



FOCUS

Fostering Caring Masculinities

Spanish National Report

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Universitat de Girona



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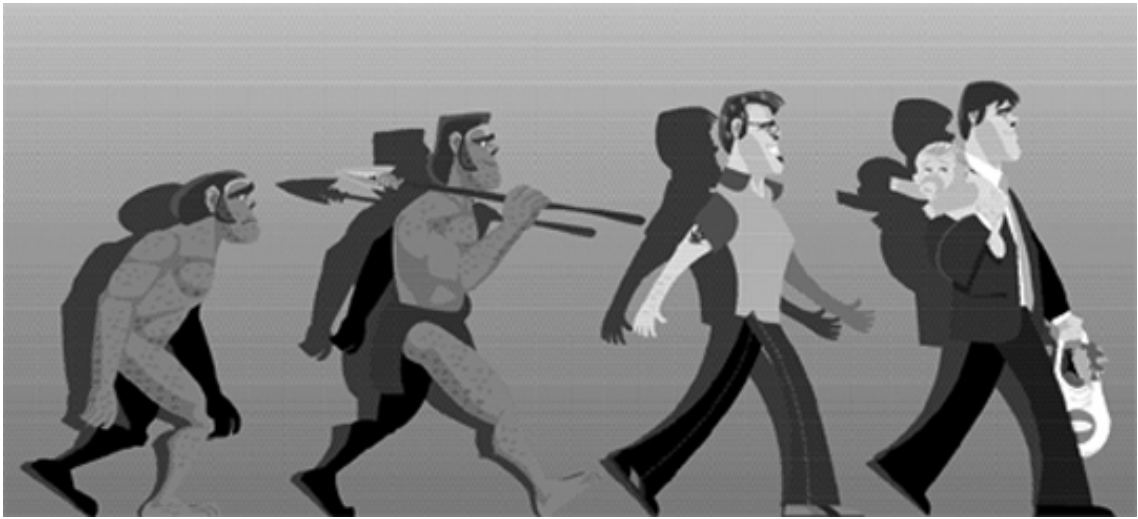
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Contents

1. INTRODUCTION	5
1.1. <i>WORK LIFE BALANCE</i>	5
1.2. <i>NATIONAL REPORTS</i>	6
1.3. <i>THE SPANISH REPORT</i>	6
2. LABOUR MARKET CONDITIONS	8
2.1. <i>LEGISLATION ON WORK CONDITIONS</i>	8
2.2. <i>LEGISLATION ON PARENTAL LEAVE AND CONCILIATION</i>	9
2.3. <i>EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS</i>	10
2.4. <i>STATISTICS ON MEN'S AND WOMEN'S SALARIES</i>	12
2.5. <i>STATISTICS ON LEADERSHIP</i>	12
2.6. <i>STATISTIC ON GENDER-SPECIFIC TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT</i>	13
2.7. <i>CONCILIATION BETWEEN PERSONAL/FAMILY AND WORK LIFE AND PATERNITY AND MATERNITY LEAVE</i>	14
2.8. <i>STATISTICS ON TIMETABLE FLEXIBILITY</i>	15
3. CONDITIONS OF THE NON LABOUR SPHERE	17
3.1. <i>LAWS CONCERNING THE FAMILY</i>	17
3.2. <i>STATISTICS ON REPRODUCTIVE ARRANGEMENTS</i>	17
3.3. <i>STATISTICS ON MEN AND WOMEN IN EDUCATION</i>	19
3.4. <i>STATISTICS ON CHILD CARE</i>	20
3.5. <i>STATISTICS ON TIME USE</i>	21
4. SELECTED ORGANISATIONS	23
4.1. <i>PRESENTATION OF THE ORGANISATIONS</i>	23
4.2. <i>KEY INFORMANTS</i>	25
5. INTERVIEW RESULTS	26
5.1. <i>WORK PLACE STUDY</i>	26
5.2. <i>FAMILY AND PRIVATE LIFE</i>	36
5.3. <i>EXISTING MEASURES WHICH FOSTER CARING MASCULINITIES</i>	41
5.4. <i>PROPOSED MEASURES FOR FOSTERING CARING MASCULINITIES</i>	43
5.5. <i>STRATEGIC PLAN ON GENDER IN COMPANIES</i>	45
6. GOOD PRACTICES	47
6.1. <i>RECOMMENDATIONS</i>	47
7. CONCLUSIONS	49
8. REFERENCES	52

1. Introduction

The project Fostering Caring Masculinities (FOCUS) aims to examine and improve men's opportunities for balancing work and private/family life in order to encourage the preparedness of men to take over caring tasks. To reach this goal the project focuses on companies' framework conditions to perceive and include men as actors and target groups in equality policies.

FOCUS is a project involving five countries: Germany (Dissens e.V.), Iceland (Centre for Gender Equality), Norway (The Equality and Anti-discrimination Ombud), Slovenia (Peace Institute) and Spain (University of Girona).

The project is funded through EU's Community Action programme to promote Gender equality between men and women. FOCUS is connected to one of the prioritised themes of the program, "the role of men in the promotion of gender equality, in particular the role of men and fathers in the reconciliation of work and private life". The project was initiated by the Norwegian Ministry for Children and Family Affairs which also co-funds the project.

1.1. Work life balance

According to Fiona Williams (2003) we should not ask ourselves how care and the needs for care are implemented in the work, but how work can be involved and implemented into care. This line of thinking, acting and implementing the work/life balance aims at family-friendly policies as well as at work policies enabling men and women to share responsibilities, caring and family life. In this regard traditional gender roles are challenged, which opens space for rethinking the concepts of men, women, femininity and masculinity. Moreover it changes the perception of caring as a gender-related burden and an undervalued activity in society. It enables us to think of it as beneficial for the public sphere.

Europe is currently characterised by a new type of work life where dual-career adaptations are more common along with increased requirements for flexibility. Responsibility for care is becoming the normal situation for working people. The stereotype of the husband as the main breadwinner is in decline in Europe and is gradually being replaced by ideals of active fathering and equal sharing of care responsibilities (Brandth and Kvande 2003, Holter 2003, Puchert et al. 2005).

At the same time Europe is facing huge demographic challenges, which make care an even more important topic. These challenges are related to family reconciliation and fertility, but also to health care and care for elderly people. It is neither desirable (from a gender-equality perspective) nor probable (from the perspective of ongoing changes) that care maintains the traditional female bias.

In some parts of Europe we can see positive changes among men: their private wishes, obligations and attitudes are undergoing great change, but work life is not keeping pace. Men still live in a state of preparedness for their jobs, women in a state of preparedness for the home (Lilleaas 2003). Hegemonic and traditional gender role models are still effective among men and women, in partnerships and, most of all, in the work sphere (Puchert et al. 2005).

EU-research (e.g.: Work Changes Gender, cf. Puchert et al. 2005) shows that male employees are more family- and care-oriented than earlier. However, development trends in the post-industrial society appear to support the fact that some groups of men still are attracted to the breadwinner model. Many men let their jobs take precedence over the rest

of their life. There are many reasons why men still linger in the sphere of work life. Men's strong identification with their work seems to be a cultural and symbolic solution that has its roots in traditional man's ideals where the father was the breadwinner. Men in general work more overtime compared to women. The breadwinner conduct can be understood as a structural phenomenon that is maintained in society and work life. The breadwinner model refers to deep-rooted masculinity and gender standards.

We have in this project chosen to focus on work life. In particular, we look at how work life affects men's opportunities to practise caring masculinities and examine ongoing shifts in men's work environment in Europe. We also focus on how the work environment interacts with changing masculinities and how this affects opportunities for gender equality. The project places emphasis on organisational cultures, and more specifically on the role of internal innovators in the process of gender changes.

Even though we start in the labour market and inside the companies, we see the work sphere and the private sphere as deeply inter-related. Changes in the labour market will necessarily affect the private sphere. This project aim to acquire more knowledge of what causes gender equality to remain only an ideal rather than something the managers put into action. With the intervening in companies and in the dialog with experts and innovators, the project aims to initiate change and encourage managers to move from an idealistic gender-equality discourse to a more action-oriented practice.

1.2. National reports

This report is one of five national reports. These national reports provide a brief introduction to the social conditions in each partner country before the analysis of the workplace studies.

Each of the five national partners has carried out qualitative workplace studies in two different companies, one private and one public. In these studies we have interviewed male employees and managers with emphasis on three main topics. These are their private lives, their experiences pertaining to work and their ideas concerning organisational measures for balancing work and private life.

The national reports describe the findings from those studies and suggest possible measures that can be developed on the organisational level within a company. The innovative aspect of this project is the most important one. Our main goal is to help provide good guidelines for what companies can do in this area.

In addition to the national reports there is a report on the European dimension of the project, written by adviser Mari Teigen at the Institute for Social Research in Oslo. This report compares the findings from the five national reports.

A website has been set up, where you will find more information on project partners, our final conference and links to the different reports. When the guidelines are developed, you will also find these posted online (www.caringmasculinities.org).

1.3. The Spanish report

"Do you really think this same visitor would have recognised the country thirty years later, during the first years of this first decade of the XXI century? This seems a lot less likely. A radical change has taken place since then in all spheres of life, from the economy to politics, as well as morals and customs. Perhaps the most appropriate way to express the magnitude of this change would be to say that ...it's

another country altogether. The change has been threefold: a) from a protected and poorly competitive economy to an open economy totally embedded in the double process of European integration and globalisation; b) from a national - catholic dictatorship to a liberal democracy; and c) from a semi-rural and backward society to a metropolitan and cosmopolitan one. What is left that the country can be recognised by, apart from its landscapes and cathedrals?"
(González, J.J.; Requena, M., 2005:11)

As these comments by González and Requena clearly demonstrate, Spain in the last 30 years has undergone a sweeping transformation in its social and economic structure. This change has affected all walks of life and no one would be surprised if we said that one of the main protagonists of this change have been Spanish women.

The most prominent factor has been women's involvement in public affairs even though this involvement goes hand in hand with strong inequalities (a higher unemployment rate and part time work, vertical and horizontal segregation of the labour market, wage discrimination, etc.).

On the other hand, as we shall see in section three, this process has hardly been accompanied by the incorporation of men into the private and family milieu. Not only have men kept away from sharing domestic chores and family obligations but it must also be noted that the majority of Spanish women work on full time contracts (unlike many of their European counterparts). If we add to this, the weakness of the Spanish welfare state, especially as regards public nursery facilities and family support policies (Navarro, 2006), then we find that women in Spain are overloaded with work and as a result have one of the lowest fertility rates in Europe.

Fortunately, this situation has changed in the last few years both at the private level of the family and as regards public policies as well. Furthermore, a number of research studies (Abril & Romero, 2005; Bonino, 2003; Llamas & Vidarte, 2001) have shown that Spanish men are also demanding a change in the traditional hegemonic model of masculinity, the "breadwinner model", and are demanding more flexibility on the part of companies and public support measures which will enable them to fulfil their wishes to become more active fathers.

A series of legal measures have been passed aimed at fomenting more caring men and reconciling working life with the family and personal sphere. Despite everything, and as we shall see in this report, both legislation and companies are lagging behind Spanish Society which is demanding more changes and steps towards a more egalitarian society in all spheres.

2. Labour Market conditions

The labour market in Spain has evolved along traditional lines, witnessing a gradual growth in industry and services at the expense of agriculture. Industry then stabilised and protagonism was taken over by the services sector. Industrial development reached a certain peak whereas services continued to grow not only at the expense of agriculture but also coinciding with loss of industry's share in the national economy.

The transition from dictatorship to democracy in Spain was accompanied by another challenge, that of creating employment (at the time Spain had both the lowest employment rate in Europe as well as the highest unemployment rate).

The problem was that job creation went hand in hand with a series of measures that were not compatible with it: industrial reconversion, the move away from agriculture, the mass entry onto the job market of the spouses of the baby-boomers of the sixties and the on mass entry of women into employment.

This brought on a problematic state of affairs that was to last for thirty years: unemployment and seasonal work. With regard to unemployment, the turn around came the nineties when it began to drop and it has continued to do so up to today, reaching similar employment levels to those of its European neighbours. As regards seasonal employment, the 33% figure is still very high although all the surveys show that it has become the most common form of employment for those entering the job market for the first time rather than a permanent phenomenon of job segmentation throughout a person's lifetime.

2.1. Legislation on work conditions

Any study into the evolution of the job market in Spain and labour legislation must start off by addressing the problem of the lack of employment that has been a chronic characteristic of the Spanish economy. From a historical viewpoint, few countries have been so conditioned by the state of employment when it comes to drawing up and implementing labour policies, giving priority to short term measures and partial reforms over structural strategies. We also need to take into account the great effort that was made within a short period of time to develop a Social Security system, especially as regards unemployment benefits (Rodríguez-Piñero, 2005)

The Statute of Workers' Rights was passed in 1980 at the height of the transition period towards democracy. The aim of the Statute was to set up a stable democratic system of labour relations based on a similar legal framework to those in other European countries.

The first labour reform bill was passed soon after, in 1984. Its main objective was to make the job market less rigid and facilitate seasonal contracts. It intended to make job market regulations less restrictive, especially as far as dismissal procedures were concerned, at least for workers with seasonal contracts.

The opening up of the Spanish economy was speeded up when it joined the European Economic Community and it forced the country to instigate a number of restructuring measures which led to a considerable loss of jobs. When this process had ended the job market had become even more flexible, especially as regards dismissals. This flexibility process was reinforced by a subsequent series of Spanish job market reforms in 1994, 1997 and 2006.

Consequently, on the whole, Spanish labour legislation has evolved towards a greater degree of flexibility. The objective of all the labour reform bills of the last decades has been

to increase the levels of flexibility in human resource management (Artiles, 1995). This loosening up of the job market is similar to the process that took place in other European countries. However, the model that was adopted in the Spanish State has certain characteristic features of its own.

One of these was the systematic use of seasonal contracts as an instrument for redundancies. This option has proved to be more of a problem than a solution in the long term. The seasonal nature of employment which mainly affects young people and women is one of the main problems faced by the Spanish labour market. The temporary employment rate is practically three times higher than the European average. The Spanish labour market is made up of 31.8% seasonal contracts as opposed to 12.8% in other European countries (UGT, 2005).

In fact, the primary objective of the latest labour reform bill in Spain was to reduce this high seasonal employment rate. The aim of the 'Agreement for growth and employment improvement' of May 9th 2006, signed by the different social agents, is to limit this high rate of seasonal employment and promote quality permanent contracts.

The quality employment issue has been on the political agenda in recent years. Consequently, other quality considerations have also been added to the struggle against seasonal employment, namely labour health, the duration of the working day, equality of opportunity and conciliation between work life and private life.

As far as legislation is concerned, this strive towards greater quality in employment led to the signing of two agreements in 1997 and 2006 to promote indefinite contracts, to regulations on seasonal work contracts in 1998, a bill on the prevention of accidents at work and work health, and the law of conciliation between work and family life passed in 1999.

More recently, a series of reforms have been passed concerning this matter, such as the Concilia scheme in 2005 on conciliation for civil servants and the Equality in Companies Bill in 2006, which will come into effect in 2007.

By way of summing up, we would like to point out that the aim of the reforms in the Spanish labour market and working conditions regulations has been on the one hand to ensure sufficient flexibility for companies whilst on the other hand seeking out ways of creating more jobs and improving job quality (Rodríguez-Piñero, 2001).

2.2. Legislation on parental leave and conciliation

Parental leave and other conciliation issues are regulated by the Statute of Workers' Rights, the Social Security Law and other specific bills such as LAW 39/1999 for the promotion of conciliation between work and family life and Real Decreto 1251/2001 which introduces new conciliation aspects.

The main innovation of this Law was that women could now pass on part of their maternity leave to their spouses. Consequently, according to the Law women have the right to 16 weeks of maternity leave on full pay. The first six weeks after childbirth are compulsory for the mother whereas the rest can be passed on or shared with her spouse. As regards men, the Statute of Workers' Rights of 1980 gave men 2 days off for paternity leave.

The difficulties faced by workers in Spain in reconciling their private/family life with work life have in recent years led to a series of new laws and measures which address this state of affairs.

Hence, the Concilia Law was passed in 2006, aimed at improving the conciliation conditions of workers in the Civil Service. This law affects approximately 18% of salary earners (EPA, IV Term 2005), and its main innovation was the introduction of 10 days of paternity leave for men, which are also non-transferable. This is a significant event, because, even though it is insufficient, it is a clear step towards fostering caring masculinities.

Another of the key aspects that this Law deals with are work timetables, one of the biggest obstacles to conciliation in Spain. This law intends to provide more flexibility in organising the work day and it stipulates that the work day must not go on after six in the afternoon.

According to the new law worker can now ask for a shorter work day in order to take care of a child up to the age of 12 (it used to be up to the age of 6).

For all workers, The Equality Law will come into effect on January 1st 2007. This Law introduces a series of work, political and social measures aimed at preventing discrimination. It acknowledges the workers' right to reconcile their personal and work life, promotes a greater degree of co responsibility between women and men in taking on family obligations and has laid down measures in order to prevent sexual harassment at work. The Law introduces equal representation of women and men in all areas of Public Administration and proposes equal gender representation on election ballots. It also urges large companies to open up their Management Boards to more women. After pressure from company managers, the initial 4 year deadline for companies to have 40% female representation on their Management Boards was extended to 8 years.

Another key feature of this Law is the 8 day paternity leave which, along with the already existing 2 day leave, effectively extends paternity leave to 10 days. This leave is personal and non-transferable and men can ask for it when their child is born. There have also been improvements concerning child care leave (for pension purposes the first two years count like regular years at work).

Finally, it should be pointed out that some Autonomous Communities have drawn up their own conciliation laws which improve on existing state-wide legislation. In Catalonia, for example, we have Law 6/2002 on conciliation conditions for Public Administration workers. This law, among other things, enables workers to reduce their work day by 1/3 with full salary until the child is one year of age.

Another important step forward was the Law on personal/family and work life conciliation measures for workers in the Catalan Public Administration, passed on June 22nd 2006. These measures include a 4 week paternity leave for fathers working in public organisations.

2.3. Employment statistics

2.3.1. Total employment rate: of working age, employed, unemployed

Despite changes and progress in equality issues in the last 25 years, Spain is among the European countries where strong differences still exist in the labour market between men and women.

We can see these differences in Table 1, which sums up the main employment data for the Spanish labour market. For example, women account for 51% of the population over 16

years of age, and they still make up 64.2% of the non employed population (EPA, IV Term 2005). In other words, household chores, without any kind of remuneration continue to be the main activity for many women.

Men account for 60% of employed persons and women for 40%. Activity rates are also higher for men, 68.8%, and 46.4% for women. Female unemployment rates are higher, 11.7%, compared to 6.7% for men. Women are therefore over-represented in unemployment.

Table 1: Spanish population between 16 and 64 or over by gender in relation to economic activity (in %)

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). Encuesta Población Activa (EPA). IV Term 2005

	Men	Women
Not working	35.8	64.2
Working	60.0	40.0
Unemployed	45.1	54.9
Activity rate (16-64)	68.8	46.4
Unemployment rate (16-64)	6.7	11.7

2.3.2. Employment and the full and half working day

The average number of hours worked by persons in employment is 39.4 hours a week. 42.1 for men and 35.5 hours for women. Self employed workers (45 hours) and private sector workers (39 hours) are those who work the most hours. Workers in the public sector work the fewest hours, averaging 36.1 hours a week (EPA, IV Term 2005).

88% of all people in employment over the same period were working a full time work day and only 12% were working half-day or part time. Spain is one of the European countries where this type of working day is not a very common phenomenon.

Only 4.4% of men in employment are on a part time working day whereas the percentage for women rises to 23.3% as can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2: People in employment by gender and type of working day (in %)

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). Encuesta Población Activa (EPA). IV Term 2005

	Both genders	Men	Women
Full time work day	88	95.6	76.7
Part time work day	12	4.4	23.3

Women's prominent presence in the part time work day in Europe is usually attributed to the fact that it is the favourite option of women. Part time work allows them to combine their work activities with housework and the family. In Spain there are other explanations for this phenomenon (Torns 1997).

Hence, the part time work day is more common in women, in unqualified women workers or women working in restaurants and shops, whereas men who are on a half day work timetable in most cases tend to be in more qualified jobs such as freelance professionals.

In addition, 31.5% of Spanish men and women who work part time say that their main reason for doing so is that they cannot find a full day job. This reason is proportionally greater for women than for men.

For men, the reasons for being on this type of work day are that they are combining their work time with education or training sessions (27%), that they do not want a full-day job (9%) or an illness or disability which does not allow them to work longer hours (3.1%). For women however, the main reasons have to do with caring and looking after others, such as

childcare (17.3%), ill adults, people with disabilities or other family or personal obligations (13.1%) or that they do not want a full working day (11.1%). (EPA, IV Term 2005).

2.3.3. Overtime

As shown in Table 3, 8.3% of salary earners do overtime; 10% of them are men and 6% are women.

Table 3: Salary earners according to whether they do overtime or not by gender (in %)

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). Encuesta Población Activa (EPA). EPA. IV Term 2005

	Both genders	Men	Women
Who do not do overtime	91.7	90	94
Who do overtime	8.3	10	6

In a recent study, for the 53.2% of the interviewed the reason for doing overtime is a heavy work load. 15.7% point out that it is required of them by the company whereas 11% state that they do overtime for economic reasons (CIS, May 2005 barometer).

2.4. Statistics on men's and women's salaries

The latest data on salary differences in Spain come from the Encuesta de Estructura Salarial (EES) (Salary Structure Survey) brought out in 2002. According to this survey (see Table 5), a man's average annual salary is 40.6% higher than a woman's. On average, men earn 22,169 euros gross per annum, whereas women earn 15,767. Men's salaries outdo women's in all sectors and all professions. There are fewer differences in the construction sector because there are few women and they usually occupy intermediate and higher positions, (INE,2004)

Table 5: Gross annual salary by gender and economic activity

Source: INE. Encuesta de Estructura Salarial 2002

	Thousands of euros		%
	Men	Women	salary difference
Industry	23.19	16.35	41.8
Construction	17.24	14.99	15
Services	23.25	15.66	48.4
Total	22.16	15.76	40.6

Furthermore, the INE data show that higher training does not reduce salary inequalities. According to these statistics, which relate salary level with level of training (even though it doesn't correspond with their current job), male university graduates, engineers and doctors earn an average of 38,691 euros per annum whereas women with the same qualifications earn 25,629. Men earn 51% more than women. In the university graduates bracket men earn 45.4% more than women. From then on, salary differences increase as the level of training level decreases. The greatest gap is between people without studies. In this group men earn 14,834 euros, 75.1% more than women (8,472 euros).

2.5. Statistics on leadership

2.5.1. Statistics on men and women leaders

According to 2005 data brought out by the Instituto de la Mujer (Women's Institute), women in Spain are still not sufficiently represented in leadership positions in the main spheres of social, economic and political life. Women make up approximately half the population whereas only 36% of national parliamentary deputies, 27.3% of municipal counsellors, 35% of university teachers, 29% of company managers and 31% of high positions in the Administration are women.

In certain sectors such as the principal economic institutions women are very poorly represented. In 2005, only 2.3% of the presidents of official Chambers of Commerce, industry and navigation were women. Only 14.3% of advisers in the Bank of Spain in 2004 were women. On the other hand, women are most represented in the judicial system. In 2004, 48.8 % of prosecutors, 63.6% of judges and 37.7% of magistrates were women. However in the Supreme Court only 1% were women (Instituto de la Mujer, 2005).

On a political level there has been parity in the government of Spain since 2004. Eight of the 16 ministers are women. Despite this will to set up an egalitarian government, female ministers basically hold social-cultural portfolios or are in charge of infrastructures. (See Table 6)

Table 6: Ministries according to areas of activity and percentage of women

Source: Instituto de la Mujer based on data from the Ministerio de Administración Pública. 2004

	Both genders	% of women
Ministers	16	50
Basic functions ¹	6	16.6
Economic functions	3	33.3
Infrastructure	3	100
Social-cultural functions	4	75

2.5.2. Statistics on male and female members of company boards

Only 50 out of 1,296 seats on the management boards of companies that trade on the stock exchange are held by women. This amounts to 3.86%. In other words, for each female board member there are 25 male colleagues. This state of affairs does not improve in larger companies, companies on the Ibex 35 stock market index. Only 16 out of 508 board members or 3.9% are women according to 2005 data from the Comisión Nacional del Mercado de Valores (National Stock Exchange Commission). Companies usually point to the current state of Spanish society in an attempt to account for the lack of women on company boards. The average age of company board members is 57.

The Equality Law which will come into effect on January 1st 2007 aims to remedy this situation. The aim is that in eight years time 40% of company boards will be made up of women board members. The companies that achieve this will be given priority when it comes to public contracts. The law intends to increase the presence of women on company management boards. There are very few women on the board of directors of the country's 35 most important companies. Only 5.4% of board presidents are women, 2.5% are vice-presidents and 2.8% are management board members.

2.6. Statistic on gender-specific types of employment

Working women are mainly employed in the services sector where 52% of all workers are women as opposed to 48% men. In agriculture women account for 27.7% of the workforce and 25% of the workforce in industry. The sector that employs the smallest percentage of women is the construction sector, only 5% (EPA, IV Term 2005).

Table 7 outlines existing gender differences in different fields of activity. Thus, we see that there are more women in education (65% as opposed to 35% men), in healthcare, veterinarians, social services (74% as opposed to 26% men); whereas there are more men

¹ The basic areas are: Public Administration, Defence, Justice, Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, the Ministry of the Interior, the Presidency and the Prime minister's office that has no ministers (the prime minister). Economic functions: Economy and Taxation, Industry, Tourism and Commerce, Agriculture, Fishing and Food. Infrastructures: Public Works, Environment and Housing. Social cultural functions: Employment and Social Affairs, Education and Science, Health and Consumption, Culture.

in more technical occupations and in production, such as the manufacturing industry (74.4%), energy production (81.7%), transport (78.5%), etc.

Table 7: People in employment by gender and type of activity (in %)

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). Encuesta Población Activa (EPA). IV Term 2005.

	Men	Women
Total number of employed people	60	40
Agriculture, livestock, hunting and silviculture	72	28
Fishing	76	24
Extraction industries	88	12
Manufacturing industries	74.4	25.6
Electrical power, gas and water production & distribution	81.7	18.3
Construction	95	5
Commerce	52.2	47.8
Hostelry	46.3	53.7
Transport, warehousing and communications	78.5	21.5
Financial brokers	54	46
Real state activities, company services	50.4	49.6
Public Adm. defence and compulsory social security	61.3	38.7
Education	35	65
Healthcare and veterinary activities, social work	26	74
Other social activities and personal services	48	52
Household activities	9	91
Extra-territorial bodies	62	38

2.7. Conciliation between personal/family and work life and paternity and maternity leave

2.7.1. Rights concerning leave from work

The rights to leave from work are stipulated in different laws and measures which we commented on in section 2.2 concerning legislation on paternal leave and conciliation. What follows is a summary of the main forms of leave that are currently in force. However, it should be pointed out once more that as of 2007 working men will have ten days of paternity leave whereas men in the Catalan Public Administration will have four weeks.

Maternity/ paternity leave:

- If a working mother has completed 180 days of social security contributions in the last 5 years she has a right to 6 weeks compulsory Social Security maternity leave in order to recover from childbirth and 10 more weeks to take care of the baby, and will receive 100% of her salary over this entire period. This right is regardless of the employment situation of the father. Notwithstanding, if the father is currently employed and has paid the same number of contributions, the mother can opt to transfer any part of the 10 week period to him (with his consent).
- The father does not have a right *of his own*, to any Social Security benefits. Such a right is solely derived from the mother and optional. The only right of his own that the father has is that of 2 days leave from his work (Statute of Workers Rights).

Shorter work day for family reasons:

- Female workers who are breastfeeding a less than 9 month old child have the right to one hour of leave a day. This leave can be taken either by the mother or by the father if they are working.
- Legal guardians who are in charge of the direct care of a child under six years of age or a person with physical, psychological or sensorial disabilities, who is not in paid

employment, have the right to a shorter work day and their salary will be reduced proportionally between at least a third and at the most a half of its duration.

- The same right is granted to those who are directly in charge of looking after a family member, up to the second degree or through affinity, who due to age, accident or illness cannot take care of themselves and are not in paid employment.

Unpaid leave to care for a family member:

- Workers shall have the right to a period of leave, the duration of which shall not exceed three years, in order to care for each of their children, whether they be their natural issue or adopted.
- Workers shall also have the right to a period of leave, which shall not exceed one year, unless a longer duration period is agreed upon through collective bargaining, to care for a family member, who due to age, accident or illness cannot take care of themselves and is not in paid employment.

2.7.2. Use of conciliation measures and leave

As we pointed out in the previous section, the mother is the holder of the right to maternity leave, except for the two days set down in the Statute of Workers Rights, until the Equality Law comes into effect on January 1st 2007. Therefore, men currently only have the right to paternity leave (a maximum of 10 weeks) if their spouse consents to transfer it to them.

Hence, in Table 8 we can see that the percentage of fathers who have made use of paternity leave is very low and that it is rising little by little, from 1% of men in 2000 to 1.8% in 2005.

Table 8: Maternity/Paternity leave (in %)
Source: Instituto nacional de la Seguridad Social (INE)

Year	Maternity/ paternity leave:	
	Fathers	Mothers
2000	1	99
2001	1.4	98.6
2002	1.5	98.5
2003	1.6	98.4
2004	1.7	98.3
2005	1.8	98.2

As regards leave to look after and care for children, according to National Social Security Institute data, in 2003, 96.3% of these leave applications were by the mother and only 3.7% by the father.

2.8. Statistics on timetable flexibility

According to the EPA Conciliation Module of May 2006, 52.5% of employed people aged 16 to 64 can change the times they start and finish work for family reasons. Another 16.7% can do so under special circumstances.

Furthermore, 46% of employed people can organise their work life and take days off for family reasons. Another 18% can do so in special circumstances and for 28% this is not possible.

79% of employed people are paid for the free time taken off due to an emergency or illness of a family member.

As far as the type of working day is concerned, Table 9 shows that the majority of workers, 47.9%, have a split morning - afternoon timetable. 25.4% of workers have a continuous morning timetable.

Table 9: Employed people's regular work timetable (in %)

Source: Barómetro Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, CIS. May 2005.

Type of work day	Workers
Split timetable (morning – afternoon)	47.9
Continuous timetable (fixed morning)	25.4
Continuous timetable (fixed afternoon)	5.5
Continuous timetable (fixed night)	2.4
Shift work , morning/afternoon	6.0
Shift work , morning/afternoon/night	5.5
Shift work , other types	1.6
Others	5.3
N.A.	0.4

According to this barometer survey, 67.4% of employed people prefer the continuous timetable whereas 19.2% would prefer a split morning – afternoon timetable.

Finally, as regards flexibility measures, very few companies in Spain have adopted them. For example, only 9.5% of large companies state that they allow for the same work position to be shared, i.e. two workers working half day sharing the same full day position. In practice however, only 0.7% of companies offer their employees this option. 21% of large and medium sized companies also state that they are ready for online work from home. In practice however, only 4% of companies offer their employees this option (Plantenga & Remery, 2005).

3. Conditions of the non labour sphere

3.1. Laws concerning the family

Apart from Law 39/1999 for the promotion of family and work life, other bills have been passed concerning the family such as Real Decreto 1251/2001, on Social Security payments for maternity and risk during pregnancy.

Among other matters, the Real Decreto sets down that the leave period due to maternity, adoption and fostering can be taken by workers working part time, which means that this subsidy is compatible with work activity without altering the type of contract. The aim here is to prevent maternity from becoming an obstacle in the professional career of women.

Another law concerning the Family is the Social Security Law which regulates subsidies for dependent children. The law assigns an economic subsidy for every under-18 year old child in the custody of the beneficiary or a child over that age with a degree of disability equal to or above 65%. These subsidies amount to 291 euros a year. These amounts are higher for children with disabilities.

The Real Decreto 1368/2000 increases these subsidies and grants a sole payment of 450.76 euros for each child born from the third child onwards. In addition, it provides a subsidy to families which have had a multiple birth.

Finally, there are laws concerning families with many children, Law 40/2003 and Real Decreto 1621/2005 that offer social benefits and priority access to certain public as well as general services, housing and tax rebates.

3.1.1. The rights of fathers and mothers following the birth of a child

The rights of fathers and mothers following the birth of a child as far as time off and leave are concerned are set down in the Statute of Workers' Rights, in Law 39/1999 on conciliation and in later Decrees. Their rights to subsidies and benefits have already been discussed in the section above.

In addition to these rights, working mothers with children under 3 years of age are eligible for a discount on their personal income tax withholdings (IRPF) to the sum of 100 euros a month. It should be pointed out however, that there is current political debate on whether this deduction should be extended to all mothers whether they are in paid employment or not.

Furthermore, some Autonomous Communities provide their own resources and grants to families. In Catalonia for example, there is a universal subsidy for all mothers regardless of whether they are employed or not. This subsidy is 600 euros per annum, for families with children under the age of 3. In the case of large families or single parent families this sum goes up to 700 euros and the age limit of the children in order to be eligible for the subsidy is 6.

3.2. Statistics on reproductive arrangements

Demographically Spain has gradually converged with European Union countries. The process can be summed up as follows: low fertility with tendency to increase, fewer marriages, marriage is put off until maternity, more cohabitation of couples, higher divorce rates, an increase in reproduction outside the couple, new models of families and the

adoption of non family type living strategies over increasingly longer periods of ones life. The main protagonists of these changes have been women, who have led this change dragging men along with them.

3.2.1. The fertility rate

Fertility in Spain has continued to drop since 1970 from 2.8 children per woman of childbearing age in 1975 to 1.34 in 2005. This value of 1.34 is the highest since 1993 (See table 10).

Table 10: Average number of children / per woman

Source: Basic Demographic Indicators. INE

Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Total	1.16	1.20	1.24	1.25	1.27	1.31	1.33	1.34

The total increase in births is partly due to the fertility of immigrant mothers and this trend is on the increase. Children born to immigrant mothers made up 15% of the total number of births in 2005 as opposed to 13.8% in 2004 and 12.2% in 2003 (INE, 2006).

3.2.2. The average age of mothers at the birth of their first child

The average age of mothers at the time of birth of their first child is the highest in Europe. In 2004 it was 30.86 years of age. (See Table 11)

Table 11: Average age at maternity (first child)

Source: Basic Demographic Indicators. INE

Year	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total	30.66	30.72	30.75	30.79	30.84	30.86

The CIS January 2004 opinion survey offers us some explanations for this increase in the average maternity age and low fertility in Spain. What stands out most is that the majority of people think that they have fewer children than they would like (61.1%), as opposed to (30.6%) who state that they have the number of children they want.

The main reasons for having fewer children than they would like are economic cost (67.3%) and the fact that the mother works outside the home (42.3%). For women it is the lack of sufficient income (37.7%) and the difficulties in combining children with work (25.1%) which prevents them from having the number of children they would like.

3.2.3. Marriages

In 2005, according to the INE, there were 209,125 registered marriages; in other words 7,024 fewer than the previous year. The gross marriage rate (the number of marriages per 1,000 inhabitants) dropped to 4.82 as opposed to 5.06 in 2004.

Since the 1970's the age at which people first get married has risen. In the case of men it has gone up from 26.8 years in 1975 to 31.2 years in 2004. For women it has risen from 24.2 to 29,1 over the same period. This delaying of the age of marriage is largely due to the difficulties young people have in finding work and buying or renting a home.

As of July 3rd 2005, Law 13/2005, of July 1st entered into effect. This law amended the Civil Code extending the right to marry to same sex couples. According to the Justice Ministry and the Federation of Lesbians, Gays and Transsexuals, since a year ago when the law was passed there have been 4,500 marriages of homosexual couples, three have filed for a divorce and 50 have started adoption procedures.

3.2.4. Divorce

The Divorce Law in Spain was passed in 1981. Since then there has been a gradual rise in the number of divorces. According to the National Statistics Institute (INE), there were 37,571 divorces in Spain in 2001 which means that there are 18.2 divorces for every 100 marriages.

The so called "swift divorce law" took effect in July 2005. The law did away with the prior separation phase and now all that is needed is mutual consent of the spouses to end their marriage, on condition that they have been married for at least three months. This new law has led to an increase in divorces with regard to 2004.

3.2.5. Same sex couples

Various studies have estimated that 5% to 10% of the population is homosexual. If this is correct, there must be between 2 to 4 million people in Spain with this sexual orientation.

However, official data and statistics give much lower estimates. For the first time in 2001, the Population Census collected data on same sex couples. According to the census there were 10,474 same sex couples. There were practically 2 male couples (6,996) for every female couple (3,478).

3.2.6. Number of children living with both of their biological parents

There are no data in Spain on the number of children living with both of their biological parents. The INE 2001 Population and Housing Census did not collect data on biological or non biological parenthood.

Table 12: Types of households

Source: INE. Encuesta Continua de Presupuestos Familiares. II Term 2004

	Households	%
Total	14,398,816	100
Person living alone under the age of 65	830,719	5.8
Person living alone aged 65 or over	1,228,834	8.5
Couple with children	2,975,400	20.7
Couple with 1 child	2,691,286	18.6
Couple with 2 children	3,092,283	21.5
Couple with 3 or more children	886,305	6.1
One adult with children	980,353	6.8
Another type of household	1,713,636	12

We do however have data on the composition of Spanish households. As we can see in Table 12, the majority of Spanish households consist of a couple and two children (21.5%), couples without children (20.7%), couples with one child (18.6%). One significant piece of data shows that new family models are on the rise in Spain and that is the increase in single parent households (6.8%) and single person households under the age of 65 (5.8%) and over 65 (8.5%).

3.2.7. Studies on child custody

As a rule, in Spain guardianship and custody of minors is usually granted to the mother. With this in mind, according to the Unión de Separados (Committee of Separated people) in 95% of separation or divorce cases custody of the children is granted to the mother.

3.3. Statistics on men and women in education

As in other European countries, women in Spain are not only catching up with men but even surpassing them in the educational levels they attain. Thus 71.9% of women aged 20

to 24 have finished secondary school whereas only 58.2% of men of the same age have done so. In addition, the level of Spanish women is closer to their European counterparts. They are only 4 points under the EU 15 average whereas Spanish men are almost thirteen points below European men. (Eurostat, 2002).

Consequently a higher percentage of women have completed their studies in both secondary and tertiary education, with the exception of doctorate studies where women only account for 34.7% (EPA, IV Term 2005).

However, despite the greater presence of women at University, they are still poorly represented in technical subjects, as can be seen in Table 13.

Table 13: Students who finished their university studies in 2003 by gender and field of studies (in %)

Source: INE. Statistics on University Education in Spain. Academic year 2002-2003

	Men	Women
Experimental Sciences	38.9	61.1
Health Studies	24.7	75.3
Social and Legal Studies	32.8	67.2
Humanities	33.5	66.5
Technical Studies	71	29
Total	40.5	59.5

3.4. Statistics on child care

According to EPA Conciliation Module data of May 2006, 34.9% of employed people aged 16 to 64 with at least one child below 15 years of age entrust the care of their child to their spouse. Furthermore, 25.8% do not use outside assistance to care for their children, whereas 20.7% make use of specialist services and 17.9% ask for help from relatives, neighbours or friends. This last piece of data is significant because, given the lack of public nursery facilities, especially for children under 3 years of age, many mothers and fathers entrust the care of their children to their close relatives.

By gender, 50.1% of men entrust the care of their children to their wife. On the other hand, only 11.7% of women entrust the care of their children to their husband.

What's more, 11.5% of working people with children under 14 years of age take days off work to look after their children during special situations (school holidays, when childcare centres are closed or when the person who takes care of the children is on holidays). By gender, 15.4% of working women with at least one child have to take days off work in these special situations as opposed to 8.9% of working men.

Table 14: Working people with children aged 12 or under in their charge, which person looks after their offspring outside of their work time, by gender. (in %)

Source: Quality of life at work survey 2004. Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs

	Men	Women
Mainly I	2.5	33.8
I share childcare with my spouse	56.6	44.0
Mainly my spouse	24.4	2.6
Mainly another person from the household/family	1.6	4.1
Mainly another person outside the household/family who is paid	1.0	1.6
Doesn't know/Doesn't Answer	14.0	13.9

As regards childcare outside of work time, Table 14 shows that only 2.5% of men are the ones mainly responsible for looking after their offspring whereas in the case of women this percentage goes up to 33.8%.

3.4.1. Childcare coverage rates in general (both public and private services)

Infants' education in Spain is from 0 to 6 years of age, the age at which children enter compulsory education. This period is structured into two cycles, the first cycle is until the age of 3 and the second until the age of 6.

Net schooling rates are very low during the first years of a child's life. Only 2.9% under the age of one are schooled. At the age of one this percentage rises to 11.9%, at age two it goes up to 24.4% and at three it rises to 95.9%. From the age of four onwards almost all children are at school (Education and Science Ministry, 2005). All the surveys in this area show that there is a large shortage of places in public nurseries for the 0-3 age group. In other words, the demand from families is far greater than public supply. This means that close relatives, or grandparents are usually called upon to make up for this shortage.

As we can see in Table 15, there has been a gradual increase in the schooling rate since the 1992-93 school year (45.7%) which reached 95.9% in the 2003-04 school year. At the same time, the average number of years children spend in Infant Education (0-6 years) rose from 2.6 in the school year 1992-93 to 3.4 years in 2003-04.

Table 15: Net schooling rates at the age of 3 and the average number of years spent in Infants Education

Source: Statistics on non university level education in Spain. Education and Science Ministry

	School year		
	1992-93	1997-98	2003-04
Schooling rate at the age of 3	45.7	72.5	95.9
Average number of years spent in Infant Education (0-6 years)	2.6	2.9	3.4

As regards the type of centre, in the year 2003-2004, 59.3% of children received schooling in a private centre compared with 40.7 who did so in a state run centre. However, if we take into account the entire Infant education period right up to 6 years of age, 65% of children receive schooling in state centres compared with 35% who do so in private centres (Education and Science Ministry 2005).

3.5. Statistics on time use

3.5.1. Work time, family time and leisure. Differences between men and women

As we can see in Table 16, the total number of hours worked per day is greater for women than for men, if we take both paid work and domestic work into account. Women work 7:21 hours compared to 6:16 hours worked by men.

Men devote more time to paid work (4:39 hours), whereas women do so to domestic tasks (4:55 hours). In addition, men have practically one hour more free time than women do.

Table 16: Time use in men and women aged 20-27. Hours and minutes per day

Source: Eurostat, *Statistic in Focus, Population and Social Conditions*, 4/2006, "How is the time of women and men distributed in Europe?"

	Men	Women
Paid work (Work/studies)	4:39	2:26
Domestic work	1:37	4:55
Total Work	6:16	7:21
Meals and personal grooming	2:35	2:33
Free time	5:17	4:29

Table 17 shows figures for working men and women according to their responsibility in domestic tasks and their spouse's work status. We can see here that women, regardless of

whether their spouse works or not, are mainly the ones who do domestic tasks. Around 50% of working women do the housework as opposed to just 2% of working men who are solely responsible for domestic tasks.

Table 17: Working people according to their responsibility in domestic tasks and the work status of their spouse, by gender. Percentage

Source: INE. Quality of Life at Work Survey (ECTV) 2004

	Men		Women	
	Whose spouse works	Whose spouse doesn't work	Whose spouse works	Whose spouse doesn't work
Mainly by themselves	2	1.7	48.7	50
They share the housework with their spouse	51.5	20.2	32.3	23.6
They share with another person	7.6	3	13.4	16
Mainly their spouse	30.7	69.4	0.9	8.5
Another person	6.8	4.6	4.2	1.8

Table 18: Division in domestic work between men and women aged 20-74 (in %)

Source: Eurostat, *Statistic in Focus, Population and Social Conditions*, 4/2006, "How is the time of women and men distributed in Europe?".

	Men	Women
Preparing food	20	27
Washing dishes	4	10
Cleaning	13	21
Washing clothes, ironing	1	11
Gardening	9	1
DIY	6	0
Shopping	20	12
Looking after the child/ren	13	10
Other domestic work	14	8
Total domestic work	100	100

Table 18 shows that the main domestic tasks done by women are preparing meals and house cleaning, clothes and maintenance activities. Men on the other hand spend more time in gardening, shopping and DIY.

As you can see from this general overview of Spanish society, despite improvements, certain gender inequalities persist (labour market, private sphere). As we shall see in the next section which looks at the survey results on two organisations, Spanish society seems to demand more institutional measures to accompany the change that people are already beginning to make in their private lives. Thus, as we shall see, there are many men who want to spend more time with their children and who consider that the current 2-day paternity leave or even the 10-day leave proposed in the new law is not enough.

4. Selected organisations

This section deals with the second part of our report on Spain. In this section we studied two companies, a public company and a private one, chosen because of their gender policies and policies which facilitate conciliation between personal, family and work life.

Our analysis is based on a series of interviews carried out with managers and workers in both organisations concerning work life, leadership and culture inside companies. We also dealt with aspects of the interviewees' private lives such as their family life and talked about the strategies they have in order to conciliate work and family.

At the end of this report we shall look at measures which foster caring masculinities inside organisations and put forward a series of recommendations in this respect.

4.1. Presentation of the organisations

In keeping with the methodological criteria of this research, we chose a state organisation and a private one which stand out for their flexibility, measures of conciliation between personal, family and work life as well as other measures that may foster caring masculinities.

The public organisation we chose was *Servicios Centrales del Departamento de Educación de la Generalitat de Catalunya* (hereinunder *Central Services of the Department of Education of Catalonia*) located in the city of Barcelona.

This organisation and all the Catalan public administration are ruled by *Law 6/2002* concerning conciliation measures between personal, family and work life. The measures set down in this law make it one of the most advanced in the Spanish State.

The main tenets of the law are:

- A 1/3 reduction in the working day with 100% paid salary until the child reaches the age of one (for mothers and fathers)
- The possibility of a 1/3 reduction in the working day until the child reaches the age of 6 with 80% of paid salary.
- Days off work for personal reasons (up to 9 days for personal matters).
- Flexible starting and finishing times (half an hour leeway).
- Employees can opt for a continuous work timetable (from 8:00 am to 15:00 pm plus one afternoon a week). 75% of the workforce are on this timetable.

Furthermore, the Administration passed a new conciliation law on June 22nd 2006 in order to address the reconciliation problems of its employees. This law has introduced certain changes, i.e. it has extended the one third reduction in the working day to a whole year regardless of whether the child is one year old or older. It has also extended the age of the child to 12 years in the case of a reduction in the working day. But, undoubtedly the most innovative measure from the point of view of fostering caring masculinities is that fathers are granted 4 weeks of paid paternity leave, which cannot be transferred to the mother.

The private organisation we chose was *MRW*. This company is well known for its personal/family and work life conciliation measures and incentives. According to data from a study by *IESE*, one in every four private Spanish firms says that it has some kind of personal/family and work life conciliation scheme. *MRW* falls within this group of companies (*Chinchilla, 2005*).

Some of the family support and social benefits programmes this company has introduced are:

- 100 euros a month subsidy for the nursery fees of employees' children below the age of three.
- A 3,000 euros bonus for employees who adopt a child
- 30 minutes a day beyond what is set down by law (1 hour a day) for breastfeeding leave.
- Employees can opt for a continuous work timetable and have two options: 8:00 am - 16:00 pm or 9:00 am – 17:00 pm. 90% of the workforce are on a continuous timetable.
- Facilities for hiring people with disabilities. 12% of the workforce have some kind of disability.
- 1% of company profits go to social programmes
- The company takes part in initiatives for equality of opportunity between men and women such as the *Óptima* and *PI (Pioneros por la Igualdad)* programmes.

We shall now go on to look at these two organisations in more detail.

4.1.1. Department of Education of the Generalitat de Catalunya

The Department of Education oversees the entire educational community of Catalonia except for university education. As it states on its website, one of its objectives is "to ensure the proper functioning of the education system and introduce improvements which facilitate adaptation to the constant changes that are taking place in society".

The Department of Education employs more workers than any other section of the Catalan Public Administration. On December 31st 2005 there were 60,816 workers in the department, comprised of teachers and administrative and services personnel. It employs about 44% of the total number of Catalan public administration employees.

The majority of the Department's employees are teaching staff, more specifically 55,117, whereas 3,833 are administrative and services personnel in the school centres and 1,866 are personnel in its central and regional services.

Women make up 72% of the Department of Education's workforce and men 28%.

In this survey we focused on the Department of Education's headquarters in Vía Augusta in Barcelona, which is where the Central Services are located. The headquarters are responsible for drawing up guidelines for the Catalan education system along with planning and management. 661 people work here. 69% of them are women.

In March 2006 we interviewed 6 people, four of whom were workers and the other two were managers. The informants were selected by the management based on our survey criteria; in other words, the workers were fathers who had made use of conciliation measures offered by the company.

4.1.2. MRW

MRW is a family firm that was set up in 1977. It offers courier and goods transport services. It is a Spanish capital firm which has grown rapidly in the last decade. Its scope of operations is inside the Iberian Peninsula. Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar and Andorra.

The company functions as a network interconnected by two central hubs (the airport zones of Barcelona and Madrid), 39 interchange points all over the Peninsula as well as a network of 754 franchise outlets. On December 31st 2005 the company hired 449 employees in its own centres. Of these, 257 or 57% were men.

We carried out our interviews at the Barcelona and Madrid headquarters in May 2006. Interviewees were selected by the company based on the survey criteria.

4.2. Key informants

We carried out a total of twelve interviews, six with each organisation. Four of the interviewees held a management position, two in each organisation, and eight were employees in middle positions and/or administrative and services personnel.

The average age of interviewees in the Central Services of the Department of Education was 40. The average age of the managers we interviewed was 50 and that of the rest of the workers was 35.

In MRW the average age of interviewees was 38 and there was hardly any age difference between managers and workers. The average age in this private company is quite young. The majority of workers joined the company at a very early age in the nineties coinciding with the expansion of the company.

In the Central Services headquarters, interviewees had been with the organisation for an average of almost 17 years whereas in MRW the average was only 9 years.

The average number of years in their current work post was greater for the Department of Education interviewees than it was in MRW. In the former it was 8 years on average and almost 11 for managers. In the later it was less than 2 years and almost 3 years for managers.

The majority of interviewees were white collar workers with a very high educational level. One held a doctorate, eight had university degrees and three had secondary school qualifications. The education level at the Central Services headquarters is very high.

All interviewees were married, their spouses/ wives were slightly younger than them on average.

The education level of interviewees' spouses was also generally high. They generally had university qualifications especially the spouses of the Central Services interviewees.

Interviewees' spouses mainly work in administrative work, nursing, commerce and education. Only two of the spouses hold a management position: one is a business woman and the other is a finance manager.

The average gross annual salary of interviewees was 32,066 euros whereas that of their spouses was 25,666 euros. Only four of the spouses earn the same or more than the interviewees. At the Central Service headquarters the gross annual salary is slightly higher.

Eleven interviewees have a nuclear family made up of their spouse and children. One of the interviewees also lives with his parents in law. Interviewees had an average of 1.75 children. In MRW the average was slightly less, 1.6. Only two interviewees had a large family of three or more children.

As with the findings of the 'Work Changes Gender' survey, the reasons why these men had made use of conciliation measures were basically three: they actively wanted to be carers, their spouse's work status category or salary was higher than theirs and the fact that their company facilitated conciliation measures (Abril & Romero, 2005; Puchert et al, 2005).

All these reasons, separately or combined, were given by interviewees.

5. Interview results

5.1. Work place study

5.1.1. Gender structure of the organisations

Gender imbalance persists in both organisations, both as regards women's access to management positions as well as segregation by job positions: women tend to occupy more administrative posts and men occupy specialist positions. Despite this, which is nothing new in the majority of Spanish organisations, there is a trend towards greater balance between the genders.

The Department of Education, which is a public body, is obliged to guarantee equality of opportunity between male and female employees. What's more, jobs in the education sector are traditionally occupied by women. As we saw previously, 72% are women, although they generally tend to hold lower positions, i.e. in primary education, and are less represented in management positions (school directors, general management positions, etc.).

When the survey was carried out at the Central Service headquarters, only three out of nine people in Senior management were women; one of them was the education secretary or *consellera*, who is in charge of the organisation's policy. It is quite common to see women in charge of this department. At least this has been the trend with recent governments. In middle management 31.5% of positions are held by women whereas women hold 69.3% of positions in lower management.

MRW belongs to a traditionally male sector. 57% of its employees are men and job positions are segregated by gender: men are in charge of transport, security and Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) whereas women work mainly in administration and customer service. However, the company's participation in equality of opportunity programmes such as *Óptima* and *Pi per la Igualtat*, are reducing this imbalance.

"We are encouraging men to take up traditionally female jobs such as the telephone service. Four men entered this department just recently although it is still difficult to get them interested in these departments. We are also encouraging women to enter transport, packeting and ICT." (MRW Head of HR)

Their equality programmes have also brought about some progress in management positions. There are two women on the management board which is made up of five members. 36% of senior management positions are taken up by women and women occupy 60% of middle management positions.

5.1.2. Organisational leadership

The key distinguishing feature of management in the Department of Education Central Services is that these positions are political posts ascribed to the political party in government. Hence every *conseller/a* appoints their own management team, and these are political posts. In middle management at the level of sub-departments, people are also chosen by political affinity. In the latter case, the requirement is that they must be civil servants. These posts therefore combine politically appointed positions with specialist qualifications.

The interviewees pointed out that this type of management structure creates certain problems that affect the running of the organisation. One of these problems is that, because the management is affiliated to the governing party and because positions are politically appointed, management depends very much on the personality and way of doing things of the person in charge.

"They (the secretary and his/her team) don't last very long at the top. The rest of management depends on the person in charge. We have had despots as well as people who have done things very well." (WPUB06²)

Whether true or not, there is a prevailing idea that in some cases people in management posts have got their more through "contacts" than through their professional capabilities.

"(...) Acquaintances who put them in the post because they are friends of...and they haven't got a clue about what they are doing nor do they care"(WPUB05)

Another negative consequence that people pointed out was the distance and lack of communication between senior management and the Department's specialist employees. These types of criticisms fit in with the generally held view that all Public Administrations are by definition not very creative and do not encourage their employees to take initiatives.

"Management does not take employees into account at all. A worker's initiative isn't taken into account (...) I know ways of improving procedures, but I keep quiet about it. They [the bosses] do what they want and don't count on you for anything. They never ask for advice or anything... and then they stumble. It's their problem..." (WPUB04)

These opinions do not coincide with those of the managers we interviewed. According to them management is democratic although they acknowledge that the organisation is hierarchical.

"The management, if we take into account that it is subject to the regulations of the Administration, is fine... (he laughs). Things are run democratically on the management board" (MPUB01)

One of the managers who was also on the previous management team thinks that this team values the work of specialists more and that they are the ones who really know day to day matters.

"The management runs things and passes on directives. Today we rely on specialists more, unlike in the past. Team work is valued more highly" (MPUB02)

MRW, as we mentioned previously, is a family firm where the charismatic figure of the owner and president of the company has a very high profile.

"The president is an important person. Although the company has grown a lot, this protectionist presence is still there" (WPRIV03)

The MRW president is the prototype of the self made man: "Francisco Martín Frías was born in Coca (Segovia), and his professional profile fits in perfectly with the self made

² Briefly, the codes used to identify the interviewees were: W (worker), M (manager), PUB (public company), PRIV (private company), followed by the interview number (0-6).

entrepreneur. He left school at the age of 11 to help out in the family grocery and at 18 he started out on his own and set up an excavation machinery firm. He ran this business until the age of 37 and then he bought up Mensajeros Radio with a group of friends. It is now called MRW and he has been the general manager since 1979” (Miravittles, 2000).

In this type of paternalist leadership, the management team works like a family. The managers are company employees who have climbed up the ladder as the company grew and have reached their present positions. This promotion policy is one way of maintaining the paternalism and the family spirit of the organisation.

“The company management are people who have spent our professional career inside the company, we're a family. At MRW we always try to promote people from inside the company” (MPRIVO1)

The positive thing about this type of leadership is its closeness to workers, as the interviewees themselves pointed out.

“Management is quite close to workers. They are people you can go up to and they ask you to come in” (WPRIVO4)

“...If you have a problem, the management is always willing to listen and help you (...) The main asset of a service company are people and they know that here and take care of you. Paternalism is one of the pillars of this company” (WPRIVO3).

5.1.3. Organisational culture

When we talk about the culture inside an organisation we are referring to the values, ideals and beliefs shared by its members. Hence, the type of leadership and structure determine to a great extent the type of culture an organisation has.

In the Central Services headquarters the culture is determined by the fact that it belongs to the Public Administration. The widespread view is that all public administrations tend to be bureaucratic, conservative and not inclined to innovation. Despite this, the Catalan administration is a young administration where these aspects are less critical.

“It is very complex. Bureaucratic culture in general is a very complex matter. There is a civil servant culture although the Administration is relatively young given that it was only set up 30 years ago” (WPUBO4)

The organisation is therefore conditioned by the “civil servant culture” which affects labour relations as one of the managers we interviewed pointed out.

“The organisational culture is determined by civil service labour relations and the service culture oriented at achieving set objectives and results” (MPUBO1)

By civil service culture we mean the dynamics that produce specific types of labour relations. On the positive side, civil servants have consolidated their rights and work stability more than other workers have. One example of this are all the conciliation measures that civil servants and Public Administration personnel have a right to.

There could also be a perverse side to permanent employment, i.e. the difficulty in dismissing a civil servant even when there are justifiable causes, as one of the interviewees pointed out.

“You can't dismiss anyone here. It has to be something really serious before they can throw someone out. They are civil servants.” (WPUB06)

One of the outcomes of this type of bureaucratization, conservatism and lack of flexibility are the difficulties involved in organising the work to be done:

“People pretend that they have work to do. There are many more people than work to do. On the other hand, some units have a shortage of personnel. (...)There is no mobility.” (WPUB06)

On the whole, you get the impression that there is a certain amount of disillusionment or conformism with the status quo.

“People just do their work and that's all. They do no more and no less. They come in to do what they have been told to do and that's all” (WPUB05).

For one of the interviewees this situation has a lot to do with the leadership aspects we commented on previously.

“The Administration doesn't expect anything from anyone. My boss, expects me to make his life easy. Mutual non aggression. There is no productivity, this isn't a factory. There is no quality control of the work that is done. Your immediate superior may know what you do and how you are doing it but further on they don't know anything. You may do a bad job despite your boss and some bosses don't see this” (WPUB06)

In MRW the organisational culture, in the words of the company president, revolves around three profit and loss accounts: the economic one, the mental one and the social one: “The economic one because like any other company we are out to make a profit. The mental one because we seek employee satisfaction via different conciliation measures and support to employees' families. The social one because the company has a social responsibility and is involved in different social campaigns and projects” (Chinchilla & Poelmans, 2004: 254). In this respect for example, we should mention that MRW allocates 1% of its gross turnover to social programmes and projects. It is also known for its policy of recruitment of people with certain disabilities.

These factors define the culture of the organisation and were manifest in the discourse of the managers and workers we interviewed.

“We are a successful company and we give back part of the profits to society via social initiatives. (...)I would like to stress the human ethics side which they have brought to the world of the company. Credit for this must be given to the president of the company because he was able to transfer his personal values to the company” (MPRIV01)

“I consider it to be an innovating company. (...)They are dedicating a lot of resources to family conciliation, to social issues” (MPRIV02)

And these things distinguish MRW from other companies.

“They have a social policy that I think very few companies maintain on such a regular basis. I think it's very positive.” (WPRIV04)

“Compared to what my friends tell me I think MRW is above other companies and the environment is better.” (WPRIV05)

On the other hand, these social responsibility and welfare policies for employees also have a social marketing component which aims to improve the company's market position. The company uses these campaigns and measures they offer to employees to appear in different forums and communication media. It's a form of indirect publicity; the organisation hardly spends anything on advertising. So there are some critical voices that point out that more than being concerned about its workers what we are seeing in MRW is a marketing strategy.

“All the conciliation issue is more a marketing policy than real concern about its employees” (WPRIV06)

Another feature of the culture of this organisation which differentiates it from the Public Administration are the incentives which foster worker creativity and participation in improving the company's processes, quality and productivity, as we can see from the field notes we collected during one of our visits to the company.

“In the hall, near the clock-in machine, a place that everyone can see, there is a notice on the notice board that announces a 300 euros incentive which was given to a female employee (her name and photo appear), because of an idea she put forward which was accepted and introduced in one of the departments.” (Field note)

5.1.4. The general work environment

From what we observed in March 2006, the work environment seemed relaxed. The buildings, the layout and available services as well as the canteens, gymnasiums, rest areas.... are conducive to a good work environment and satisfaction in both organisations.

In the Central Services headquarters the workers we interviewed were satisfied with the work they do and the general work environment. In fact it didn't seem to bother them that the work was routine and repetitive.

“I've been doing the same thing for 20 years. Most people would say it's boring but I like it. I find it ok.” (WPUB05)

One aspect of this "relaxed" atmosphere is the momentum of the Public Administration as such. There is not so much pressure as in other types of organisations, as one of the interviewees mentioned.

“There is a very good atmosphere. There's no obligation to have results... The Administration doesn't make money, it loses money. There is no pressure.” (WPUB05)

One symptom of a good working atmosphere are the relations between workers, both between colleagues and with bosses. The managers and the employees we interviewed thought their work relations were very good and friendly both on a professional and a personal level. The job security that the Education Department and these types of organisations provide encourages friendship ties.

“There's a good atmosphere. Many of us have been working together for quite a few years. People have grown up here and they have got promoted in their work

and we know each other very well, not all of us but some of us. There's a good feeling" (MPUB02)

What's more, this organisation and the Public Administration in general have more consolidated labour rights and greater job stability and security and the degree of satisfaction is therefore high. Many people in Spain would like to work in the civil service because of the security it offers. It is often said that many young Spaniards lack the entrepreneurial spirit because their goal is to become civil servants.

"I am not unhappy with my job. The only thing that's missing is having a permanent job but some day I'll get there" (WPUB04)

Only among managers, regardless of whether they had been politically appointed or not, did we find a degree of dissatisfaction. Not so much due to the job or the work atmosphere but because they dedicate a lot of time to their work. This is an important issue in this organisation because employees with management responsibilities don't have the option like the rest of employees of asking for a continuous work timetable or of taking advantage of conciliation measures.

"You can't always do what you think you should do. But, on the whole I like my job even though it takes up a lot of my time. (...).Conciliation, or the chance of choosing our work timetable should also apply to managers and not just to administrative staff" (MPUB01)

At MRW, according to one manager we interviewed, he was so satisfied with the work he did that he usually works more time than the stipulated time.

"At times work is regarded as an obligation, that isn't so in my case. That's why I usually come in a little bit earlier and stay on ten minutes longer" (MPRIV01)

This case is a clear example of many managers, especially men and representatives of a hegemonic masculinity, who associate work satisfaction with absolute devotion to work and measure it according to the time they spend in the company. More time, more satisfaction:

"...I think it's something you transmit to your colleagues. Some of them do the same without asking for anything in return. Really, people have a good time." (MPRIV01)

Fortunately, not all the men we interviewed were of the same opinion. Most of them were satisfied with the continuous timetable because it helped them to conciliate their personal/family life with their work life.

"I think it's a good idea. Because looking at how things stand today... The job has its own special characteristics but one very positive thing is that it allows me to see my kids. If I didn't have this timetable I couldn't give as much as I do. It is one of the positive things. I think the timetable is a very important matter." (WPRIV04)

5.1.5. Professional prospects

In the Central Services headquarters, professional prospects and the factors that determine promotion are generally regulated by directives and the prerequisites are the same for all Catalan Public Administration personnel.

The people we interviewed expressed a range of opinions about professional prospects. For example, some of them have been promoted as far as they can go, as in the case of the managers.

"I can't climb any further. I'm in the top specialist category; the post immediately above is a political position" (MPUB02)

In other cases the limit is set by directives and some people cannot be promoted further because they do not meet certain requirements. This was regarded as a negative thing because it is demotivating for workers.

"I reached my limit 15 years ago and I can't move on from where I am now. Because I haven't got the educational qualifications I can't go up any further. I'm going to stay here for the rest of my life regardless of whether I do things well or badly. This is a way of demotivating you" (WPUB05)

Some people conform to their situation because their professional career inside the Administration is a secondary factor in their lives. They prefer to devote time to their families or activities which satisfy them more.

"I have zero promotion prospects. I'm always going to be on a renewable contract. The only way of being promoted is to study and take entrance examinations but I don't intend to do that. I could begin to study something but not for entrance examinations" (WPUB06)

Finally, some interviewees are clear about wanting to climb within the organisation and think there are chances for promotion.

"I'm quite young and I think I have time to progress and forge a career" (WPUB03)

Other people think that personal influence plays an important role in promotion.

"Being liked by the person who has to promote you" (WPUB05)

"It has to do with playing up to people. There's a woman who has become director of some department or other and she was an auxiliary. She got promoted through this. Playing up to your boss brings good results" (WPUB06)

Finally, one of the managers we interviewed pointed out that excessively bureaucratic processes, as well as the fact that there are few posts of responsibility and many qualified candidates, makes promotion of employees difficult. This person also mentioned that as far as he is concerned it is a mistake not to be able to promote people in their same work post. In the majority of cases going up a category means that you change your work post, section or even department.

"There is a bottleneck. There are few posts of responsibility and until they become vacant, the 300 or 400 people who might be promoted can't be. You have to be lucky. Promotion is difficult. There is also a lot of bureaucracy. You can't be promoted and remain in the same work post, the organisation does not allow for that." (MPUB02)

What's more, none of the interviewees thought that taking a shorter working day in order to devote more time to family affairs was detrimental to one's promotion prospects and that it isn't even taken into account.

"The fact that you have asked to work shorter hours or for some kind of leave it not taken into account in promotion. It isn't considered a drawback." (WPUBO4)

In MRW most of the interviewees considered that chances for promotion were very good. On the one hand the company was growing and opening up new divisions which meant greater prospects for employees. On the other hand, company policy gave priority to in-house promotion.

"For the time being I think they are good. I have gone up little by little so it's true that there is in-house promotion and that you can slowly climb up the company ladder based on your experience and other characteristics. I'm pleased, very satisfied in this respect." (WPRIVO4)

They try to fill vacant and new positions with workers from inside the company. So there are quite a few cases of employees who started out at the bottom and have gone up slowly as the company has grown. As we said before, in-house promotion is a factor that helps to preserve the family, protectionist character of the company and ensures the loyalty and commitment of managers and employees.

"I started off as a telephone operator and was gradually promoted to my current position [The interviewee holds an important post in the company hierarchy]... and I can go further. (MPRIVO1)

These professional prospects are even considered good by workers who, because of their age, would hardly have any chances for promotion in other companies.

"I think they are good despite my age. I am 53. The company is growing so I think that I too have a chance to be promoted." (WPRIVO3)

In MRW there was no consensus amongst the interviewees about whether taking a shorter work day for personal or family reasons could damage their chances for promotion.

From the replies of the managers we interviewed, in other words, the official company line, this doesn't change matters nor is it an obstacle to promotion. It is even well regarded because it reveals positive traits.

"It wouldn't be a handicap, it would be seen as a positive thing that the person wants to spend more time with his family" (MPRIVO1)

However, the other men we interviewed thought that being on a shorter working day could in practice limit your chances for promotion.

"I don't think that having a shorter work day is a stain on your record that could affect your future. Having said that, in order to be considered for promotion you need to dedicate more time to work and with a shorter working day you can't carry out the tasks demanded by a new position" (WPRIVO4)

This is especially applicable to positions of responsibility

“In positions of responsibility it may not be appropriate to ask for a shorter work day or leave because you would lose touch. This could limit chances for promotion” (WPRIV05)

5.1.6. Balance between the demands of employees' private lives and the demands of the company

In the Central Services of the Department of Education and in the Public Administration in general, labour rights and conciliation measures are more advanced than in other organisations. On a political level, the Administration is aware that it needs to set an example for the rest of society. So directives aimed at balancing employees' private and work obligations have been introduced in recent years.

“It is not only a matter of keeping employees happy but, we work in the Administration and given all the difficulties that fathers and mothers have for spending more time with their children ... If we are not the first to take a move and make more time available for doing this, not just for leisure... We have to set an example” (MPUB01)

Another manager pointed out that there is a high degree of awareness in the current management around the issue of conciliation. As an example he mentioned that they are already drawing up protocols in order to implement the new conciliation law the day after it comes into effect.

“They are taking measures and decisions in this respect. For example, we have speeded up matters and we expect to be in a position to apply the law the day after the law on one-month father's leave comes into effect. The current management is aware of this social imbalance and of the need to conciliate labour and family life” (MPUB02)

So the fact that the management team is sensitive to the issue of conciliation helps to implement improvement measures in this respect.

Another reason that was put forward for working towards this balance is that it means an improvement in the employee's quality of life and can improve their performance.

“Yes, because if this weren't the case, they wouldn't implement a directive introducing conciliation measures. So, if you are happy because you can have more time with your family, obviously your performance at work will be far greater.” (MPUB01)

Other interviewees also agreed that the management team was especially aware of this issue and the advantages over other organisations.

“There is awareness around conciliation, that's why there are more and more measures every day. It is also true that here in the Administration there are no impediments for people to conciliate unlike in private companies. Here they don't put obstacles in your way or give you a dirty look. They just apply existing measures, and that's it.” (WPUB04)

These types of measures are both for men and women, both civil servants and people on renewed contracts. All workers inside the Administration use them without any kind of repercussions in their work, as this interviewee pointed out:

“I’m on a renewable contract and I took parental leave (he was referring to leave that his wife had transferred to him) and nobody made it difficult nor were there any kinds of repercussions at work. Then I asked for a shorter work day and they made things easy for me. There is no problem in this respect. They apply the measures wholeheartedly.” (WPUB03)

However, as we mentioned previously, some of the conciliation measures such as the continuous work timetable are not available to workers with management responsibilities.

“Here inside the Administration people are very used to the idea that regulations are what they are and that they are there to be enforced. These are acquired rights, except in the case of bosses with responsibility and because of the work they do they can’t enjoy these measures” (WPUB04)

In certain cases, the employees do not know what conciliation measures are available or aren't sure which ones they are eligible for. One of the interviewees suggested that the Administration should launch an information campaign on existing measures. For example, they could set up a protocol to inform fathers about all available options.

“The fact that I didn’t know about many of the conciliation measures, gives you the impression that they are not concerned about handing out information that may be of interest to us. I found out through a woman work colleague who is very interested in these matters... On the other hand, they carry out everything that is stipulated in the directive. I have never had any difficulties over this. But they are not pro-active. The information doesn’t reach everybody. Perhaps part of it does but not all of it.” (WPUB05)

At MRW, the discourse concerning the balance between workers' private lives and the demands of the organisation revolves around the company's mental profit and loss account which we mentioned previously. Consequently, conciliation measures help to increase satisfaction and workers' performance, as the manager told us.

“You can’t be happy at work if you aren’t happy at home. The company can help you a lot to be happy at home. There is no conflict between work and family. For instance, the work timetable helps a lot. Workers are interested in a job that enables them to develop, study, practise sport, be with their family... and the company is interested in productive people. If you manage to combine these two things then it’s perfect. Conciliation measures are vocational but the company has a vested interest in them. They promote worker and customer loyalty... interests coincide.” (MPRIV01)

The workers we interviewed also expressed this viewpoint. They regarded the different measures they had access to as a very positive thing.

“There is an answer to the needs and demands of workers and of the company. So I understand that the company wants to keep workers as happy as possible. I really appreciate the things they offer, like the 100 euros subsidy for child nursery fees, the nursery voucher... This helps workers to feel happy” (WPRIV04)

The most popular measure of them all is the continuous work timetable and it is helping to create a better balance between the workers' needs and those of the company and is fostering caring masculinities.

"With my work timetable I can pick up my kid from school in the afternoon and spent time with my kid. This is very important. I can do that thanks to this timetable." (WPRIV03)

5.2. Family and private life

In this section we are going to study the data together without making distinctions between the two types of organisations unless there are significant differences.

5.2.1. Description of family and private life

The majority of the men we interviewed described their family and private lives as satisfactory, quiet and that they spent a lot of time at home.

They all had a family life, a wife and children, and many of them said that they had chosen the family life they had, that it was their project and vocation, as one of the interviewees pointed out.

"For some years now, since I was 20, my goal was to get married, have children and have a family. I think it's important to have a family and children despite the complication and typical marriage circumstances. I wanted to experience this and I'm happy" (MPRIV02)

The children, most of them under 12, constituted an important factor for the men we interviewed. They devote a lot of their time to them and the children also take up a lot of their free time.

"Very good, I have a very good time at home. I enjoy my children. My hobby, I look forward to leaving here (work) and getting back home" (WPUB03)

"A very home life, because the kids limit your time for going out a lot (...) My life is entirely devoted to the children..." (WPRIV04)

So the lack of free time or personal time is the main drawback that these men had. Even though they had chosen to have a family and enjoyed it very much.

"My family life is a lot of fun. Very busy all the time. I have very little time to myself but that's no trauma for me nowadays. A very busy and fun life. With children you have very little free time." (MPRIV02)

"I wanted a family life and I like children. Perhaps I miss having time for myself a little." (WPRIV04)

In Spanish society women, even when they are working outside the home, are usually responsible for most of the domestic tasks and looking after the children. Generally speaking, there isn't equal sharing of reproductive tasks. So, when we talk about conciliation between personal, family and work life, men don't usually have the same problems as women. For the men, conciliation between the work sphere and domestic life did not usually present a problem.

Consequently, the men we interviewed did not consider that their work represented a problem in their family. In some cases, because their spouses took on much of the reproductive work. In other cases, because the company conciliation measures, such as the

continuous work timetable, gave them afternoons off to devote more time to their children and to reproductive activities.

“Yes, I’m very pleased with my private life. I have afternoons off and that’s really good” (MPRIV01)

So, we can safely say that in both organisations, the reorganising of work time by means of the continuous timetable and a certain degree of timetable flexibility, are fostering caring masculinities.

“I make an effort so that they can see [the family] that the important thing is being with them and not arriving home from work at 10 or 11 at night. For me it’s vital to spend as much time as I can with my family. We are lucky that we can be together in the afternoons. Time is important for me” (WPRIV04)

We have observed a change in mentality and values towards the family in the material we gathered. This change in mentality can also be seen when we asked the men about what they think the family expects from them. Being the family breadwinners is no longer the main demand that is made on these men. A number of values such as warmth, love, company, support and dedication came up in their discourse.

“Above all being beside them, warmth and company” (WPUB04)

Many of the interviewees considered it important to have time to be with the family.

“To be with them. We don’t have any ambition of becoming rich or anything like that. What they expect is what we have... They expect me to be at home, look after the children, to look after her.” (WPUB06)

On the other hand, as we mentioned previously, in the Central Services of the Department of Education, management personnel cannot opt for a continuous timetable and other conciliation measures. Not only that, but because they are positions of trust and/or political they need to be readily available and in practice their work days are very long. These managers also take it for granted that they must set an example for the organisation and they therefore give greater priority to their work responsibility than to their family obligations.

“I would like to have more free time to be with my children. In the near future I will force myself to find more free time to be with the family. I can’t even think about doing the minimum work timetable of 37 and a half hours right now because it wouldn’t be an example for the organisation. I can only afford to leave early on Friday afternoons to pick the kids up from school. My work obligations are above my family ones” (MPUB01)

Thus, within the same organisation we have different criteria depending on the position the men hold. For the managers the total availability culture, supported recently by new technologies such as the cell phone or e-mail, minimise the possibility of their getting involved in care activities. At the same time, they are a bad example for the other men because they epitomise the fact that a professional career is incompatible with family.

As regards their relationships with the people who live in the household, the interviewees were also completely satisfied. In the majority of cases they stated that their relationships with their spouses were based on sharing all aspects of daily life. The relationships are

balanced. Despite the fact, as we shall see further on, that in practice they are not as balanced as they should be, especially when it comes to sharing domestic tasks.

"Very good. We've been married for almost 6 years and they're very good. It's an equal to equal relationship. We're a close couple with the same decision making powers, with the same opportunities and rights." (MPRIV02)

5.2.2. Time use

Work time

All the interviewees, with the exception of the managers in the Central Services headquarters, were on a continuous work timetable all year round.

In the Central Services the work day is from 8:00 am to 15:00 pm plus 2 and a half hours one afternoon a week. The official work timetable is 37.5 hours a week.

Three of the interviewees from this Department were on a 1/3 reduced work timetable to look after a child. They worked 25 hours a week.

The two managers we interviewed in the same organisation have longer working days than the official working day. One works 57 hours a week and the other about 47 hours.

At MRW all the interviewees including the managers were on a continuous timetable and could choose a timetable from 8:00 am to 16:00 pm or from 9:00 am to 17:00 pm. 90% of the workforce at MRW are on this continuous timetable. The MRW working day is 38 hours a week.

In this organisation, the men, especially those who have management responsibilities, also work overtime. Two of the managers acknowledged that they work 2 to 5 hours more than the official company working week.

As we shall see from the testimony below by one of the MRW managers, the working day can be longer. What's more, this case is an example of how, with new technologies, work time and space are extended and colonise the private and family sphere.

"I got up at 6:15 am. I left home at 7:15. As a rule I arrive very early at work because these are very productive hours. I stayed at work until after four. Even though my work timetable ends at four you never leave on time. I got home at about five. One of my children had already got out of school, my wife had gone to pick him up. The other plays handball and gets out at half past five and comes home alone, he is old enough now... I had a meal because at MRW I only snack. I started working on my computer. I worked for about one and a half hours..." (MPRIV01)

This a very different story from the accounts of the other men who actively or due to circumstances have decided to reduce their working timetable to attend to the needs of their families.

"We wake up the children at around 7:45 am. We get them ready and have breakfast. We take the car and drive the older one to the nursery (2 years old) and the young one (six months) to my mother's place. Then each of us goes to their place of work. I come here to the Department (of Education) where I work for five hours.

At 14:30 I leave and go to my mother's place to pick up the little one. I normally have lunch there. I take the baby and we go and pick up the older one that gets out a 4 in the afternoon. After that I stay home with them. We play and go to the park. It depends on the day. If they sleep I do some housework, if not we wait until my wife gets home and whilst one of us gives them a bath the other one makes dinner. We put them to bed. Then me and my wife watch some television and then go to bed... The reduced working timetable allows me to be with my child from 2.30 pm onwards. (WPUB03)

Caring for and looking after the children

In general, regardless of whether they are on a shorter timetable or not, the men carry out many activities related to the care of their children.

"My wife gets up and has a shower. While she dresses the little one I have a shower. When I finish I help the two older ones to get dressed. She gets the things ready for school while I make breakfast and give the baby its bottle (...) When we arrive home, while my wife prepares the bathtubs I prepare dinner for the baby and I feed it. I also make dinner for everybody and then we have dinner." (WPUB05)

If we differentiate between workers and managers there are great differences in the time they devote to caring for and looking after their children (not only between themselves, but also in the relationship with their spouses). The managers devote 15 hours a week and their spouses 26.

The workers without management responsibilities in both organisations devote an average of 29 hours a week to caring for their children whereas their spouses devote 24 hours a week. This shows us once again that conciliation measures, a shorter timetable and continuous working day are encouraging the men who can to devote more time to looking after their children.

"I devote much more time now to the children because I am on this shorter timetable. I'm with them in the afternoon. I take them to the park, play with them I give them dinner..." (WPUB03)

On the other hand, the interviewees point out that for the most part they do not have specifically assigned tasks concerning the care of their children but that they share them with their spouse depending on their needs and availability.

"I'm not specifically in charge of a particular task. There are a series of tasks at home that have to be done and depending on our needs or availability either one of us does them. We have no allotted tasks" (WPRIV06)

Even so, we did observe differences in the allotment of tasks in looking after the children.

At MRW, for example, it is the interviewees' spouses who usually stay at home when the small children are ill. In the Central Services it is easier to take time off when a child is ill. The organisation has allocated a number of days which employees can take off for these matters. In addition, there is greater flexibility, both formal and informal for taking time off when needed. That's why more men from the Central Services stated that they take time off work when their children fall ill.

But on the whole, the men devote more time to playing with their children and helping them with their homework than to any other activity.

Domestic tasks

Domestic tasks are traditionally assigned to women. As women have gradually entered the work sphere, these types of tasks are negotiated in the household. However, as we saw from the statistics, women in Spain, even though they work outside the home, continue to take on the bulk of domestic chores. There is therefore a reticence on the part of men to take on joint responsibility for this kind of work.

From our findings the men who work fewer hours than their spouses devote more time to domestic chores. However, when they work the same number of hours or even when the interviewees have adapted schedules such as the continuous timetable or afternoons off, it is the women who devote more time to domestic tasks.

Hence, at MRW, the interviewees who are on a continuous timetable devote 9.5 hours on average from Monday to Friday to domestic tasks whereas their spouses devote an average of 10 hours even if they have a split work timetable and work mornings and afternoons or more hours than the men. In the case of the MRW managers we interviewed, their spouses devote twice as many hours as they do, 15 hours a week as opposed to 7 hours a week.

On the other hand, in the Central Services of the Department of Education, the employees, the majority of whom have a 1/3 reduction in their work timetable to take care of their children, devote 11.2 hours from Monday to Friday in carrying out domestic tasks. Their spouses devote 8.2 hours on average.

The managers of this organisation who devote the most time to their work, only devote 3 hours a week on average whereas their spouses devote 10 hours to domestic tasks.

As regards the distribution of domestic tasks, we observed that segregation of tasks still persists. The men generally do the shopping, wash the dishes, do DIY, administer the domestic accounts and do the garden if they have one. The women mainly clean the house, do the washing and cook.

Free time

The interviewees do not agree on what is meant by "free time". Some of them associate free time with the time that remains after they have finished work. Others think that it is the time they have exclusively to themselves once they have finished their work and family obligations. So there are important differences between these two views.

Curiously enough, the interviewees without management responsibilities say that they have fewer hours a week of free time than those who are managers. The average amount of free time for employees in both organisations was 13.5 hours from Monday to Friday whereas for managers it was 18 hours a week.

The family, and especially the children, are the main beneficiaries of the free time of many of the interviewees.

"I usually spend my free time with the kids, especially with the older one who is 11, who is the one who goes out less. I go out with him to play a bit of football and all that". (WPRIV04)

"I don't have time to myself. But really, I don't devote time to myself. I don't play sport. I devote 100% of my time to the family. My hobby is the family. The family fulfils me so I don't seek out any other activities. I like walking but I do that with my wife and children." (MPRIV01)

The main activities the interviewees do in their free time are sport, training or studying for entrance exams, computers..., cultural activities such as reading, exhibitions, music and in some cases they devote time to religious organisations.

"I belong to a parish, a Catholic church, a group of Christians and I devote my time there. The time I'm not with the family or working I'm in the parish." (MPRIV02)

5.3. Existing measures which foster caring masculinities

In Spain there are few measures which foster caring masculinities. The few existing measures have been introduced by the state Administration or local bodies such as Municipal Councils. These are awareness campaigns targeted at men, and one of their main objectives is to increase their participation in domestic tasks and in caring for the children.

The Health and Gender Department of Jerez Municipal Council was one of the first to carry out campaigns targeted at fostering caring masculinities. This programme has been running for four years now.

On a national level, the Women's Institute has carried out campaigns such as 'Mójate por la Igualdad', (Get into Equality) in 2003, the aim of which was to present the Law of Conciliation between family and work life and make Spanish men aware that they had to get more involved in domestic tasks and caring for their children.

There are no specific programmes targeted at men in Spanish companies either public or private. The Conciliation Law and other similar legislation cover both men and women, although in practice women are the ones who benefit the most from these measures.

Only in the Public Administration, both the state administration for the whole of Spain with the Concilia Law, and the Catalan administration with the new conciliation law passed on June 22nd 2006, has there been a change in attitude and specific measures, such as paternity leave, aimed at promoting caring masculinities.

But, apart from this change in laws in the last year, we found that there weren't specific programmes aimed at promoting this new masculinity in the organisations we studied. What's more, when only one person in the couple can ask for conciliation measures then it is usually the woman who does so, as this interviewee from the Central Services pointed out.

"Men don't get that involved in these things. Even when they are a couple who both work in the Administration she is the one who usually asks for conciliation measures" (WPUB04)

At MRW as well, one of the manager interviewees acknowledged the fact that women apply for conciliation measures and subsidies more than men do. He even pointed out that, off the record, men were not as well regarded when they apply for such measures.

"The ones who ask for these types of conciliation measures and benefits more are the women. We really should change our attitude because it shouldn't always be women who ask for these types of measures. We should all have the same opportunities and it shouldn't matter whether a man or a woman asks for these measures" (MPRIVO2)

Officially, the organisations we studied do not create obstacles for men who ask for conciliation measures, except for the case of manager positions. Therefore, the fact that the men do not ask for these measures is due to a matter of tradition and culture, as one of our informers pointed out.

"Men ask less for conciliation measures because of tradition and culture. Many men still have very conservative ideas about the distribution of family and domestic tasks." (MPUBO1)

The clearest case of this is the Central Services of the Department of Education. The Conciliation Law here enables men to shorten their working timetable by a 1/3 with 100% salary until their child is one year old. All the men who have the right to this apply for it. However, after the first year they can extend the reduction to six years but with a 20% reduction in salary. Very few men decide to continue on a shorter work schedule.

"...But when there are economic repercussions not so many people ask for these measures, above all the men who are not involved with domestic tasks or the family. I think that they don't apply for these kinds of measures, above all when it means a cut in salary." (WPUBO4)

Furthermore, we found that there wasn't enough information specifically targeted at encouraging men to apply for conciliation measures.

In the Central Services of the Department of Education the directive is published in the official gazettes and information websites for Administration personnel. So, the men need to actively search for information about new measures and conciliation options. One of the interviewees mentioned that it would be interesting or would cost very little to inform employees of the different conciliation options open to them when their child is born.

"The problem is lack of information. People don't know. It wouldn't cost anything, when your child is born, to be informed of all the things you can apply for. How should I know whether there is a new law or directive. I don't read the DOC [the Official Gazette] every day." (WPUBO6)

At MRW the workers are more informed because the company's corporate culture publicises these different measures and benefits from doing so through greater employee satisfaction and loyalty. The workers are familiar with the different conciliation measures they can opt for.

Even so, we observed that the men we interviewed did not know that some measures could also be applied for by men. For example, one of the interviewees whose wife had recently had a baby, did not know that he could ask for half an hour breastfeeding time a day which the company offers to all employees with children under nine months old.

"I had never thought of asking for breastfeeding leave. I associate it with breastfeeding... I don't know whether men can ask for this" (WPRIVO5)

So a campaign targeted at men is also necessary in MRW informing them about these measures and to a certain extent in order to foster greater commitment on their part in caring activities.

5.4. Proposed measures for fostering caring masculinities

The two managers we interviewed in the Central Services coincided that the problem of long working days of managers and senior staff is due to time management inside the organisation.

As we said previously, Public Administrations are quite inflexible bureaucratic structures. This makes interdepartmental processes and coordination difficult, complicating and duplicating tasks. One of the managers explained that information technology and better process management could help to remedy this excessive workload predicament for managers.

"Information technology should help to simplify the work. Doing away with repetition of processes. Improving coordination with other departments. We need to streamline paperwork and administration" (MPUB01)

The other manager proposed something along the same lines. He suggested that work should be based on objectives and that the workers should be allowed to organise their time and even their work space.

"The organisation is very rigid in timetables and everything else. As long as the work is done, it doesn't matter whether it is done here, at home or anywhere else... It shouldn't matter whether you leave work at two or work from home or things like that. We should work to objectives. By such and such a day you need to have completed such and such..." (MPUB02)

The interviewees coincided in suggesting the need for more flexibility in general. For example, they suggested that there should be greater flexibility in work starting and finishing times.

"More flexibility in coming in to work in the morning so as to be able to take the children to school. Now it's up to 9:30 am but some people live far away and find it difficult to take their children to school." (WPUB06)

The same interviewee explained that flexibility should be extended to holiday leave and that it shouldn't be limited just to the summer period.

"We should be able to distribute and break up our holidays according to our needs. Take our holidays at other times in the year, or take days from our holidays when we need them, throughout the year." (WPUB06)

As regards work timetable flexibility to be able to leave for a few hours if you need to, not all the interviewees are of the same opinion. But some already have this option.

"We already have work timetable flexibility. You don't have any problems if you have to take your child to the doctor" (WPUB03)

Others however think that greater work timetable flexibility is needed even though the Administration gives workers days off for personal reasons to look after a sick child.

"Making the work timetable more flexible so that you can go to the doctor at 10 in the morning if necessary. I have days off for personal affairs but it would be a good idea to have more work timetable flexibility" (WPUB05)

"If you have a problem, whether you clock in or not, you should be able to leave and solve it. If need be you can make up for it later on" (MPUB02)

This leads us to the conclusion that leaving work for a few hours to take the child to the doctor for example, depends to a large extent on the interviewee's superior or which department they are in.

They also suggest that there should be greater flexibility in existing conciliation measures inside the organisation. For example, the 4 week paternity leave passed on June 22nd 2006, has to be taken once the 16 week maternity leave has expired. The interviewees want conciliation measures to be more flexible and adapted to each person's needs.

"it would be a good idea if conciliation measures were more flexible. That you could take them when it best suits you and not just within the specified period" (WPUB04)

Finally, most of the men mentioned that certain services should be brought closer to the organisation, making them more readily available. Some suggested that specific procedures or paperwork such as the visit to the doctor and doctor's prescriptions should be done from the Department.

But what practically all the men agreed on was that there should be a day nursery for the children of all employees. On the one hand because of the cost and difficulty involved in finding a nursery given the shortage of places in public nurseries. But also because it would save on commuting time and they would have their children close by in case of an emergency.

"The day nursery would be a great idea. I would really like to be able to pop down and see my child for a moment without bothering anybody" (WPUB05)

Some people think that a nursery would increase the privileges that workers in the Administration have even further.

"What we need are more nurseries for all citizens. Public servants shouldn't be more privileged than what they are." (WPUB06)

The main demands in MRW were also for greater flexibility. Flexible starting and finishing times. At the moment, people who are on a continuous work timetable have two starting and finishing times to choose from. Some interviewees commented that there should be more flexibility in this respect.

"Work timetables should be made more flexible. The starting time should be more flexible" (WPRIV06)

Currently at MRW, workers who have an emergency or who have to take their child or a relative to the doctor, must make up for the lost hours.

"I have a sick daughter who needs to visit the specialist every two months. I would like not to have to make up for this time. The same when you have an emergency or your child is sick. You shouldn't need to make up for this time" (WPRIV01)

They also asked for greater flexibility in the company's existing conciliation and family support measures. More specifically, that the economic subsidy for nurseries, the nursery voucher, should be extended to all children as a general child subsidy. This voucher only helps parents who take their child to a nursery and excludes other options such as babysitters, as one of the interviewees pointed out.

"My daughter doesn't go to a nursery but I have a babysitter who looks after her every day. The nursery voucher should be extended to cover all children not only those who go to a nursery" (MPRIV02)

Another matter that the majority of men agreed on was that there weren't enough days of paternity leave. This will be solved when the new Equality Law in companies comes into effect enabling fathers to take 10 days paternity leave.

As regards other types of services, the interviewees thought that medical and health insurance schemes were a good idea, as well as the possibility of having a day nursery in the company. The nursery however was only mentioned by one of the interviewees.

Finally, some of the men believe that it would be a good idea to introduce the possibility of working from home. The company has in fact introduced an online work protocol which it is currently implementing with a woman worker who moved home and lives far away from the company. The company seems to offer this option to workers who need it and whose type of work is suited to it.

5.5. Strategic plan on gender in companies

In Spain in the 90's, there was a move from work legislation to prevent gender inequalities towards the introduction of positive action measures.

The Equality of Opportunity Plans were introduced which, rather than set down specific measures, were a declaration of intentions whereby the Administration committed itself to implementing equality policies. These equality policies always put forward positive action in favour of women in all areas: education, health, employment... These equality of opportunity plans were not only on a state level (passed by the Cabinet) but the Autonomous Communities also passed their own plans (Giménez Gluck 1999).

The *V Action and development plan for women in Catalonia 2005-2007* was passed in Catalonia in 2005. One of its priorities was to reorganise work time to promote these policies in daily life. The strategic plans on gender in the companies we studied must be viewed within this framework.

Consequently, the Central Services Department of Education doesn't have its own strategic plan on gender beyond what is set down in law. These laws and directives aim to guarantee equality of opportunity between men and women in matters of selection and promotion as well as the conciliation of personal, family and work life of workers inside the Administration.

Furthermore, there is no specific unit or individual in the Department in charge of promoting and carrying out gender action plans. Despite the fact that the directive on gender and conciliation is basically aimed at women, recent laws and guidelines are

increasingly focussing on the role of men in gender equality policies. Law 6/2002 on conciliation between work and family life of Catalan Public Administration personnel offers men the possibility of applying for conciliation measures on a par with women.

The new law on conciliation takes a qualitative leap in this direction and offers men their own 4 week paternity leave which begins when maternity leave finishes.

So, the Catalan Administration has promoted greater involvement on the part of men in the domestic sphere and caring masculinities by means of directives and decrees on conciliation.

The strategic plans on gender in MRW are related to the company's political responsibility and social marketing policy as we outlined previously. The company therefore has a proactive stance in developing and fostering measures in favour of equality of opportunities between men and women and conciliation between the personal, family and work sphere of workers.

In this sense, the policies and directive of MRW focus on:

- Work stability.
- Work flexibility (38 hours, continuous timetable, a flexible work timetable ...).
- Professional support (training subsidies, in-house promotion, creativity incentives...)
- Family support (extended breastfeeding time, nursery vouchers, the adoption subsidy).
- Integration, equality of opportunities and gender equality (FUNDOSA, the *Optima*, *PI per la Igualtat* programmes)

The aim of the equality of opportunity programmes such as *Óptima* and *PI per la Igualtat* is to promote the incorporation of women in management positions or jobs that are traditionally for men.

The remaining measures are indistinctively targeted at both men and women although in practice they benefit women more. In any case, MRW's strategic plans on gender do not specifically address caring masculinities.

6. Good practices

6.1. Recommendations

We shall now go on to put forward a series of recommendations aimed at encouraging caring masculinities in the two organisations we studied.

In the first place we would like to highlight the change in attitude at a political and legal level in relation to fostering caring masculinities. Significant headway has been made in this respect as can be seen from the new law on conciliation measures between personal, family and work life for employees in the Catalan public administration. This law was passed unanimously by all political parties. This law was passed on June 22nd 2006 and has introduced 4 weeks paid paternity leave. In addition, in the whole of Spain, the Law of Equality between men and women also focuses on men. The new law allows fathers ten days paid leave.

As far as the organisations we studied in this report are concerned, we recommend that they include men into their gender policies. We have already seen that the Central Services does not have its own gender policies beyond what is set down in the Public Administration laws.

In MRW there are programmes but they all address the barriers and inequalities faced by women. Whilst keeping on these programmes and legislation, they should make a greater effort to include men. The 4 week paternity leave in the Catalan Public Administration is a step in this direction. In MRW they could introduce measures to encourage men to get more involved in the domestic and family sphere.

A key issue in both organisations is to show men that the existing measures are also directed at them. As we saw from our findings, the men complained about a lack of information and even about a certain amount of confusion. An information campaign specifically targeted at men is needed in order to create an information protocol for men who have had a baby. This would help men to feel that they too form a part of gender policies and it would do away with real and mental barriers to accessing conciliation measures. Many of the interviewees, especially in MRW, thought that it would detriment their professional career if they asked for leave or a shorter work day for family reasons. A campaign like the one we just mentioned would help to eliminate these barriers and preconceptions.

Another important aspect is that managers should have access to conciliation measures and the elimination of overtime. As we have seen throughout this report, the characteristics of manager work posts tend to reinforce hegemonic masculinity based around the *breadwinner* model. These men are not an example for other workers and for fostering caring masculinities. Especially in the Central Services of the Department of Education, there should be less total availability in political posts and senior management positions which leads to excessively long work days. Furthermore, these workers should be given access to the continuous work timetable and other conciliation measures which they are currently denied.

It is important to show at a management level that family or personal life and work are not incompatible. One's professional career should not be endangered by personal or family needs either officially or unofficially. Managers should set an example in this respect for

other workers. According to a survey by Towers Perrin³ consultants, what professionals value the most in Spain when they enter a company is conciliation.

Companies should know that family and leisure rate higher than salary in the preferences of these types of professionals. Hence, the companies we studied should make an effort to set up specific conciliation programmes for managers. For example, allowing them to opt for half day timetables, online work, the continuous work timetable,...when they need to address personal and family needs.

Both organisations need to improve on work timetable flexibility and administration. They both have a system whereby workers clock in and clock out on entering and leaving work. In other words, they value physical presence at work above other factors. They should make more progress in this respect and allow workers to administer their schedules. This entails a move away from the culture of presence towards an efficacy culture.

A way of improving work timetable management is to allow greater leeway on entering and leaving work. State of the art companies in this respect allow their workers a two hour margin. All studies show that this sign of trust helps to improve workers' performance.

Furthermore, this flexibility should be extended to conciliation measures in both organisations. In other words, the periods during which workers can benefit from leave and reduced work timetables should be more flexible and take into account the particular circumstances of each worker enabling them to administer them according to their needs in liaison with the company.

The nursery vouchers in MRW should cover all situations, i.e. workers who do not take their children to a nursery but pay a babysitter should also receive the voucher.

As regards new technologies, we have noticed a contradiction. On the one hand, especially in the case of managers, new technologies make them more available and can end up extending their work timetable (they are on call continuously). On the other hand, especially in the case of online work, new technologies allow men to spend more time at home.

Taking into account this double sided aspect of the use of new technologies, we propose that protocols be set up to introduce evaluation and monitoring protocols in order to ensure that new technologies do not create an even greater imbalance in people's lives.

Finally, we think that organisations need to appoint at least one person exclusively in charge of implementing all these recommendations as well as other gender and conciliation initiatives. In this respect, we would like to point out that the Employment and Industry department of the Generalitat de Catalunya, for the first time this year is subsidising companies that draw up equality and gender plans and offers assistance for hiring Equality specialists in organisations.

³ El Pais, Sunday May 14th 2006. Business Pages

7. Conclusions

As we saw from the general overview of Spanish society in section one of the report, gender inequalities persist in the work market and especially in the private sphere. At a legal level, compared with other European countries, existing legislation in Spain has done little to remedy this situation.

Spanish society seems to demand more institutional measures to accompany the change that people are already beginning to make in their private lives. As we saw in the second part of the report there are many men who want to spend more time with their children and who consider that the current 2-day paternity leave or even the 10-day leave proposed in the new law are not enough.

In 2003, in the *Work Changes Gender* survey (Puchert et al., 2005) where we studied four Spanish companies, public and private, we found that the men we interviewed were more egalitarian than their organisations allowed them to be. In companies where conciliation measures and strategic gender plans existed, men were not specifically included. So, we called men who took a shorter work day to look after a child, solitary pioneers (Abril & Romero, 2005). In the present research we have found that these men aren't so alone. There are less cultural obstacles and they are not so stigmatized.

Three years later, there have been some changes and changes on an institutional level are being introduced. Spain's prime minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero in conjunction with the prime minister of Sweden, Goran Persson, in an opinion article defined themselves as “men who were convinced feminists”⁴. This change can be seen in the parity that exists in the Spanish government, 50% men and 50% women. The cabinet has passed laws designed to increase the percentage of women in decision making positions and reduce salary differences, such as the Equality Law. For the first time men are being taken into account in gender policies. Obviously, the measures that have been introduced such as the 8 extra days of paternity leave are still not enough. But they are indicative of a first step being made to include men and promote caring masculinities.

In this respect, the role played by public bodies in promoting certain conciliation measures could be viewed as having a “spread effect”. The Concilia scheme for Public Administration jobs was introduced in order to rationalise work timetables and make them more flexible, and it set down the 10 day paternity leave before the Equality law did. In Catalonia, the new conciliation law for Catalan civil servants grants men their own exclusive paternity leave of 4 weeks for the birth of a child.

Public organisations are therefore the spearheads of measures aimed at conciliating the personal, family and work sphere of their workers. They have at least managed to achieve one of their objectives, that of trying to remedy the problem of conciliation and set an example for other organisations.

There has also been headway in private companies. Findings from a recent survey show that more and more companies are introducing specific conciliation measures. In 1999, only 7% had introduced such measures whereas 25% of companies have such measures today (Chinchilla & Poelmans, 2004). Despite this progress, in the majority of cases, the measures and good practices inside companies are limited to collectives such as administrative staff, specialists and managers and are part of employee retention policies. Furthermore, these measures are officially and unofficially targeted at women and implicitly assume that women are the ones who must coordinate their family obligations

⁴ “Un firme compromiso por la igualdad”, *El País*, March 8th 2006

and their work responsibilities. We therefore need to change this presumption and draw up schemes and good practices which are also targeted at men, and they need to be extended to include other collectives of workers who do not currently benefit from them.

A matter we have already mentioned but that we wish to highlight in our conclusions is the fact that the companies we studied and the majority of companies lack strategic gender schemes. We believe that organisations should set up such strategic schemes and create a position on their organisational chart which deals exclusively with gender issues, conciliation and diversity from an overall perspective and not just focused on women, which is what usually happens. They must take men into account for example through initiatives which promote caring masculinities. They also need to take into account diversity in the broader sense: ethnic, racial, sexual minorities, etc.

One important aspect we would like to focus on is manager work culture. Many men and women managers believe that the demands and responsibility of their job are in detriment to their personal and family life. They also consider that if they interrupt their work for personal and family reasons that this will damage their career. The leaders of organisations should be the first to set an example and prove that it is possible and necessary to balance the work sphere with the personal and family sphere.

Of all the measures that help to foster caring masculinities we found that time is the most important. The men we interviewed mentioned that their continuous work timetable allowed them to devote time to looking after their children and these men also got more involved in family and domestic tasks. Our findings from this survey show that men who have more time available, as in the case of men with children under 12, are more involved in caring for their children. We can therefore safely say that even though this was not the original purpose, that the continuous work timetable throughout the year in the organisations we studied, had a positive effect on fostering caring masculinities.

However, we also found that men tended to devote most of their time whilst looking after their children to playing and going for walks with them, and less to activities such as cooking food, shopping for clothes, bathing the children, etc. In other words, there is a qualitative difference in the use of time devoted to looking after children between men and women. What's more, women, even though they worked longer hours and had worse timetables, generally spent more time doing domestic tasks. They also do the more routine work such as house cleaning.

So, despite the changes and the greater amount of time that men devote to their families, qualitative differences still persist in the way this time is employed. Company measures play an important role in encouraging men to dedicate more time to the family sphere but awareness campaigns targeted at men are needed in order to promote a fairer distribution of reproductive work.

As shown by the study, women have played a major role in the important changes that Spanish society has undergone during the last 30 years. These changes have incorporated them to the public sphere (where they keep suffering inequalities relative to men) at the same time that they have almost totally dedicated themselves to the private sphere.

Now these changes should affect men by increasing their implication in the reproductive sphere. Our research shows that there are already many men ready to take this step.

In this respect, more decisive institutional measures are needed to foster this process. At the political level, steps are being taken in this direction, but we believe that it is necessary

to extend even more the paternity leave and to facilitate a change in the country's working hours.

At the company level, we have also shown that conciliation measures do not only concern women. Thus, we believe that measures that expressly include men are needed, since these measures do not only foster caring masculinities, but they also have positive effects for the companies themselves.

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Fostering Caring Masculinities (FOCUS) seeks to examine and improve men's opportunities for balancing work and private/family life, and in turn increasing their ability to develop their role as caregivers in the home.

To reach this goal the project will focus on companies' framework conditions to perceive and include men as actors and target groups in equality policies.

This trans national project involves five countries:
Germany, Iceland, Norway, Slovenia and Spain.

The project is funded through EU's Community Action programme to promote Gender equality between men and women. FOCUS is grounded in one of priority themes of the program, "the role of men in the promotion of gender equality, in particular the role of men and fathers in the reconciliation of work and private life".

FOCUS was initiated by the Norwegian Ministry for Children and Equality, co-funders of the project.

For more information see www.caringmasculinities.org



Dissens



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