. The survey was conducted using Qualtrics, an academic/professional online survey tool. I use a snowball sample technique, sending it first to contacts in the Basque region, such as my host-family, professors, friends, and classmates, and then

asking them to share it through their social networks. I received 44 responses, 11 male and 33 females, of varying ages, economic, and social status. The female respondents are clustered in sectors such as service, education, or domestic occupations, while males fall in a business or technology-based sector. The survey includes basic demographic questions regarding gender, education background, and age, coupled with an opinion and perception section. The latter portion focuses on asking respondents to describe their ideal gender roles in the labor market, coupled with the experience of women at work in reality. The responses to the questions in the survey are on a 5-point “agree” scale that is coded accordingly to quantify the data. I am conducting my own research in order to compare between perception and experience. I hypothesize that there are more opportunities for economic advancement for women as a result of this regional renovation in the past 30 years that can be seen in enrollment of women both in higher education, as an indicator of profession, as well as the workforce. In addition, I hypothesize that the perceptions of progress in regards to female integration of the workforce will show that the region is advanced in regards to treatment and fulfillment for women in the workplace, but that there is always room for improvement.

Method

After collecting the survey data, I grouped three sets of questions in the survey into separate categories to create different “scores” that are used to test the multi-level effectiveness of integration in the country. All sets are comprised of 3 questions that were recoded to numerical values meaning that 0 would be in total disagreement with the statements of the survey and 12 being in complete agreement with the statements in the

survey. The categories are separated to test individual satisfaction in the current occupation and its opportunities for advancement. The second group relates to the impartiality of the working environment and if the equality is maintained after employment. Finally the third group tests for the amount of “traditional” views on gender norms in society as a whole. These responses are viewed between male and female averages to view the difference in workplace experience.

Outline

Chapter 2 centers around the overall ideas of modernization with its effects on society in addition to an introduction to labor participation and female struggle for equality in the work force. The chapter provides a theoretical framework and contextualizes the larger concepts of modernization, workforce changes, and female incorporation explored throughout the rest of the paper.

Chapter 3 explores three unique components of the Basque region —post-authoritarianism, post-industrialism, and an autonomous community—and their relationship to gender norms. In order to understand the current state of the region, these aspects are essential because they have shaped the evolution of País Vasco greatly and also contribute to the great regionalism that the citizens display. Further, these aspects help to understand how the trends studied translate onto a larger scale of similar characteristics.

After establishing the defining aspects of the region, Chapter 4 explores the enrollment of females and males of the Basque region in the labor force along with enrollment rates in higher education. This statistical information comes from the Basque

Institute for Statistics and shows the progression of the region in recent years. Using data from OECD, the chapter also focuses on the divides of the labor market and higher education into sectors and representation of the gender in the different fields. The chapter continues to analyze the survey data I collected. In answering the research question of perceived gender discrimination in the region, this chapter will take the survey data and look at not only the answers of the general population, but also reference across gender to find any determining characteristics.

Finally, Chapter 5 acts as a closing argument for the distinction between the successes of modernization on an individual, job satisfaction level and where the region can still improve at a cultural level in regards to gender norms. This is essential because it takes the theoretical and regional information and marries it to the new concepts in order to rationalize and legitimize the research.

Chapter 2

Movements in Society

Modernization has become a common explanation of changes in societies today, but the exact meaning of the term is difficult to pinpoint. Without an end point of “being modernized” there is no explicit definition making the process of modernization increasingly difficult to measure with the lack of an ultimate “modern” society. There are many aspects of societies that can be measured within technological, political, social, and economic spheres to show progress. This chapter starts by discussing this ambiguity of the term modernization, and how testing the progress of a society can be difficult, but testing the effects of evolution in different sectors is more attainable. These different sectors can also show any transformations experienced specifically by women as a result of modernization. Additionally, the chapter shows the best way to use these changes to create a targeted response and plan in regards to the social issue of gender inequality. Finally, the chapter discusses the case of female integration into the workforce and hones in specifically on the case of the Basque region.

To start analyzing modernization and its effects in society, a definition of the term must be agreed upon. Currently, there seems to be no consensus on what modernization means since it is constantly evolving to continue reaching for more. There is no end goal to attain to effectively be considered “modernized” and therefore no measure of what modernization really is. The difficulty of analyzing modernization in a region stems from this ambiguity of the term and the lack of defining characteristics to measure progress. The generic acceptance of the phenomenon of modernization without a specific meaning

or subsequent form of analysis has led to an acceptance of a constant state of change (Tipps 1973). The core issue is the wide-ranging interests in what to consider under the scope of modernization and how these changes fit into each individual nation whether they be economic, political, technological, or something else entirely. An alternative to modernization with set measurements is essential in further research and analytics of the ever-changing societies seen today. As Tipps argued, “Thus, such an alternative must take seriously the logic of comparative analysis by rigorously defining its units of analysis, classifying them, and comparing the ranges of variation they reveal in relation to a set of common problems. But whatever the ultimate shape which an eventual alternative to modernization theory might take, it will require a fundamental rethinking of how we approach the analysis of long-term, macro-level transformations of societies” (1973, 224).

The effects of modernization, despite the ambiguity of the term, on society are a relatively common area of study. Prior to today’s ideas of modernization, changes in society were tracked following other large economic shifts such as the first wave of industrialization. Starting as early as Karl Polanyi’s *The Great Transformation* discussing the ineffectiveness of a self-regulating market as a response to industrialization and change in Europe, the ramifications of evolving economies and societies have been of interest. Intriguingly, Polanyi follows this point of ineffectiveness by introducing the idea of embeddedness of economies with the social order and explains changing economic policies directly affects how individuals of the society interact. Polanyi also argues that this integrated relationship cannot be untangled due to the dangerous idea of making humans and nature pure commodities (1944). This link between economic and social

changes is relevant and detectable with shifts in economies today that are moving towards service and the social changes this enables.

Many of these social changes as a result of economic shifts and overall advancements are seen in adolescents with high susceptibility to change. Adolescents are of concern when discussing the effects on modernization in relation to the work force specifically as they will be a faction of the labor market in the near future, and, therefore an indicator of what is to come and how the age group may be secularized. Sectors of influence for these young adults include cultural norms, technology, and media. Cultural norms of modern societies have switched in many adolescents seeking authority away from previously common heads, such as priests. Validation is found from other sources, in many cases peers (Panahi 2015). This process is only heightened by the social media wave. Varied ease of access to technology has sparked the concept of an augmented gap between rich and poor and even males and females from a young age. With all of technology's benefits (easy access to information, ease of communication, etc.) the rise in the use of technology also seems to mirror poorer interpersonal relationships and face-to-face communication and a desire for acceptance in the form of "likes". On the other hand, the access to information and influence of mass media can be used positively to initiate more tolerant individuals open to social change, such as the influx of women in different working sectors.

Adolescents also play a large role in terms of eliminating the larger issue of gender isolation into certain roles in the workforce. Equal representation of gender in certain fields is determined by decisions as early as the classes taken in high school that is only further solidified through the choice of college majors and during the job-

recruitment process (Correll 2004, 94). This seems to be a voluntary difference, in some cases, between men and women in attempts to have more flexibility in the job to be able to start a family. Correll points out the irony of this by stating, "... women choose jobs that maximize their ability to coordinate family and paid work responsibilities. However, Glass (1990) shows that male-dominated jobs...are actually associated with more flexibility and autonomy..." (2004, 95).

For the purpose of this study the relationship between modernization and its effects on women is of significant importance along with the studies on gender bias and inequalities in the workforce. Following recent modernization, there is an evident influence on women's role in the political sector and overall representation in societies. In a political setting, there is an obvious relation in greater female representation following universal suffrage. With this new representation, there is a shift towards expressive values, values that promote increasing tolerance and move away from absolute social norms, that is linked to postindustrial societies. Some of these values include an overall decline in the belief of male superiority and active movement towards gender equality (Inglehart, Norris, and Welzel 2004). Overall, a shifting in values in modernizing economies has led to a greater tolerance of new movements and greater opportunity for women to expand into new sectors, yet that does not mean it is an easy task.

Gender equality in the workforce has recently become a widely studied topic due to its increasing relevance. In order to overcome this separation of genders, understanding the root cause is important. There are many theories that have varying notions on where the problem starts. First, the Marxist theory believes the capitalist system is the driving force behind labor segregation (Ali 2015, 2). It argues that women are used to fill a need

for labor when there is a shortage of men and are exploited to further the agenda of the capitalist system. On the other hand, radical feminist theory suggests that the concept of patriarchy and establishment of men as superiors is the core of gender segregation (Ali 2015, 4). Dual systems theory is a combination of the two previous theories and argues that the intersection of the two proprietaries of the systems, capitalists and men, is the basis for explaining segregation (Ali 2015, 5). Arguments against all three of these theories state that it is an oversimplification of a greater issue and that it cannot be solved by attributing it to one or two core factors and that every case is varied, but there are approaches to help breach that. In attempts to not overly simplify the issue into two simple causes with a simple solution, the multi-level approach aims to tackle various prongs of the problem. The multilevel approach argues that the divide between women and men in different sectors of the work force needs to be targeted on an individual, organizational, and societal level. Multi-level approaches on gender segregation focus on creating increased awareness of the disparities for individuals affected, monitoring progress in the practice of gender-equality regulations in organizations, and continuing to shift the views of what is accepted in terms of gender differences at a cultural level, which, as Polanyi argues, occurs consequently with economic shifts (Ali 2015).

Following the ideas from the multi-level approach, self-awareness and self-efficacy are vital along with personal beliefs on gender. Correll argues that, "...gender status beliefs will lead men and women to use different standards to judge their own task competence in individual evaluative settings, such as testing situations, when gender is salient and defined as relevant to performance in the setting" (2004, 110). By creating self awareness and confidence in the ability to complete tasks as well as another

individual, the gender divide in seemingly more complicated or hands-on fields can be diminished, especially if success in the field is not attributed to gender.

On an organizational level, women also face challenges unique to their gender. There is a deeply embedded gender segregation in organizations that is difficult to quickly overcome. This is especially apparent when the job descriptions and availabilities are geared towards men due to an underlying construct of the company or position during a time that excluded women from the opportunity altogether (Acker 1990, 154). Restructuring and utilizing the resource of female employees in previously male-dominated sectors is integral in the process of true equal opportunity in the workforce.

Spain's timing of workforce integration for females is unique in comparison with its European counterparts. The mass rise in female activity in the Spanish workforce occurred in the 1980s as opposed to the 1960s-70s in other European nations. The lag in integration can be attributed to economic, political/historical, and social based factors. First, economically speaking, there is a lack of part-time work available, which contributed to the lower number of employed females at the start of the integration. In addition, globalization of the economy marked by increased foreign direct investment and the move into the European Union in 1986 reshaped the economies of member states and created a larger demand for employees as a whole. This new demand finalized the shift from industrial work and agriculture work to a majority focus in the service sector, which subsequently offered more opportunities for females for all of Europe. Politically speaking, in Spain, the dictatorship of Francisco Franco also delayed the progression of the female integration agenda in the highly repressive legislation of the regime. Finally, in the social sector, many legislative moves have been made and policies put in place to

facilitate integration following the fall of Franco's regime. This promoted female autonomy and control of themselves and their economic status through contraception legislation, divorce laws, and institutional support from organizations to help working parents balance responsibilities in the organization and at home (Rodríguez-Modroño, Matus Lopez, and Gálvez-Muñoz 2016). These combinations of factors have aided the Spanish movement in rapid integration following the delayed initial movements with the modernizing society.

The Basque case is often studied apart from the whole of Spain due to its separate history and uniqueness of the region, and the women are no different. While following the overall upward trends of the Spanish integration movement, the Basque women of historical times had a unique social standing. The variance in the treatment of Basque females is attributed to an ancient mythological importance on female goddesses that resulted in female prominence in the house and even inclusion in agriculture work that endured overwhelmingly until the rise of Christianity, which only barely spread through the rural parts of the region in the 15th and 16th centuries, deterred from the mindset of goddess appreciation (Gimbutas 2001, 236-237). Transitioning to more modern ideas of women in the region sees a divide in urban versus rural areas in introducing paid work that results in new attitudes and values for females.

Traditionally, the Basque region was studied as rural, but current changes have led to a distinction between urban areas and rural for the region. Women in larger cities of the region have been notably dissatisfied when relegated to domesticity and have less autonomy than other urban, female counterparts who have the opportunity to work outside of a domestic role (Mentegui 1995). The influx of women into the workforce in

the Basque region started slightly earlier than the rest of Spain in the 1960s, but followed the trend of a larger influx two decades later. Variance among the region was seen in urban areas having a higher education, female workforce participation, and autonomy that were amplified by classifying themselves as working-women and distinguishing themselves from the rural women. The term “Working Women” was a mindset established from a trend of remaining in one job for a long period and establishing longevity as opposed to being a woman who was working for a short time and the title, in turn, changed the self-value for these women. For rural areas, on the other hand, housewives associations were created as a movement to aid housewives and create freedoms in their own way as opposed to the “working women” (Mintegui 1995).

The case studies of the Basque region and Spain as a whole exemplify the discourse of modernization and movements associated with women following the transformation. The needs to tackle the problem of gender segregation are seen on an individual level, with education and with the promotion of self-efficacy, an organizational level, with corrective and watchful policies, and a societal level seen through cultural shifts in opinion essential to overcoming female oppression in the work force.

Chapter 3

A Piece of País Vasco

The Basque Country (País Vasco) is unique from the rest of Spain in three ways: post-authoritarian impacts, autonomous status, and movement towards a post-industrial economy. In order to fully understand the ramifications of the three traits, it is essential to discuss them more in depth. In this chapter I discuss the previous authoritarian Franco regime and its specific consequences for women in the Basque country. I also discuss the transition of political and economic authority from the central government to the autonomous Basque government. Lastly, I discuss the rapid economic transition from a solely industrial economy to a service and tourism economy. All three had significant consequences for the type of social modernization we see in today's Basque country.

A characteristic of the Basque people is the almost tangible pride for their region that can be observed immediately upon entering the area. The people were recently stifled under the strong dictatorship of Francisco Franco where they struggled to maintain their own history, language, and culture. One of the characteristics of the region is the nature of being a post-authoritarian state. The Franco regime lasted from the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939 to his death in 1975 and led to many social changes and disturbances. Immediately following his rise to power, Franco outlawed the use of the Basque language, Euskera, and stripped País Vasco of self-government. The language was banned from being taught in schools, for use by priests in religious forums, and even scraped off of tombstones and monuments in the region that had born the language prior to the regime (Clark 1979, 81). The region became dangerous for the natives and many

were driven out to France, Latin America, or the United States. Understandably discontent with the state of their home country, exiles created resistance organizations in attempts to fight back from the US (Kurlansky 1999, 229). Life for other exiles was becoming dangerous in some French territories where, after the surrender to Nazi Germany in 1941, the Vichy government aided the campaign to discredit Basque refugees. This led to the majority of the exiles being rounded up to the south of France, which acted as a controlled zone for their safety. Tensions were furthered by disappointment a few years later when the expected turn against Franco from the Allied powers following World War II did not ensue (Clark 1979, 87-89). While the United States did comment that it did not agree with Spain's current leader and most of the happenings under him, it also did not want to intervene physically unless there was a threat to international peace. Instead, movements were made in the political world in attempts to ostracize Spain from western powers until the dictatorship was disbanded. Unfortunately, American concerns shifted with the escalation of the Cold War, and hopes for the Basque movement seemed to dwindle again for the time being (Clark 1979, 95-97). Culminations of tension and a widespread perception that no actions were being taken to restore the beloved culture to the region peaked and moved young citizens to act.

In 1952, after a succession of failed movements from the Basque Nationalist Party to fight the dictatorial regime, seven frustrated college students from the University of Deusto in Bilbao formed a new group aimed toward political action and raising awareness on politics. With an undeniable inexperience in political movements and actions, the members began an education process to further the aim of the group, which was to spread awareness and bring light to their state of repression as a region. The group

slowly began to grow and introduced a newsletter in an effort to push for Basque autonomy. The Basque Nationalist Party recognized the movements and, after two years of negotiations, the group agreed to consolidate under the party as a youth sector. This union did not last long as the young members wanted quick action that the party viewed as impatient and would lead to decisions that were not well thought out. Following the separation of the two groups, the letters “ETA” started to show up around the region and became the initial formation of the well-known terrorist group with the same name (Clark 1979, 156-157). Originally, the group was consistently nonviolent and focused primarily on printing educational pamphlets and occasionally displaying national symbols such as the Basque flag, despite their prohibited status. This nonviolent attitude did not seem to be making enough progress for the liking of the group and on July 18, 1961 the first planned attack was carried out strategically as a warning and involved derailing a train headed towards San Sebastian. There were no casualties. The response from the Spanish government to this initial attack was swift where they arrested, tortured, and imprisoned more than 100 Basque people. This was clearly a punishment for the attack rather than an attempt to destroy the group altogether (Kurlansky 1999, 236). The events following this attack pushed the leaders of ETA to have a more revolutionary mindset ETA started to appeal to the working class in order to get more numbers on their side and appealed to working members of non-Basque origin that they could be part of the movement because being considered Basque by the majority of the region now meant speaking the language and accepting the culture. Following the influx of members, the group became more violent and targeted Spanish officials or symbols of the regime. The attacks were planned specifically to not harm bystanders when it could be avoided, but moving towards

Franco's death the attacks escalated and become more violent and less targeted (Clark 1979, 167-169). In 1973, the group planned and executed a killing against one of Franco's closest allies, Carrero Blanco, which caused the dictator to go into a great depression. This seemed to be a great victory for the Basque group and marked a pivotal point in the fight to end Franco. Franco retaliated and, in turn, was ostracized by other Western powers in a boycott of Spain. Just two years later in October of 1975, Franco made his last public appearance before passing away November 20, 1975 (Kurlansky 1999, 254-256).

Following the death of Franco in 1975 the country of Spain faced the difficult task of rebuilding a divided nation. The Basques, along with the Catalans, pushed for political liberation and freedom after the repression of their respective nationalities for so long under Franco. As a consolation for prior mistreatment and to placate inter-country relations the government successor to Franco's regime, the Suarez government, pushed for many issues in favor of the Basques. While many of the ideas were good in theory, execution was met with some backlash and a cry for more change. For instance, political prisoners were promised amnesty as one of the first major acts of the administration, but those convicted of violent crimes were excluded which included many Basques. In addition, a decree was issued that served as protection for regional languages including Euskera, but precise wording was used to ensure that it was viewed as a regional language not equivalent to the importance of Spanish. Much of this discontentment was attributed to a lack of understanding between the national government and the region, but efforts were continuously made to bridge the gap. Many changes were accepted and embraced such as the use of the Basque flag and turnover of government officials to

younger, moderate parties in 1977(Clark 1979, 316-231). These concessions were not met without mistrust though and were seen in a rise in political demonstrations, police violence, and a rise in demonstrations from the remains of ETA (Kurlansky 1999, 267-269). Arguable one of the most important outcomes was the reinstatement of the Basque Nationalist Party. It returned as the spearhead for policy issues in favor of the Basques, but possible alliances between members and the Spanish parties arose concerns. Despite these fears, general support was granted in hopes of achieving the ultimate goal of reinstated autonomy. The end of 1977 finally saw an agreement between the Suarez government and Basque political leaders for a “pre-autonomy” legal status, a huge win for the Nationalist efforts. This changing status would be furthered in the new Constitution to be seen in the coming year (Clark 1979, 321-325, 339).

On May 5, 1978 a draft of the new Constitution was submitted to Parliament for edits and was ultimately accepted by a large majority on October 31, 1978. Despite initial trepidations, the new legislation was ultimately deemed a success in uniting the nation and creating a consensus that would lead to a perceived peace. In attempts to not disturb the idyllic picture of the consensus, the fact that many Basques were not present for many of the negotiations regarding the legislation and even abstained from voting was rarely mentioned (Humblebaek 2008, 207-209). One of the main points of contention when drafting the Constitution was in regards to autonomy and nationalities for the regions and what this would exactly entail. Many of the amendments suggested by the Basque Nationalist Party were rejected and this culminated in the large abstention from voting in the final draft. The final draft established did have provision for reinstatement of an autonomous community in the historical region and that is why many decided to abstain

rather than vote against the legislation. The officials seemed to be more discontent with the process rather than much of the content in the Constitution. In this sense, it did provide the provisions for the regional autonomy the Basques sought, but it is in a vastly different sense (Clark 1979, 353-359).

Autonomy was not a new concept for the people of the Basque region, as they had it prior to Franco, but the definition was adapted for the new time period and clearly in the wake of the Franco regime. The new Constitution was meticulous in wording in the attempts to maintain some unity of Spain while still satisfying the discontented regions. The whole of Spain was united as an indivisible nation with different segments joining together, referred to as nationalities, to form the whole. Originally, the regions where languages had been repressed were to be granted a higher level of autonomy than the other regions of Spain, which led to objections from other regions. Accusations of being a threat to the peace of the nation were utilized in order to maintain the unity and move forward. Some provinces joined together to form their new self-ruling societies under the umbrella of Spain. The 17 autonomous communities formed between 1979 and 1983 and led to the current decentralized Spain of today (Lewis 2010).

Current powers of the autonomous communities have control in political and financial aspects of governing. There are two main bodies that comprise the self-governing communities: legislative assemblies and governing councils. This system generally flows down into smaller assemblies and committees, which all work together and maintain communication between the state and autonomous governments. The legislative power of these regional governments fall under four basic categories. The first is exclusive executive and legislative powers in many categories including tourism,

industry, youth, and agriculture to name a few. The second is developing and implementing basic state legislations specific to the region. The third is executing State legislation namely in the case of employment and vocational training. Finally, they have the powers to execute actions and initiatives both from their own legislative powers and the State's. Most disagreements between the two levels of government, national and regional, are handled through interparty discussion. This open discussion forum is also used for contesting laws from either level of government in a form of checks and balances to maintain the unity (Administracion.gob.es 2018).

From a financial standpoint, the budget of the autonomous communities comes from a mixture of State distributed funds and its own resources. The financial autonomy grants them more freedom and allows the regions to have a voice during conversations regarding expenditures and revenues. It also assists in establishing economic balance among different parts of the territory (Administracion.gob.es 2018). Having the ability to control certain aspects of the region aided the Basque people in transforming the economy.

Modern-Day Basque Region

The Basque region has followed the global economic trend of moving towards an economy with a larger emphasis in the service industry rather than the industrial. The first surge of industrialization came during the mid-nineteenth century, which was relatively early, mainly in the coastal cities that thrived in steel and shipbuilding industries. In the late 1950s and continuing into the 1960s, the second wave of industrialization hit amidst tensions during the Franco regime (Zallo and Ayuso 2009, 12-

13). As a stark contrast, the restructuring of the economy and moving away from the shipbuilding and steel sectors in the 1970s-80s led to a surge in unemployment and outmigration for the region. The region endured this spike in unemployment and moved forward with attempts to be a competitive economy on a global scale by fostering innovation and cost-cutting methods to restructure industry and tailoring new advancements, such as technology centers. The innovation continues to this day in attempts to be more knowledge intensive and increased spending on technology in the region. One of the hindrances for the Basque region is overall small sizes of companies that cause difficulties in moving to a larger, global scale and becoming more competitive. Despite the difficulties the region has faced, they have largely been overcome and this success was seen economically during the 2008 crisis when the Basque region suffered significantly less than its national counterpart of Spain. Specifically, Spain saw a 10.2% surge in unemployment from 2007-2009 whereas the Basque region only saw a 6% rise (OECD 2011). The ability to have economic input in the region has allowed for these innovative changes and push towards education, technology, and tourism advancements. One of the biggest successes of this transition would be the construction, paid for by Basque tax money, of the Guggenheim museum. The Basque Nationalist Party sought the construction and permission to build this new center for European modern art and an architectural gem was ultimately granted by the Guggenheim Foundation. The museum opened in 1997 and started to create good press surrounding the region without the mention of terrorism that had surrounded it for so many years with ETA (Kurlansky 1999, 335-341). The museum became a symbol for change and progression in the region

and the project was seen as a great investment for a new wave of tourism and advancement as a whole.

Apart from the construction of the Guggenheim, the Basque government created a STI-based (science, technology, and industry) set of policies in order to become more industrially and economically competitive. In addition, the plans emphasized research and development for the region. Through trial and error the Basque government has continuously implemented new plans to further this initiative starting in 1990 with The Technology Plan. The problem with this initial plan was the allocation of budget to technology development was drastically larger than that given to science. Another problem was coordinating with educational systems and funding research in the economic sector prior to workforce implementation. The first notably effective plan was the Science, Technology and Innovation Plan implemented in 2001-2004. Apart from an increasing budget stemming from technology centers, there was more support measures for institutions along with an emphasis for research and development and human resources. The recent 2007-2010 technology plan attempts to fulfill the region's "Second Great Transformation" with further focus on innovation and expansion into high technology sectors along with ecological and social innovation. The economic investments and shifts are a catalyst to social change as we have seen earlier that subsequently assists in the ideal outcome of neutralizing the gender divide (OECD 2011, 18-20).

Chapter 4

Data and Analysis

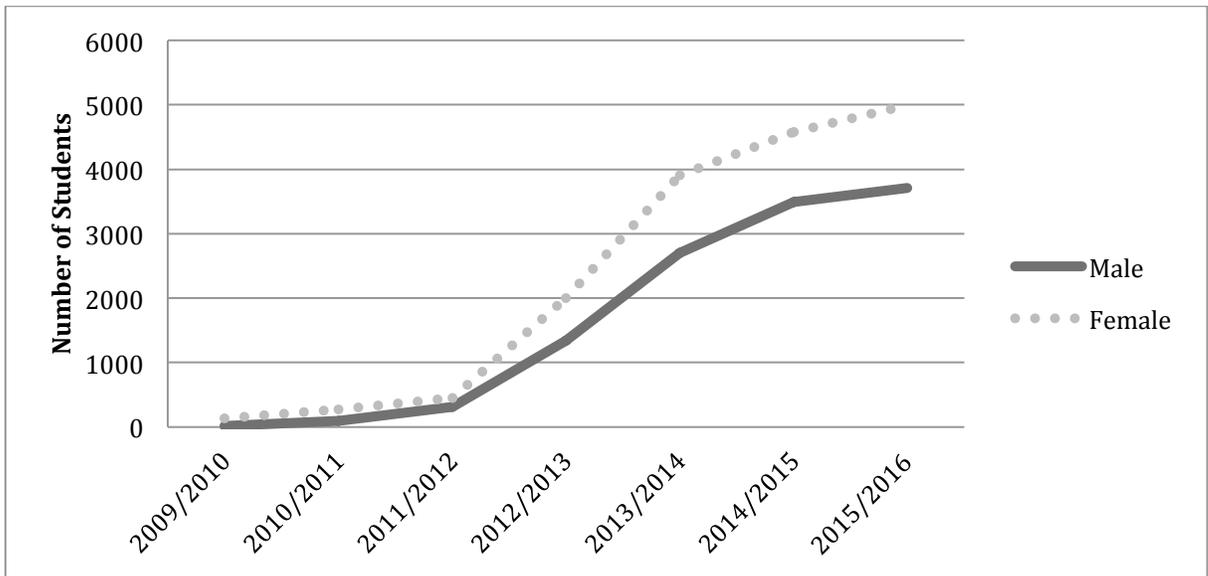
The data chapter works with focusing on my hypothesis and viewing changes in the economy and workforce. It also works to analyze my hypothesis on how the economic and workforce changes affect the opinions of citizens in regards to gender equality and workplace environments. The first part of this chapter focuses on workforce and education enrollment data from Eustat, the Institute of Basque Statistics, to show the progression and trends of movement in the Basque region and how modernization effects the representation of women in the workforce. It also focuses on different sectors of specialization in the workforce and higher education specialties and their prominence among the overall population. The second part focuses on statistics from a survey I conducted through Qualtrics, an online survey tool, that gathered opinion data from the Basque people on representation and equality in the workforce to see if the population is satisfied with the progress This is used to assess where there is still progress to be made. For instance, apart from simply being represented in the overall work force, are there sectors that do not have much female representation that could provide even more opportunities for women in new fields.

Basque Workforce and Education Enrollment

With the changing emphasis since the mid 90's towards a more competitive economy and following the construction of the Guggenheim, I expect the predominant

sectors of the Basque economy to be shifting. In addition, I expect there to be an influx of women in higher education and in the workforce, specifically in service sectors, in the Basque region. To see the rates of education and employment across gender I used data provided by Eustat. First, following the movement of innovation and education of the region, the enrollment of students in higher education of the region is of particular interest. Figure 1.1 shows the number of students who have completed undergraduate degrees at a public Basque university from 2009-2016. It is essential to consider that there is a high enrollment in the private universities of the region such as Deusto.

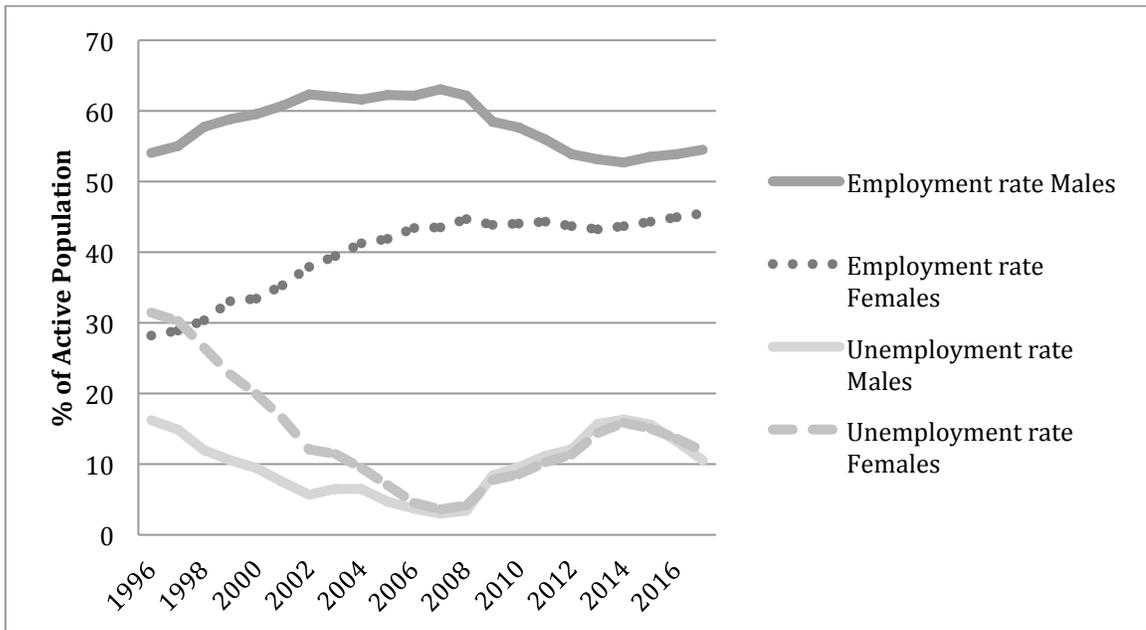
Figure 1.1 Students who completed undergraduate degrees at Basque universities



There is a clear spike in recent years of overall enrollment and interestingly enough female enrollment is consistently higher than men across the board. Intuitively this data would lead to the conclusion that there is also an influx of women in the workforce.

Figure 1.2 shows the data of employment and unemployment rates of the region from 1996-2017.

Figure 1.2 Basque Employment and Unemployment Rate (% of Active Pop.) by Gender



While women have remain underemployed relative to men it is important to note the constant upward trend of female employment, while male employment dips around the 2008 financial crisis. These statistics demonstrate the recent, rapid rise in female employment. The enrollment of women in both education and the workforce are only the first step in real change. A true indicator of the how the modernization and economic progression efforts affect the workforce, and Basque working women, is showing the effects on the different industries of the region and the distribution of women in men in these fields.

Industry, as previously explored, is a historically important sector of the Basque economy. This transition has shown that while remaining a large portion of the economy, industry is slightly falling while the service sector continues to rise following the STI policy implementation of the region and the overall economic shift towards service-based industries following the construction of the Guggenheim. The following table from a report in OECD (2012) shows the relative weight of different sectors on employment in 2000, 2005, and 2009 between the Basque region and Spain.

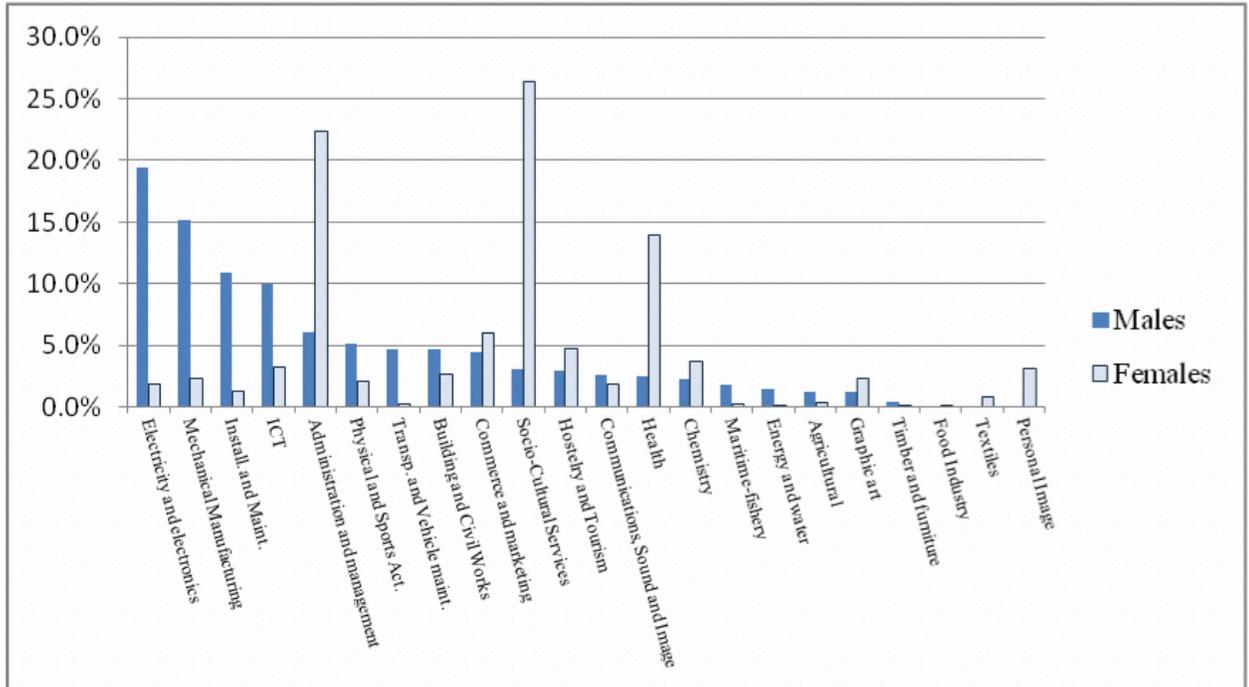
Table 1.1 Weights of Sectors in Basque and Spain Work Forces

Sector	2000		2005		2009	
	Basque	Spain	Basque	Spain	Basque	Spain
Agriculture	3.0%	6.5%	2.6%	5.1%	2.0%	4.4%
Energy	.6%	.7%	.7%	.7%	.7%	.7%
Manufacturing	26.4%	17.4%	24.9%	15.5%	21.8%	13.0%
Construction	8.1%	10.9%	9.2%	12.0%	7.8%	9.4%
Services	61.9%	64.4%	62.7%	66.6%	67.8%	72.6%

Source: OECD (2012), INE

While the table does not indicate how women and men fall into each sector, it is evident that as a whole the Basque region, similar to Spain, is moving towards a work force that is increasingly service based with an approximately 6% increase of its representation in employment. The following graph from the same study focuses on higher education/vocational training in different sectors, not employment. It separates the sample by gender.

Graph 1.1 Students in higher vocational training (%) by family and sex, year 2010-2011



Source: OECD (2012), EUSTAT

The graph shows a clear distinction in the roles held by females in the workforce. The majority is seen in the service, administrative, and health sectors while men are seen in the electric, mechanical, and maintenance fields. The rise in female representation in the workforce has fallen into more service-based sectors, which goes in line with the transitioning economy, but also leads to greater potential for gender isolation into different sectors of the workforce deemed “appropriate”. In addition, these supportive roles such as administrative or service-based roles are often-times paid less than those filled by men in electric and mechanical fields. Additionally, it is not sufficient for women to be simply represented in the overall work force; women need the ability to expand into more sectors traditionally viewed as male-dominated for equal opportunities and equal pay practices.

Basque Opinion Survey Data

To see the effects and success of the movements on a cultural level, I sent out a survey to various Basque citizens to gain insight on their satisfaction in their respective jobs and their opportunities, perception of a nondiscriminatory working environment, and opinions on gender norms. The survey was sent out online through Qualtrics and was recorded anonymously. Data was collected between November 28, 2017 and February 9, 2018. Respondents were recruited through sending the survey to contacts I made during my time abroad that forwarded the survey link to other eligible respondents in the region. The survey began with demographic data of the respondents and continued to opinion-based questions where a statement such as “In my job, men and women are treated fairly” would be given and the response would be on a scale of total disagreement, 1, to complete agreement, 5. The entirety of the survey is translated into English in Appendix A while frequency tables and descriptive statistics tests are shown in Appendix B.

As a basis for connecting the preliminary separation in the workforce data of the Basques and Spain as a whole, the first test I conducted was a cross-tabulation to see how the survey participants fell in terms of job specialty. Table 2.1 shows the distribution of survey respondents in the workforce separated by gender.

Table 2.1 Survey Respondents Occupation by Gender

Gender	Business or Finance	Information of mathematics	Transportation	Education	Sales	Services
Male	2	2	0	2	0	1
Female	3	2	0	10	4	4

Gender	Government	Domestic paid	Domestic unpaid	Other
Male	0	0	0	4
Female	0	1	1	8

The distribution of the survey respondents in the workforce falls in line with a general principle of women in more service based roles in education, services, and domestic, while the male respondents fall in line with a more business or technically driven fields. The distribution of the workforce is only one facet of this study. The views on workplace interactions and the opinions resulting from the economic transition represent the majority of the data collected from the survey.

In order to test for job and opportunity satisfaction, approval of the work environment, and a view on overall gender norms I have taken three survey questions in each category and provided a new score. The values were recoded so that complete disagreement with the statements would equal 0 and full agreement would equal 4. That being said, the three new variables being created will give a response on a scale from 0-12 for each category. First, in the area of job and opportunity satisfaction I have combined responses from the following statements: I am content with my current job, I am content with the opportunities to progress in my current job, and I have had the opportunity to progress in the last 5 years. Figure 2.1 shows the average scores from both male and female respondents to the three satisfaction opportunities.

Figure 2.1 Male and female job contentment and opportunity total scores

	Number of respondents	Mean job contentment score	Standard deviation	Min	Max	Sig.
Male	11	7.00	3.46	0	12	.190

Female	32	8.03	2.67	0	12	
--------	----	------	------	---	----	--

The average scores of the two seems to show that the female respondents have overall been more pleased with their job and opportunities for advancements than male respondents. After conducting an independent samples t-test to test the significance of the relationship, the significant value measure shows that the responses are not statistically significant. In fact, the only statement that yielded a statistically significant relationship with gender is the first statement used in calculating the “job and opportunity contentment score”: I am content with my job. This measure is done on a personal or individual scale. Following the multi-level approach to social change, the next level would look at the working environment or organizational level. For this variable the statements used are:

- Men and women have the same opportunities to advance in my job
- In my job men and women are treated fairly
- Gender inequality is not a problem in my current job.

This variable would signify that the higher the score represents the more egalitarian work environment. Figure 2.2 shows the average responses for the “fair work environment score” based on gender.

Figure 2.2 Male and female fair work environment total scores

	Number of respondents	Mean fair work environment score	Standard deviation	Min	Max	Sig.
Male	11	8.45	2.42	0	12	.572
Female	30	7.80	2.60	0	12	

In contrast to individual experience in the job, females seem to perceive the overall justness of the work environment as less equal than the male counterparts. Also notable though is the difference between the two averages is only .65 as opposed to the .97 difference in job contentment averages, but again the results are unfortunately not statistically significant. In addition, the total average score is higher indicating a more favorable view of the environment than the individual's job and opportunity for advancement. The final grouping of questions refers to the overall view of gender norms on a widespread, society level. These three statements are:

- Gender prejudices still exist today
- I see many traditional gender roles in my line of work
- In my job gender stereotypes are stronger for women than men

In this score, a higher number represents a more traditional perception of the workforce with stricter norms for women. Figure 2.3 shows the variation in this score based on gender.

Figure 2.3 Male and female traditional gender norms total scores

	Number of respondents	Mean traditional gender norms score	Standard deviation	Min	Max	Sig.
Male	11	6.81	3.31	0	12	.273
Female	32	7.78	2.80	0	12	

This above average score on the traditional views of gender norms in the society, while not statistically significant, show that before real progress can be made, it may be beneficial to focus on the shifts of perceptions on gender issues and continuing on a

societal level before the next moves can be made at an individual or organizational level. The data shows that women perceive more traditional biases in the workforce than men do, which, as the oppressed gender, has merit. When the societal acceptance of equality happens, the effects will trickle into individuals and organizations. To see the progress, the final comparison will be from the question asked of “How would you describe the Basque region in comparison to 30 years ago” (before the large wave of female integration in the 80s) with the options being better, the same, or worse. Figure 2.4 shows the answers between men and women.

Figure 2.4 Male and Female Perception of Basque Region

		Sex		Total	Sig
		Male	Female		
How would you describe the Basque region in comparison with 30 years ago?	Better	9	29	38	.144
	Same	2	3	5	
Total		11	32	43	

On a positive note, none of the respondents believe that the region is worse than it was 30 years ago insinuating significant progress. This is not surprise considering the advancements economically, and in turn socially, of the past 30 years, but again the relationship is not statistically significant in terms of a response correlating with gender.

In sum, the public opinion of the region coincides with the influx of women into the workforce. The rise in female employment did not exaggeratedly impact the employment of men that continues to stay above 50% despite fluctuation. A change in the

economy can lead to change in social norms, which can be traced in the rise of higher education rates, the public opinion that the region is overall better than it was prior to these changes, and increased female satisfaction with their individual jobs and opportunities. Despite these advances, there is room for progress in the discrepancy of gender norms for the region and the fair treatment of individuals once in a job. However, this is a small sample size, which is not fully representative. The trends are still able to show the direction that the region is moving towards with its modernization movement, and the outcome is promising for even further change and progression. With a movement towards a service sector economy, yet also plans to have a focus on STI policies, the empowerment of both males and females at a young age is essential in formulating the idea that both men and women are capable of success in the occupations that will be available in line with the economic movements.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Overall, there is an economic shift coinciding with modernization that ideally leads to social changes for issues currently in the Basque region, specifically the representation of females in the workforce and higher education. Shifts can be evaluated on a multi-level approach with respect to individual, organizational, and social progress. On an individual level, there has been an increase in higher education enrollment with considerably more females. Organizationally, a higher enrollment of women has been noted in the workforce. The representation in the workforce overall has shown a growth in the service sector along with a high volume of females training in service based industries with males remaining prominent in industry and mathematic based industries. Following the stages of the multi-level approach to change, an overall social level is difficult to assess, but the survey conducted shows a response skewed towards a notion of prevalent traditional gender roles in the region and strong stereotypes/expectations for women, but that the region as a whole is better than 30 years ago, prior to the modernization efforts. The traditional view on gender roles and the occurrence of gender bias in society can be attributed to the region's relatively late start in integrating the workforce or other outside factors. Time will show the effectiveness of integrating women into more sectors of the workforce and maintaining fair treatment once employed across all segments. For this to be effective, it is essential to begin promoting equal opportunity for success at a young age, along with restructuring roles in organizations with job duties and biases to allow for the changes in gender representation.

The writing process for this study has presented some challenges. Primarily, receiving an adequate number of survey responses to gain a representative sampling of the population from outside of the region is difficult. With more resources, obtaining a larger sample size would create more room for conclusions in this study across different demographics and result in more information on the effects of modernization in relation to the recent change of the region. In addition, creating a more concrete definition of modernization and the sectors it affects would assist in cross-national comparison and viewing the effectiveness of a region in its efforts to “modernize”.

While this study focuses in the Basque region, it can be replicated in other, similar regions to investigate the impacts of recent modernization in society and specifically the implications for women. It can also be used to further research in the region in relation to modernization by furthering the survey questions and gaining a larger, representative sample size. Furthering knowledge will continue to advance this extraordinary region. With time, the representation of women will hopefully grow in other sectors based in math and not solely in service sectors to truly have an equal representation. The trends of the region and responses from citizens are promising for the future and instill hope for even more progress towards a modernized, egalitarian society.

Bibliography

- Acker, Joan. 1990. "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations." *Gender & Society* 4, no. 2 (June): 139-158.
- Ali, Faiza. 2015. "Gender Equality in the Workplace." ResearchGate, April 2015. Accessed January 2018.
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280559937_Gender_equality_in_the_workplace
- Bizkaia Talent. 2018. "Basque Country: the example in economic competitiveness." Bizkaia Talent. Accessed September 6, 2017. <https://www.bizkaiatalent.eus/en/pais-vasco-te-espera/apuesta-de-futuro/ejemplo-competitividad-economica/>.
- Eustat. 2018. "Tasas netas escolaridad de la C.A. de Euskadi por nivel, sexo y grupos de edad." PX-Web. Accessed September 2017.
http://www.eustat.eus/bankupx/pxweb/es/spanish/-/PX_2321_in04.px/?rxid=e86b9961-ff80-478f-9310-e59d3bcc86f#axzz4ti2yhSYm.
- Clark, Robert P. 1979. *The Basques: The Franco Years and Beyond*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- Correll, Shelley J. 2004. "Constraints into Preferences: Gender, Status, and Emerging Career Aspirations." *American Sociological Review* 69 (February): 93-113.
- Diez Mintegui, Carmen. 1995. "Female Labour Participation and Gender Relationships. Analysis of Rural and Urban Environments." *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos* 43, no. 2: 271-287.
- Edwards, Jorge. 2008. "Democratic Culture and Transition in Chile". *Post-Authoritarian Cultures Spain and Latin America's Southern Cone*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Euskal Estatistika Erakundea/Instituto Vasco de Estadística. 2017. "Tasa de ocupación femenina (16 a 64 años) por país. 2007-2016." Datos estadísticos de la C.A. de Euskadi. June 16, 2017. Accessed September 2017.
http://www.eustat.eus/elementos/ele0002500/Tasa_de_ocupacion_femenina_16_a_64_anos_por_pais/tbl0002546_c.html.
- Gimbutas, Marija, and Miriam Robbins. Dexter. 2005. *The Living Goddesses*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press.
- Gobierno de España. 2018. "Autonomous Communities- How is the state organized?." Gobierno de España.
http://en.administracion.gob.es/pag_Home/espanaAdmon/comoSeOrganizaEstado/ComunidadesAutonomas.html
- Hage, Jerald and Charles H. Powers. 1992. *Post Industrial Lives Roles and Relationships in the 21st Century*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Inglehart, Ronald, Pippa Norris, and Christian Welzel. 2004. *Gender Equality and Democracy*. Gendemoc.doc.
http://www.fd.unl.pt/docentes_docs/ma/tpb_ma_6187.pdf.
- Kurlansky, Mark. 2001. *The Basque History of the World*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Lewis, Martin W. 2010. "The Nation, Nationalities, and Autonomous Regions in Spain." GeoCurrents. September 1. <http://www.geocurrents.info/geopolitics/the-nation-nationalities-and-autonomous-regions-in-spain>.

- Martínez-Granado, Maite, Patxi Greño, and Mercedes Oleaga. 2012. "The Basque Country, Spain: Self-Evaluation Report". OECD Reviews of Higher Education in Regional and City Development.
<http://www.oecd.org/edu/imhe/regionaldevelopment>.
- Obregón, Inmaculada Freije. 2012. "Towards a S3 Strategy for: the Basque Country" Gobierno Vasco. Powerpoint, Seville, January 31.
http://s3platform.jrc.ec.europa.eu/documents/20182/150968/BasqueCountry_presentation.pdf/5515722e-c482-4a0c-9569-1a4efe1f1cfb
- OECD. 2011. "OECD Reviews of Regional Innovation: Basque Country, Spain 2011." Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Accessed September 6, 2017. http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/urban-rural-and-regional-development/oecd-reviews-of-regional-innovation-basque-country-spain-2011_9789264097377-en#page25.
- Ridgeway, Cecilia L., and Shelley J. Correll. 2004. "Unpacking the Gender System: A theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations." *Gender & Society* 18, no. 4 (August) 510-531.
- Rodríguez-Modroño, Paula, Mauricio Matus López, and Lina Gálvez Muñoz. 2016. "Female labor participation, inequality and household well-being in the Second Globalization. The Spanish Case". *Working Papers in History & Economic Institutions*. Universidad Pablo Olavide Sevilla.
- Tipps, Dean C. 1973. "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of National Societies: A Critical Perspective." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15 (02): 199.
- Zallo, Ramón, and Mikel Ayuso. 2009. "The Basque Country: Insight Into its Culture, History, Society and Institutions." NABasque. January 2009. Accessed September 2017. http://www.nabasque.org/publications/The_Basque_Country.pdf.

Appendix A: Translated Survey

Survey in the Basque Region

Sex:

- [A]. Male
- [B]. Female

Age:

- [A]. 18-25
- [B]. 25-40
- [C]. 40-65
- [D]. 65+

Are you currently living in the Basque region?

- [A]. Yes
- [B]. No

What is your religion?

- [A]. Catholic
- [B]. Jewish
- [C]. Muslim
- [D]. Other Christian religion
- [E]. Atheist
- [F]. Other

What is your employment status at this moment?

- [A]. Employed
- [B]. Unemployed
- [C]. Student
- [D]. Retired

What is your level of education?

- [A]. Elementary school
- [B]. Some high school
- [C]. High school
- [D]. Baccalaureate
- [E]. Some college
- [F]. Bachelor's degree
- [G]. Doctorate

What is your social class?

- [A]. Low
- [B]. Working
- [C]. Middle
- [D]. High

How do you identify on a scale of 1-5 as:

- [A]. Basque
- [B]. Spanish
- [C]. Other

Do you speak euskera?

- [A]. Yes
- [B]. No

Which of the following options best describes your job?

- [A]. Business or finance
- [B]. Information or mathematics
- [C]. Transportation
- [D]. Education
- [E]. Sales
- [F]. Service
- [G]. Government
- [H]. Domestic paid
- [I]. Domestic unpaid
- [J]. Other

How would you describe the Basque region in comparison with 30 years ago?

- [A]. Better
- [B]. Same
- [C]. Worse

The following statements are answered on a scale of 1- strongly disagree, 2- disagree, 3-neutral, 4- agree, 5- strongly agree.

The 2008 crisis negatively affected my income or employment.

I have had the opportunity to progress in the last 5 years.

I am happy with my current role in the workforce.

I am happy with my opportunity for advancement in my current position.

I see a lot of traditional gender roles in my area of work.

Men and women have the same opportunities to progress in my job.

In my job, gender stereotypes are stronger for women than for men.

I have or have had many opportunities after earning my highest level of education in my preferred area.

In my job, men and women are treated fairly.

I have been happy with my speed of progress in my job.

Gender inequality is a problem in my current job.

My situation is better than my parents at my age.

For those respondents over 40

Young people are in a better position today than when I was that age.

30 years ago women were treated better.

I believe that having a job is the best way for women to be independent people.

In my opinion, being a housewife is as fulfilling as a paid job.

It is much better for everyone if the man is employed outside of the house and the woman stays to take care of the house and family.

Some people say that stemming from discrimination, women have suffered in the past and should have preference for jobs and promotions.

Others say that this preference towards women for jobs and promotions is bad because it discriminates against men

Gender bias still exists today.

Women in my job have a role that can be considered as more of a

- Leader
- Administrative

Men in my job have a role that can be considered as more of a

- Leader
- Administrative

For Students Scale 1-5:

When I am home I help with:

- Cleaning
- Cooking
- Garden
- Laundry
- Taking care of younger siblings

Appendix B- Descriptive Statistics and Frequencies of Survey

Table B-1.1 – Survey Frequencies of demographic data

			<i>Median</i>
Gender			
Male	11	24.4%	
Female	33	73.3%	
N/A	1	2.3%	
Age			
18-25	14	31.1%	40-65
25-40	5	11.1%	
40-65	25	55.5%	
65+	0	0%	
N/A	1	2.3%	
Religion			
Catholic	28	62.2%	
Jewish	1	2.3%	
Muslim	0	0%	
Other Christian religion	0	0%	
Atheist	14	31.1%	
Other	1	2.3%	
N/A	1	2.3%	
Social Class			
Low	1	2.3%	
Working	5	11.1%	
Middle	33	73.3%	
High	5	11.1%	
N/A	1	2.3%	

Employment Status		
Employed	25	55.5%
Unemployed	3	6.6%
Student	13	28.2%
Retired	3	6.6%
N/A	1	2.3%
Level of Education		
Elementary school	0	0%
Some high school	1	2.3%
High School	1	2.3%
Baccalaureate	2	4.4%
Some college	9	20.0%
Bachelor's Degree	28	62.2%
Doctorate	3	6.6%

N/A	1	2.3%
Social Class		
Low	1	2.3%
Working	5	11.1%
Middle	33	73.3%
High	5	11.1%
N/A	1	2.3%

Identify as:	---	
Basque		
1	8	17.8%
2	1	2.3%
3	5	11.1%
4	7	15.5%
5	21	46.6%
N/A	3	6.6%
Spanish		
1	6	13.3%
2	4	8.9%
3	13	28.9%
4	4	8.9%
5	12	26.7%
N/A	6	13.3%
Other		
1	5	11.1%
2	2	4.4%
3	1	2.3%
4	2	4.4%
5	2	4.4%
N/A	33	73.3%
Speaks Euskera		
Yes	22	48.9%
No	22	48.9%
N/A	1	2.3%

Job Area		
Business or Finance	5	11.1%
Information or mathematics	4	8.9%
Transportation	0	0%
Education	12	26.7%
Sales	4	8.9%
Service	5	11.1%
Government	0	0%
Domestic paid	1	2.3%
Domestic unpaid	1	2.3%
Other	12	26.6%

N/A	1	2.3%
-----	---	------

Table B- 1.2- Descriptive Statistics of Survey Responses with Scale

Question	Number of Respondents	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
The 2008 crisis negatively affected my income or employment	42	1	5	3.86	1.026
I have had the opportunity to progress in the last 5 years	43	1	5	3.51	1.242
I am happy with my current role in the workforce	44	1	5	3.75	1.184
I am content with my opportunity for advancement in my current position	44	1	5	3.41	1.168
I see a lot of traditional gender roles in my area of work.	44	1	5	3.16	1.238
Men and women have the same opportunities to progress in my job	43	1	5	3.35	1.325
In my job, gender stereotypes are stronger for women than for men	43	1	5	2.67	1.190
I have or have had many opportunities after earning my highest level of education in my preferred area	43	1	5	3.49	.910
In my job, men and women are treated fairly	43	1	5	3.88	1.074
I have been happy with my	42	1	5	3.43	1.107

speed of progress in my job					
Gender inequality is a problem in my current job.	41	1	5	2.24	1.113
My situation is better than my parents at my age	18	1	5	3.89	1.410
Young people are in a better position today than when I was that age	25	1	5	2.88	1.269
30 years ago women were treated better	42	1	5	1.64	.958
I believe that having a job is the best way for women to be independent people	44	1	5	3.91	1.217
In my opinion, being a housewife is as fulfilling as a paid job	43	1	5	2.58	1.384
It is much better for everyone if the man is employed outside of the house and the woman stays to take care of the house and family	43	1	5	1.67	.969
Some people say that stemming from discrimination, women have suffered in the past and should have preference for jobs and promotions	43	1	5	2.49	1.334
Others say that this preference towards women for jobs and promotions is bad because it discriminates against men	43	1	5	2.98	1.300
Gender bias still exists today	44	1	5	4.05	1.140