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STUDY ON THE ROLE OF MEN
IN GENDER EQUALITY IN PORTUGAL

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Pedro Vasconcelos, sociologist, holds a PhD from the University Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE-IUL), where he is an Assistant Professor. His main research interests, other than social inequality in terms of class, focus mainly on gender, sexuality and inequality, within the framework of an intersectional perspective that connects those processes with other forms of social differentiation and highlighting categorization and identity as a fluid relational dynamic of value appropriation.

Introduction

In Portugal, men's roles in gender equality have to be understood in the context of the historical and political dynamics that, over the past few decades, have promoted gender equality policies orientated to the improvement of women's social conditions. As a result, a model of the 'adult worker', with a very high percentage of women working full-time, is until today predominant. Likewise, concerns with work-family balance and women's equality were for a long time blind to men's participation in private life. Gender equality was to be achieved, first and foremost, by women and mainly in the public sphere.

The rapid inclusion of women in the labour market and the promotion of policies guided towards gender equality, which gained pace after the 1974 democratic revolution and the end of the right-wing authoritarian regime of the Estado Novo (1926-1974), were of major importance to promote the model of a dual-earner couple, even when children are small. As a result, Portugal has followed a quite dualistic inroad into gender equality insofar as women participate more in the labour market than men in the domestic sphere. As research findings have shown, these developments have been translated into sharp inequalities, even if men's participation in household tasks and care responsibilities has been changing, slowly but steadily. Indeed, a number of transformations over the past decade have paved the way for the emergence of new forms of gender division of labour and, most importantly, of new models of masculinity underpinned by a renewed vision of the gender contract. Even so, men are still the dominant players in a number of key arenas of social life and hold the more powerful positions. In a way, the long-lasting focus on women favoured the permanence of somewhat traditional masculinities, even if the rights of women in private and family life as well as in education, work and decision-making is by no means publicly questioned. The main consequence is that women have been overburdened with a double role.

Only recently have men also become subjects of public debate and public policies and were challenged to rethink the old models of manhood. This attention has been more visible in fatherhood policies, but its effects are imprinting new directions in the way men and women live their lives. The principles of gender equality, and of overall equality between all individuals, are very rarely openly questioned in the Portuguese public sphere, even by conservative organizations, such as the Roman Catholic Church. The trauma of the dictatorship and its strongly traditionalistic agenda is still well alive.

However, even if the dynamics of gender equality have been strongly supported by public policies over the past four decades, it still remains to be seen what the effects of the present financial crisis will be in the social provisions that sustain gender equality.

In this report, we will examine men's practices and public policies in a number of arenas of social life resorting to all the available data, whether quantitative or qualitative. The situation of women and the overall gender scenario will also be object of analysis.

2.1. Involvement of men in domestic and care work

2.1.1. Household chores and the contribution of men

The most representative data on the time division of housework and care between men and women date from 1999, when the Portuguese National Institute of Statistics (INE) conducted a survey on time use (Perista 2002, INE 2001). Unfortunately, since then similar studies were not replicated, which is an important limitation of the Portuguese data. Even if other sources of information are also available (namely, comparative surveys and qualitative studies), their coverage is narrow and frequently focused on couples rather than on the whole of the population. In addition, one important methodological limitation of 1999 time-use data is that they measure average daily and not weekly time. Findings are, however, illustrative of the strong gender inequalities that subsist in the organization of private life. If we take the average day as our unit of analysis, gender differences are striking among the population aged over 15. While men dedicate only 1:07 hour to domestic tasks, women spend, on average, 4:41 hours doing domestic work. Similarly, the average percentage of time allocated to childcare is of only 5 minutes for men and 19 minutes a day for women. The disparity between men and women in terms of hours of paid and unpaid work was at the time, and is still, very large (Perista 2002). The 1999 time-survey also indicated that men did more hours of paid work than women (roughly one hour more, as men on average work 9 hours and women 8 hours) but, as we have seen, women did more hours of unpaid work. Taking into consideration both paid and unpaid work, this survey indicated that the female working day in the employed population was roughly one and a half hours longer than the male one. From a comparative perspective, evidence indicates that the division of

domestic and care work reported in Portugal is among the most gender unequal in Europe (OECD 2011).

Now measuring weekly hours of unpaid work, the 2002 ISSP survey on Family and Gender Roles¹ confirmed these gender differences, which are quite evident in couples between ages 18 and 65 (Amâncio 2007, Aboim 2010). Married or cohabiting Portuguese women work at home, on average, 20.3 hours per week while men only spend 7.7 hours of their week doing domestic chores. Employed women work the same number of hours, but employed men decrease their domestic load of work to only 6.8 hours per week. This gap slightly decreases when couples have at least a child under the age of 6, but even so it remains quite evident. In fact, when we analyse the number of hours allocated to paid and unpaid work altogether, Portugal is, however, the only country in this comparative sample where couples with a pre-school child show an increase in the pattern of dual earner/highly unequal domestic practices. In 63 per cent of the cases, women work full-time and take on at least more 6 hours of domestic work than their partners. The truth is that, according to the ISSP data-set, gender inequality increases when there are pre-school age children at home, with women doing an even higher percentage of domestic work (Aboim 2010).

Even if the overall amount of time men allocate to domestic tasks is not very different from the European average, women dedicate an enormous quantity of time to household tasks, which clearly indicates the resilience of a traditional femininity in Portugal (Amâncio 2004). Most probably, the permanence of a normative model associated with an ideal of female domesticity resisted to the changes promoted by the rapid entry of women into the labour market, thereby pointing to the gender duality that is a main constituent of contemporary Portuguese society. A recent survey on three Portuguese generations (1935-40; 1950-55; 1970-75), which was fielded in 2010, put on view that over the past few years some changes have, most probably, taken place in Portuguese households, with younger men participating more in domestic tasks (Wall et al. 2010). While in the older generation (born in 1935-40) the gap between men and women is until today very representative (with women doing 43 hours of domestic labour and men only 28, per week) in the younger generation included in the survey the gender gap is

¹ The ISSP (International Social Survey Program) survey of 2002 was carried out in 34 countries and was fielded between 2001 and 2003. More information is available at http://www.gesis.org/en/data_service/issp/data/2002_Family_III.htm.

narrow and less weekly hours are allocated to household chores (women do 30.5 hours and men 19 hours, on average).

In fact, as a number of quantitative and qualitative studies have shown (e.g. Torres et al. 2004), a very important problem generated, in Portugal, by the rapid decline of the male breadwinner model concerns the overburdening of women. Despite the female gains in economic equality, the movement of women into the labour force has not resulted in an equivalent movement of men into the sharing of home-based unpaid domestic and caring work. Research shows that men are participating slightly more in domestic work, especially in tasks such as shopping and helping to care for young children and also in routine household tasks. A survey, also conducted in 1999, on couples with children below age 16 showed that in about one third of all couples with dependent children men were participating regularly or always in at least one of the routine household tasks such as cleaning, cooking or doing the laundry (Aboim and Wall 2002).

In fact, this survey on families with children (Wall 2005) allowed us to uncover multiple forms of male participation in household chores, though reinforcing the chief role of women in private life. On average, women did by themselves 54.2 per cent of all the domestic tasks. If we look at single tasks, the conclusion is that women do the great majority of the more routinized chores: 81.3 per cent of women do the laundry, 74.3 per cent prepares the meals, 65.8 per cent washes the dishes and 62.8 per cent takes care, on their own, of the house cleaning. Men did, in total, 17.9 per cent of the tasks, but their participation is only truly expressive in chores such as house repairs (79.8 per cent), administrative tasks (41 per cent) and shopping (39 per cent). The data available allowed to identify three main patterns of gender division of labour in families with dependent children: the female housework pattern (59.2 per cent), in which women do, without help, the large majority of domestic tasks; the joint division pattern (30.4 per cent) which singles out the cases where male participation is above-average, though only 6 per cent of couples have a really equal sharing of domestic chores; and the delegation pattern (10.4 per cent), in which great part of the tasks are done by a paid employee.

In the ISSP survey conducted in 2002, the available data on domestic chores show those that are usually done by the woman, by the men or equally shared by the couple (Amâncio 2007). The only task that is most commonly carried out by men are small repairs (97.4 per cent of the cases). Taking care of sick family members or shopping are mainly tasks shared by the two members of the couple (on 60 per cent of the

cases). The remaining chores are mainly a responsibility of women. As anticipated, this pattern does not suffer significant changes when the two members of the couple are working full-time.

However, a number of qualitative studies carried out more recently put on view that some degree of change in men's practices and attitudes is taking place. The participation of men is today extremely valued and encouraged not only by ordinary people but also by family policies and even the media. In 2002, the ISSP data already showed that Portuguese men and women converged in the opinion that men should take a larger share of both domestic and care responsibilities, with more than 90 per cent agreeing with the ideal of a participating man (Aboim 2010, Crompton et al. 2007).

2.1.2. Care involvement of men for dependent persons (children, sick/eldercare)

In spite of the persisting gender inequalities, men are more proactive and participate more in childcare, which indicates a slow but steady transformation in ideals and practices of fathering. If there is a privileged door for men to entry private life, children are definitely those who can open it, thus being at the centre of the societal movement that is transforming men into carers. However, this movement has been slow, even if there is a generalized consensus around the ideal of a caring father, as a number of qualitative studies with fathers have been able to show (Wall et al. 2010). Most men vehemently reject the old ideal of a distant and authoritarian father and value the norm of the involved father who interacts with his children.

In effect, even if the data from 1999 time-use survey, which included all men and women above age 15, shows that only 9.5 per cent take care of children as against 22.6 per cent of women, those who do it spend, on average, one hour per day in childcare, which is only 27 minutes less than women. The pattern is very similar when we measure the amount of time dedicated to care for dependent adults living in the household: more women are involved in this type of activity (7.8 per cent of women as against 2.8 per cent of men), but when men also care for dependent adults the gender gap in the amounts of daily time allocated to this task tends to be narrow (46 minutes for men as against 59 minutes for women). Nonetheless, women are still the main carers. The ISSP 2002 data on couples clearly shows, for instance, that only 3.1 per cent of men assume the main role as carers for sick family members. This proportion is of 47 per cent in the case of women.

A second important remark is related with the gender division of the different childcare activities. The patterns are very different for men and women, as shown by the time-use survey of 1999. Among those who were involved in childcare, men spent 51 minutes playing with the children during the average day, an amount of time that is lower among women (only 43 minutes). In contrast, men only spent 46 minutes in what was termed 'physical care and vigilance' whereas women dedicated 1:27 hours to this activity. The contrast between mothers and fathers is evident, with the figure of a present but still mainly playful daddy being quite frequent, as several qualitative studies have also pointed out.

In all cases, fatherhood emerges as the key to the building of new forms of masculinity, a trend that several authors have pointed out in the results of their extensive research on the issue of fatherhood (e.g. Wall, Aboim and Marinho 2007). Without a doubt, children have become central actors in family life and are today fundamental sources of identity for both women and men. To a great extent, the recreation of the father figure has been a powerful force in changing and challenging masculinities. Men's discourses have very often revealed that enormous centrality.

2.1.2.1. Parental leave: policies and usage

One of the major changes in the traditional gender division of responsibilities, based in the allocation of private duties to women and of public obligations to men, was accomplished through 'family policies' directed to promote a stronger involvement of men in family responsibilities, namely as fathers. Since 1984, the protection of paternity and of fathers started, however feebly, to become an issue in policy making, when for the first time the law considered explicitly the right of fathers to share with mothers the obligations towards children and childcare. This new law established new and quite ambitious leave arrangements, explicitly emphasising the need for 'parental' provisions, and services 'compatible with parents' working life'. It also underlined the rights of both parents to professional fulfilment and participation in civic life (Wall and Escobedo 2009). From 1984 onwards, fathers conquered, for instance, the right to share with mothers the 30 days work licence per year to care for sick children, even if these benefits were unpaid, and by that reason quite limited in their real reach. Consequently, it is only in the late 1990s that protection of paternity gained an increased strength and family policies elect fatherhood as a main subject of policy-making.

In fact, paternity leave was introduced for the first time in 1995, even if it was only of two days after childbirth (Law n° 17/95). In the same year it also became possible for fathers to share the maternity leave after an initial period of 14 days, compulsory for the mother, as stipulated by Law-Decree n° 194/96; this two weeks period was, later on, extended to 6 weeks in 1999 by Law n° 142/99.

Since 2000 (Law n° 142/99²) a 5 days fully paid licence (paternity leave) was granted to the father immediately after childbirth; the father also became entitled to share with the mother the paid leave of 120 days or even, in certain cases, of substituting the mother; fathers were also granted an individual right to 2 weeks' fully compensated parental leave and became entitled to take up or share the 2-hour reduction in working time. The spirit of family policies relied on conciliating family and work obligations, but not in a random or conservative manner. The clear orientation towards a model of egalitarian couple and of an involved father who shares childcare responsibilities with the mother became evident and gained pace in this period (Wall, 2004, 2006). For instance, the 5 days paternity leave became compulsory from 2004 onwards (by Law n° 35/2004), in order to encourage men to participate more in childbirth.

Further changes in the leave scheme have recently been approved. As from February 2009, paternity leave taken during the first month after birth was increased to 20 working days (ten obligatory working days plus an extra optional ten working days to be taken with the mother while she is on Initial Parental leave) and the 'initial parental leave' (formerly 'maternity leave' was increased to 5 months with full earnings compensation (or 6 months at 83% of earnings) on condition that the father (alone) takes one whole month of the leave. In sum, the extension of paid leave has been linked more strongly to the principle of gender sharing of leave. The terminology has also changed: maternity and paternity leaves were substituted by the more gender equal term 'parental leave' in 2009.

There is still an additional parental leave (Licença Parental Complementar) that allocates three months per parent as an individual and non-transferable entitlement, with a payment of 25 per cent of average earnings for three months for each parent, but only if taken immediately after the Initial Parental leave. The three months leave may be taken up to the child's sixth birthday. It can be taken on a full-time basis for three months,

² This Law introduces several other measures that intend to promote gender equality: the possibility of both grand-parents to share the childcare assistance leave and the possibility of both parents sharing the nursing (breast-feeding) leave.

on a half-time basis for a period of 12 months per parent, or on an alternating basis, that is, working half-time and full-time up to a maximum of three months full-time per parent.

Even if men's involvement in the private arena has still to be strongly increased and promoted, a number of developments have been paramount. Firstly, public policies have been emphasising the involvement of fathers in childcare. For instance, one of the major consequences of these policies can be seen in the increase of fathers' use of leaves over the last decade, and mainly from 2000 onwards. The five-day Paternity leave (introduced in 1999 and made obligatory in 2004) was used in 2000 by 11 per cent of fathers, increasing to 62 per cent in 2008 (in relation to the number of women eligible for Maternity leave). The same trends may be observed for the 15 additional Paternity leave days (the optional leave introduced in 1999). In 2001 only 4 per cent of fathers chose to take the 15 days but this increased to 37 per cent in 2008 (Institute of Informatics and Statistics of Social Security, Statistic Unity).

We can then conclude that the measures to promote the involvement of fathers have had some effects. Even if inequalities still prevail the mother continues to be the main actor in early childcare, policy efforts to increase men's involvement in private responsibilities have set new social norms and are slowly changing men's practices in regard to childcare.

2.1.3. How does the birth of the 1st child affect men's care and household contribution?

There are no specific data on the impact of the first child on men's care and household contribution. However, as said before, gender inequality increases when there are pre-school age children at home. Even if men increase their participation in care when children are babies or toddlers, women do it also in a higher proportion while continuing to work full-time, thus increasing the overall inequality of the distribution. In fact, most fathers participate more in childcare when children are small. Still, men's work/family stress is particularly high in Portuguese society (Guerreiro and Carvalho 2007), particularly due to their inability in coping with family responsibilities.

As a qualitative study with 70 fathers showed (Aboim and Marinho 2006), many men feel that work life is affecting their fathering, thus revealing their awareness of the difficulties in conciliating family and work time. The key factor promoting absence from family life is the amount of hours dedicated to work. It was observed that few men

point out work reasons as factors for being stressed at home. Almost all men underline factors linked with conciliation issues rooted in family dynamics. Lack of time to be with the family and the children is a major factor of stress to men, who seem to feel the obligation or the need to spend more time at home. Difficulties in childcare and normative regulation of children are two other important reasons for feeling stressed, thus showing male difficulties in dealing with children and in finding a place for themselves in family routines.

2.1.4. Care conflicts and regulations related to married, unmarried and divorced parents

The number of divorces has highly increased since 1975, when the new Portuguese constitution extended the right to divorce to Catholic married couples. Since 2002 the crude divorce rate has been above 2‰, amounting to 2.9 divorces by 1000 inhabitants in 2009. One important fact is related to the growth of divorces by mutual consent over the past few decades. As a result, the percentage of litigious divorces dropped from 37.9 per cent in 1980 to 13.5 per cent in 2000 and to only 6.1 per cent in 2006. The social acceptance of divorce is also a dominant norm in Portuguese society (Vasconcelos 1998, Almeida et al. 1998, Wall and Amâncio 2007). Though the numbers are dubious and more research is still lacking (the data of the 2011 Census are not yet available), the proportion of single parent and of reconstituted families is on the rise, generating changes in the ways care for children is organized and challenges to men, who frequently face post-divorce situations or have to participate in care as stepfathers (Marinho 2010). In fact, today deprived of their ‘old powers’ as patriarchs, men have to struggle for a place as fathers, competing with women and sharing the nurturing roles which have traditionally been linked to motherhood and the figure of the woman-mother. In many cases, the biological father becomes an absent figure after a divorce, whether due to conjugal conflict, court orders or to his own choices. In other cases, however, men do not want to be absent or distant fathers who are not actively involved in parenting and in close relationships with their offspring (Lobo 2009), even if ‘being a father’ in post-divorce situations often involves dealing with difficulties, obstacles and uncertainties. A number of social movements, such as the Associação Pais para Sempre (Parents Forever) among others, have gained further visibility and strived for men’s rights as fathers/parents, hoping to reduce the gate-keeping role of women or the biased views often prevailing in family courts in spite of the equalitarian orientation of the Law.

Policies related with post-divorce regulation have followed the ideological turn that seeks to establish equality between fathers' and mothers' rights. Shared or joint custody was firstly introduced in 1995, in the Civil Code. Furthermore, in the 2008 new Divorce Law, the concept of joint paternal power was replaced by that of a joint parental responsibility (Law nº 61/2008), following the terminology used in a number of European countries. The first term was abolished in order to underline the urgent rupture with a patriarchal view of the family. In Portugal, equally shared alternating residence is one of the options given to parents (Marinho 2010). It should be noted that the same rules regarding children's custody and maintenance include married and non-married couples.

However, though the legal figure of joint custody was introduced in 1995, the number of cases where this option was effectively put into practice is only available, in the statistics of the Ministry of Justice, from 2001 onwards. In 2001, joint custody covered only 0.6 per cent of the cases and in 2006 this legal figure covered still only 3 per cent of the cases. In 2006, women were the legal guardians of children in 90.6 per cent of the cases. Between 1995 and 2006, fathers were the legal guardians in only 7.7 per cent of the cases.

In spite of all the changes introduced in the Law, of the new social norms, of the increased weight of equal sharing movements defending fathers' rights, the truth is that women have still a key role as main carers and legal guardians of children, which often gives way to legal struggles for the custody of children or changes in visitation arrangements. Many men living in post-divorce situations, interviewed in 2006, were very explicit about their dissatisfaction with the legal arrangement established in court and with the forced absence from their children's daily lives (Wall et al. 2010). Among the interviewees of the aforementioned study, men who have become lone parents, although a minority (according to the Census, nearly one per cent of all Portuguese households in 2001) tend to show a great deal of reflexivity on how that particular experience has changed their former visions of fatherhood and women. Sometimes, particularly in the case of those for whom children are a key element of their identity, the competition with women becomes very strong and explicit, even an element of conflict.

2.2. Labour: men at work

The Portuguese labour market is characterized by a very high participation of women in full-time employment. However, there are still persisting gender asymmetries, whether vertical or horizontal. In the same manner, unemployment and precariousness affect men and women differently.

2.2.1. Segregation by gender

The exponential increase of women's participation in the labour market is one of the most striking changes that have transformed Portuguese society since the 1960s (Almeida et al. 1998). The overall growth in female employment is related to profound changes in the activity rates of different age groups. Expansion of female employment in the 1960s was based on the increased activity rates of women in younger age groups and single women. Marriage and, in particular, the birth of the first child were, until the 1970s, barriers to continued economic activity. This difference gradually diminished in the following decades, partly due to changes in social values and legislation introduced by the democratic revolution of 1974, and partly due to the economic advantages of female labour and the growth of employment in certain economic sectors as well as the rapid development of female educational levels. If the male activity rate has been relatively constant in the last decade (69 per cent in 2008), the female activity rate has grown from less than 30 per cent in 1981 to 56 per cent in 2008. In younger age-groups this gender scenario is substantially different, with more than 85 per cent of women between ages 25 and 44 being active in the labour market. Men's activity rate in this age-group is of nearly 95 per cent, according to data from 2008.

Although Portuguese women are mainly full-time workers, and work almost as many hours a week as men, vertical segregation is evident. Men continue to occupy the dominant positions in the labour market whereas women are often relegated to more disqualified positions, namely in non-specialized occupations in the services sector. In 2010, managerial roles, either in public administration or in private companies, were still held mainly by men. In the same year, according to the INE's Annual Employment Survey, 7 per cent of all the employed men were private employers, as against only 3 per cent of women. Notwithstanding this scenario at the top levels, women are today the majority of the highly educated and qualified workers, even if mostly working in middle echelons of the hierarchies. Furthermore, even if the majority of employed men work in

the industrial sector, and in not very qualified occupations, their situation is still more stable and well-paid than that of most women in non-qualified jobs. In sum, the top levels of the labour market are occupied essentially by men and the middle levels essentially by women. In the lower levels of labour hierarchies, those commonly characterized as ‘working class’, men tend to be more numerous in the industrial sector and women in the services, and most of all in the very low qualified and low paid services.

In spite of the overall permanence of gender inequalities, a number of changes are occurring as a result of the entrance of women in traditional male domains. Either through educational achievement (women are today half of the medical profession, half of the lawyers, half of the judges and public persecutors and one third of the diplomatic corps) or the openness of traditional male occupational enclaves (such as the police force and the military). Conversely, some men are also breaking way into traditional female occupations, for instance working in nurseries and crèches, as the research carried out by Sarmiento (2004) illustrates. As an interesting article published in the media stated ‘Today men dare to choose women’s jobs’.³ In this journalistic piece, a few men working as kindergarten teachers were proud of their choices, though some of them felt discriminated and complained about the efforts they had to make to prove they could be as good carers as women. In other case, also reported by the press⁴ another professional carer man took action against discrimination and even wrote an official letter to the President of the Portuguese Republic, the Government and the Parliament, alleging that he was unable to find a job as a kindergarten teacher due to mere fact of being a man. Cases like these are becoming increasingly more common and the struggle of certain groups of men to entry in traditional female occupations and gain public legitimacy is often reported by the media.

2.2.2. Labour forms by gender

Some of the trends of inequality can be portrayed within the labour market itself, given that the structure of female and male employment is quite different: the first is still more precarious, unqualified, underpaid, when compared to the second.

The precariousness of women’s labour conditions is quite evident when looking at the group of ‘underemployed workers’ (those considered by the National Institute of Statistics [INE] as involuntarily working below the normal working-time required for a spe-

³ Available at: http://dn.sapo.pt/2009/03/08/sociedade/homens_se_atrevem_a_profissoes_mulhe.html.

⁴ Available at: http://www.dn.pt/inicio/interior.aspx?content_id=661057.

cific occupation and who declare wanting to work more hours): in 2009 women constituted 62 per cent of this category.

The analysis of the unemployment rate and of its evolution over time has shown the consistent gap between men and women. Even if the differences are not severe, women's unemployment rate is systematically higher: in 2010 nearly 12 per cent of women were unemployed as against nearly 10 per cent of men. In the present crisis scenario not only unemployment has been rising, but also women are more likely to be effected by it, when compared to men.

On the other hand, the wage gap continues to be evident, despite its shortening over the past few years. Women are on average less paid than men. At the end of the past decade (2007), women earned about 81 per cent of the men's average salary. This difference is, nonetheless, smaller than it was in the past: in the middle of the 1990s it was of about 70 per cent and before that even larger. The gender pay gap is a structural reality underpinned by the different professional occupations of men and women. Given the fact that a large proportion of the Portuguese population has low educational qualifications, the gender dynamics of the labour market are quite marked by low qualified employment, which is better paid in the industrial sector, where men are the majority, than in the services, where women are the majority of workers (particularly in personal services, cleaning, etc.). As a result, the main problem is not so much wage discrimination between men and women working in the same jobs (a situation that is forbidden by Law, in clear-cut contrast with the norms prevailing under the dictatorial regime that ended with the 1974 democratic revolution), though this may occur, even if marginally. Most importantly, wage discrimination is produced by the different gender structure of low qualified occupations in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy, and, of course, by the fact that men are the majority of workers at the top level.

In short, women earn less, have more precarious jobs and are the ones who more often work part-time, even if this profile has a low importance in the Portuguese scenario (only 15.5 per cent of women worked part-time in 2010). For both men and women, work trajectories tend to be without interruptions (with the exception of legal parental leaves), and when these breaks do occur (slightly more among women), they tend to be as short as possible. In contrast with other European countries, in Portugal the model of an adult full-time worker is dominant for men and women. The dual-earner model is generalized in both practices and norms. The ideal of a housewife supported by the male

breadwinner has become at least frowned upon, except in conservative Catholic upper-class groups, which are today a minority.

2.2.3. Educational achievements

The Portuguese Law on Education, altered and ratified in 2005, advocates the principle of gender equality, which is well reflected in the evolution of men's and women's educational qualifications and schooling careers over the past decade. Moreover, the preoccupation with gender equality resulted in a new Law (Law nº 47/2006), which prohibited any form of discrimination that might appear in school textbooks (Canço and Santos 2009).

In regard to non-tertiary levels of education gender differences are not very expressive, even if technical and professional secondary education is slightly more masculine and arts are more feminine. Still, young men tend to drop-out more than young women. Among early leavers from education (those between ages 18 and 24) men (33 per cent in 2010) are overrepresented when compared to women (25 per cent in 2010). The concern with male drop-out, however, is not present in public debates due to the high overall drop-out rates and the low educational qualifications of the Portuguese population (even in younger generations). Gender debates have been centred on women, who were the most illiterate contingent of the population before the 1974 revolution.

This concern with women has produced striking effects in higher education. According to data of the Portuguese Annual Employment Survey (INE), in 2008, the educational levels of the population over age 15 showed the strong feminization of the education system, particularly at the university level. For the overall population, the feminization rate at this upper level of education was of 60.4 per cent. In fact, the percentage of women who hold a university degree is higher in almost all areas of knowledge, with the only exception of 'Engineering, industry and construction', where the feminization rate was only 33 per cent (Education statistics 2005-2006), which is still one of highest rates in the European context. In all other areas, ranging from the humanities to natural and logical sciences or health, the number of women increased dramatically over the past decade. Furthermore, among those who actually have finished their university degree in 2010 (Pordata data basis⁵), the proportion of women is 60 per cent. The only area that remains overwhelmingly male is Information Technologies and Computer Sci-

⁵ Available at: <http://www.pordata.pt/Portugal>.

ences, where men are around 80 per cent of those gaining a diploma. In contrast, women are nearly 80 per cent of those with a degree in Health and Social Services and 85 per cent in Education (Pordata data basis).

2.3. Overall and single topics: politics, health, violence and others

2.3.1. Political participation

Men remain the main political players in Portugal. Today, men still hold the majority of positions either in the political system or in the higher echelons of the state apparatus. However, the situation is presently very different than before the 1974 revolution, given the equality dynamics it produced.

Since 2003, the Law of Political Parties (Law n° 2/2003), proclaimed that political parties must ensure a direct, active and balanced participation of both men and women in political activities, and guarantee gender non-discrimination in the access to party organs and candidacies. In 2006, a new Law (Law n° 3/2006) approved the principle of gender parity in all candidacies to the Assembly of the Republic, the European Parliament and local Municipalities. Women or men must represent a minimum of 33.3 per cent of all candidacies in each political party running for elections. If this principle is disrespected, reductions in public subventions for electoral campaigns are legally prescribed. However, five years after the approval of the parity law, the gender equality goals are still not achieved (Canço and Santos 2009), mainly because women are often not placed in electable positions in party lists.

Men are still a majority in the Portuguese Parliament. In May 2009, in the previous legislature, there were, in total, 29.4 per cent of women in the parliament. Today, in the current legislature, which already began in 2011 and produced a change from a centre-left government to a right-wing government, women are 28.6 per cent of elected parliamentarians. Likewise, when looking at the gender ratio of the government's ministers, the present government (a coalition between the centre-right Social Democratic Party and the right-wing Popular Party) is 83 per cent male. In the previous government (of the centre-left Socialist Party) the feminization of ministers was higher: only 71 per cent of ministers were men.

On the contrary, men were a minority in the whole of the public administration, amounting to only 39 per cent of all employees. Even so, in the state apparatus, men are a majority of 55 per cent in leading and managerial positions.

In sum, gender equality has been an issue since the revolution, when blatant discrimination and subordination of women was purged from the law and practice of the administration and gender discrimination explicitly forbidden by the new constitution of 1976, which upheld equality between men and women in all domains. Furthermore state organisms were created in order to deal with the issue of gender equality: the ‘Comissão da Condição Feminina’ (Commission for the Feminine Condition), created in 1977 (Law-Decree n.º 485/77), transformed into the ‘Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos da Mulher’ (Commission for Equality and Rights of Women) in 1991 (Law-Decree n.º 166/91), and , in 2007 (Law-Decree n.º 164/2007), into the ‘Comissão para a Cidadania e a Igualdade de Género’ (Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality); and the ‘Comissão para a Igualdade no Trabalho e no Emprego’ (Commission for Equality in Labour and Employment) created in 1979 (Law-Decree n.º 392/79). Gender mainstreaming is now the dominant practice in public policies, though the main focus has been women’s rights in all areas of public and private lives. Men are still, as we have seen above, a relatively new concern in terms of political debate and policies, even if the progressive adoption of a gender neutral language and gender balanced policies can be read as a sign (e.g. the refusal of quota policies for only one gender) that there is an increasing space (at least until now) for the public voicing of such concerns. In fact, family policies on fatherhood rights and men’s involvement in private life not only represent a pioneering set of measures in regard to men, but also put forward a more sophisticated view of gender equality, in which equality is not only a women’s issue.

2.3.2. Health, life expectancy, particularly gendered risk factors

As anticipated, men have a lower life expectancy at birth than women (76.1 for men and 82.1 years for women, according to data from 2009 [INE – Mortality Statistics]). In sum, men die younger than women, 6 years on average. In all age-groups up to age 64, the gender ratio for mortality shows that in every 10 deaths, 7 are male. This higher mortality of men, and especially young men, is largely caused by risk-taking behaviours directly associated with models of masculinity (Lages 2007). In the leading causes of death for men, one finds the prominence of lung cancer and other diseases related to tobacco and alcohol consumption. Likewise, road traffic accidents and self-

inflicted wounds, both resulting in death, are much higher among men than among women (Carrilho 2010). Of course, all of these are more frequent in lower than in middle and upper classes, also because men from a poor background are less likely to receive or seek proper medical care (e.g. routine medical checkups) (Antunes 2009).

2.3.3. Violence (with men as perpetrators and victims)

Over the past decade, and even before, gender violence has gained relevance in the public debate and academic research (Dias 2004). However, this concern has been systematically centred on violence against women and, to a lesser degree, against children. There are, in fact, a great number of studies and official data about domestic, conjugal and sexual violence against women, which find a strong echo in the mass-media, either denouncing specific cases and overall statistics or publicizing campaigns directed towards the prevention of violence and support for female victims. For instance, in the media, a great importance was recently given to the fact that over the last six years 250 women were killed by their spouses, partners or boyfriends.⁶ In these studies and media portraits of gender violence, men recurrently appear as perpetrators of violence (Canço and Santos 2009).

Over the past decade, there has been a growing concern with the sexual abuse of children. This preoccupation, which does not entirely overlap discussions about children's mistreatment and negligence (where women often appear as the main perpetrators, as pointed out by Almeida [2005]), has been essentially about the forms of male sexual violence as typified in the idea of the 'pedophile'. In the beginning, this was mainly a fear related with the sexual abuse of young boys, which was triggered in 2002 by the 'Casa Pia scandal'. In Casa Pia (a public boarding home and school for orphans and destitute children), it came to public that a number of young boys were being sexually abused both by internal employees and by a network of male outsiders to the institution. Some of the allegedly involved and judicially convicted men were public figures. Presently, however, the initial focus on young boys has been enlarged as to include young female victims, who are the main victims of sexual abuse, as a number of studies have shown.

Still regarding children, another main concern is related to violence in schools and bullying (Sebastião et al. 2003). Here, young boys appear as the main perpetrators

⁶ Available at: <http://jugular.blogs.sapo.pt/2842389.html>.

of violence targeting male and female colleagues and teachers alike (in particular, female teachers). This violence is deeply associated with the construction of particular models of masculinity that translate into hierarchies between dominant boys and boys perceived as more frail, effeminate or even as homosexual. This phenomenon has been often circumscribed to schools labeled as 'problematic' due to student bodies of a lower class background and specific ethnic origins (namely, African and Romani). As a qualitative study with both non-heterosexual and immigrant men of African origin has demonstrated, most of the interviewees stated to have suffered, in their school years, discrimination and even physical and sexual abuse perpetrated by other young boys (Aboim, Vasconcelos et al. 2010).

All in all, gender violence against men has received little attention, either public or academic, albeit a few exceptions (Casimiro 2008). However, according to the 2008 report of the Association for Victim Support (Associação de Apoio à Vítima – APAV 2010), 187 men between ages 18 and 64 stated to have been victims of domestic violence, in most cases, psychological and verbal abuse. This number rose to 705 in 2009, amounting to 10 per cent of all the complaints made to the APAV. Even if women are the great majority of victims, the APAV acknowledges that, over the last few years, there are more male victims seeking support and complaining to public authorities, which reveals a degree of change in the ways some men are able to reveal their masculinity in public. Unfortunately, official statistics are still lacking on this issue.

In fact, on the overall problem of violence, statistics present many difficulties. First of all because much of the violence is still not registered by the police and official authorities. Secondly, because registered violence is often hidden and included in categories that juxtapose violent and non-violent crimes. Thirdly, because statistics do not entirely correlate the gender of victims with that of perpetrators. If it is possible to know the number of crimes committed by men against women and inversely by women against men (the former much more common than the latter), there are no data that enable us to measure same gender offences. We can see that in 2010, 95 per cent of inmates were men (and among them, 20 per cent was constituted by foreign nationals, of which nearly 60 per cent were African), but even so these numbers provide us with little information on types of crimes and victims. As a result, the whole issue of the violence of men against men, which a number of qualitative studies points out as being the most frequent, is a dark continent. This is, indeed, a blank spot that needs urgent revision.

2.3.4. Military services

In Portugal, military service is not compulsory since 2004. It should be noted that until then military service was mandatory for the male population and also that from 1961 to 1974 Portugal went through a period of universal male conscription for war (the Portuguese Colonial War in Africa). Since 1991, women can enter the military as volunteers. From that date onwards, there has been a steady increase of women in the Armed Forces, even if men remain the majority. Until 2011 women were exempt from draft registration, a demand that was already required from the male population. As a result, today both young men and young women are demanded to attend the 'National Defense Day' that takes place once a year in military installations.

In 2010 women were already 14 per cent of the Portuguese military, which is formed only by male and female volunteers. Since 2009, the law (Law-Decree n° 52/2009) states that men and women have the same military duties. The process of enforcing gender equality in the Armed Forces has been the object of particular attention by political agents and the courts, notwithstanding some resistance from senior military officers, which has often been publicly displayed.⁷ However, the political strive for gender equality has globally overcome the resistance of male senior officers. In sum, there is only one arena where gender equality remains somewhat formal, which is that of the participation of women in the Special Forces (commandos, marines and paratroopers). Women can apply but are in fact not selected. Yet, women have participated in Portuguese military missions abroad. According to the Ministry of Defense, in 2011 there were 64 women in Humanitarian and Peace-keeping operations, which represent 8 per cent of all Portuguese military personnel assigned to these missions (Lebanon, Afghanistan, Kosovo, etc.).

2.3.5. Homophobia

Over the past three decades, there have been drastic changes in the legal regulation and social perception of homosexuality. Until 1982, homosexual practices between consenting adults were still a crime. In the Penal Code of 1982 only homosexual practices with minors under age 16 were considered a crime (more penalized than heterosexual practices with minors under 16). In 2004, the Portuguese Constitution was revised, only then forbidding all forms of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation

⁷ One good example is available at: http://www.dn.pt/inicio/interior.aspx?content_id=1127004&page=-1.

(article 13^o). However, the first law granting explicit rights to cohabiting homosexual couples had already been approved in 2001 (Law n^o 7/2001). Furthermore, in 2007, the Penal Code eliminated all criminal mentions to homosexuality. On the contrary, for the first time all forms of incitement to discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation were explicitly criminalized. All crimes motivated by homophobia also suffered an increase in penal sanctioning. Finally, in 2010, the Assembly of the Republic approved same-sex marriage (Law n^o 9/2010). With this Law, Portugal became the eighth country in the world to approve nationwide same-sex marriage. The only right that continues to be denied to same-sex couples is the right to adoption, even if individual homosexuals are allowed to adopt as, in fact, occurs (Vale de Almeida 2009). Since the approval of the same-sex marriage, there has been a steady increase in the number of couples getting married (reliable data will be shown by the 2011 Census), namely male couples. According to the Ministry of Justice, in 2010, for seven male marriages, there were only three female marriages.

The political struggle for LGBT rights was initiated in Portugal in the 1980s but only gained public strength over the past decade. LGBT associations, such as ILGA-Portugal among others, were pioneers in this effort that was later embraced by left-wing parties. The movement is now mobilizing itself for struggles in regard to parental rights. Moreover, in the Portuguese context, the majority of men's movements (e.g. fathers' movements) are led by gay activists, countering the conservatism often associated with these men's movements in other countries.

In fact, there has been a shift in the public image of homosexuality. All the above-mentioned changes promoted a certain social trivialization of the once much stigmatized figure of the homosexual, particularly in the case men. This new social acceptance of LGBT individuals was promoted by a number of factors: the 'coming out' of a number of public figures, such as TV hosts and politicians, the dissociation of homosexuality with pedophilia or Aids, the inclusion of gay and lesbian individuals and couples, in a non-stigmatized fashion, in popular soap-operas and TV shows.

However, in spite of all these changes, homosexuality, and in particular male homosexuality, is still socially discriminated. As a survey conducted in 2007 (Ferreira and Cabral 2010) has shown, same-sex intercourse is considered morally wrong by most people. Among men, 60 per cent believes that is wrong for two men to have sex and 54 per cent has the same opinion in the case of lesbian sex. Women are more liberal in this respect: only 40 per cent thinks same-sex intercourse (male or female) is wrong. In

short, heteronormativity and discrimination of homosexuals is stronger among men and also in older generations. Likewise, qualitative studies on gay men put on view the fact that they suffer discrimination from others and have, in a significant number of cases, difficulties in coping with their own sexual orientation. Many are still hidden in the closet, particularly in the face of kin and in the work-place. As stated before, young gay men are prime-targets for bullying and show a higher tendency to commit suicide (Aboim and Vasconcelos 2010).

Final remarks

The main objective of this report was to identify and understand men's involvement in gender equality issues, both in private and public spheres. This is a key question in contemporary societies. Portuguese women and mothers are among the ones who more frequently have full time jobs in the European scenario. In spite of the many changes that are still needed to promote women's access to power and traditional male domains, we believe that one of the key problems posed to men is deeply related with their place and participation in private and family life. In fact, women's obstacles to equality in areas such as politics depend to a great extent on men's ability to change. Therefore, depicting men as partners and fathers deserves a special attention, both in terms of practices and policy making.

From this perspective, it is important to recognize that barriers restraining the achievement of gender equality in family life and parenthood depend both on the labour market structure, the internal dynamics of the family and the persistence of traditional features of masculinity and femininity. The intersection of these factors generates gender inequality, despite the changes that have been occurring in Portuguese society, both in the gender division of work and at the symbolic level of values.

Following this line of reasoning, the first factor to point out as problematic to men's involvement in private life is related to the characteristics of male employment. The gender structure of the labour market is still an important variable to take into account. Men tend to work a larger number of daily hours. Professional load increases among qualified men and, namely, among the ones who work in the private sector and feel the demands of employers. Therefore, employment barriers are having an impact on men's lives, while generating problems of male stress in the conciliation of family and

work life. In this sense, an important assumption must emphasize the fact that men are, similarly to women, feeling stress in their daily conciliation of work and family obligations. Lack of time to be with the family is a key aspect of male stress, as men seem to feel the need or the obligation to spend more time at home.

A second line of assumptions concerns change and modernization in values regarding family and fatherhood. Today, the model of an affectionate and companion father dominates alongside the decline of the traditional breadwinner and patriarchal model. This decrease does not mean, however, a total detachment from institutional traces of fatherhood and masculinity. Responsibility and guidance are categories men associate more to themselves than to mothers, still more connected to traditional attributes of femininity. Nevertheless, an important trend stresses that despite the practices, often at some distance from a full participation in families' and children's daily routines, many men express guilt for not being more available to undertake private obligations and tasks. These difficulties may well be linked to the persistence of traditional traces of masculinity and the conflicting relations with the new models of male care. Men value fatherhood and companionship in family life, but many still hold values that exclude the private dimension of social identity.

In order to follow the rapid changes in values and attitudes towards a new conception of fatherhood and male participation in the private sphere, further policies are needed to overcome the difficulties and barriers with which men have to cope in employment, family life and social identity. Portuguese social policies have aimed at this transformation, by promoting measures directed to support, not only the mother, but also the father. The reinforcement of leaves for the fathers (such as parental leaves or the sharing of the breast-feeding leave) and their compulsory character, in some cases, are representative of these aims.

The political endeavour to diminish the gender gap has been a corollary of egalitarian ideological models of family life and gender relations in Portugal. This model is one of a dual-earner couple, where the woman's right to paid work and to achieve an individual place in the public sphere is recognized. Over the last few decades Portugal has reinforced the egalitarian model, underlining its specificities in the context of Southern Europe. The differences are generated by a stronger promotion of women's employment and of the dual-earner model; and also a by a stronger linkage between leave and gender equality policies. Therefore, several measures have been taken to improve the conditions of family-work conciliation, namely by developing the protection of women in the

workplace and by promoting a more involved fatherhood. On the one hand, care facilities for children were improved, and, on the other, the enhancement of leave arrangements was guided by the idea of gender equality.

However, men's involvement is dependent on multiple factors, as we observed throughout this report. One major obstacle has to do with gender and masculinity ideologies, which, in spite of the rapid expansion of equality norms in contemporary Portugal, take a long time to change. Nevertheless, side by side with the already developing family policies, fatherhood might benefit from other forms of protection, namely in regard to employment conditions and the limitations that can affect men in the workplace.

Some family policies that might be suitable to deal with these problems could be to grant men more flexibility in working hours according to the number and age of children. One important point would be to increase the supervision of private employers in order to guarantee that the Law is not ignored (one must note that many men are still not making use of the compulsory parental leave). On the other hand, measures to support lone fathers or fathers in post-divorce family arrangements should be a key priority of legal regulation and of social policies: lone or guardian fathers could benefit, for instance, from reduced working hours, etc. In short, the promotion of positive discrimination measures encompassing multiple types of families, including same-sex couples, could help increase the pace of social change in gender relations and equality.

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COUNTRY SHEET – PORTUGAL

1. FACTS AND FIGURES

1.1. Pay gap

Women earn 81.3 % of men's income (2007, Ministry of Work and Social Security - Statistics Division)% of men's income (2008, Eurostat, Structure of Earnings Survey)

1.2. Politics

Share (%) of men in

- 1.2.1. parliament: 70%
- 1.2.2. federal government (ministers/cabinet members): 87%
- 1.2.3. executive boards of plc.s: 96%
(year and source: 2009; Report from the Commission; Equality between women and men – 2010, Brussels)

1.3. Paid/unpaid work

Average proportion of work by gender (weekly hours):

- 1.3.1. Average amount of time (weekly hours) spent for paid work (not hours contractually foreseen but really done), commuting time (if available) and unpaid work for the **whole workforce/all employees**:

	Paid work	Commuting time ⁸	Unpaid work ⁹
Men	40:6 (1)	00:57 (2)	06:8 (3)/ 00:54 (4)
Women	37:0 (1)	00:56 (2)	20:4 (3)/ 03:41 (4)

explanatory notes (1) paid working hours per week; (2) commuting time per day for all the employed population; (3) weekly hours spent on household work, but only in dual-earner couples; (4) average hours spent on household work and care per day, for all the employed population; year and source: (1) 2008, Annual Employment Survey, INE; (2) 1999, Time-Use survey, INE (3) 2002, ISSP Family and Gender Survey; (4) 1999, Time-use Survey, INE

- 1.3.2. Average amount of time (weekly hours) spent for paid work (not hours contractually foreseen but really done), commuting time (if available) and unpaid work for workforce/employees **with children under 4 years** in household:

	Paid work	Commuting time	Unpaid work
Men	42:4 (2)	1	7:3 (3)
Women	38:4 (2)	1	17:5 (3)

explanatory notes (1) not available; (2) paid working hours per week among individuals with at least a child under age 6 in the household; (3) weekly hours spent on household work, but only in dual-earner couples with at least a child under age 6 in the household ; year and source: (2) 2002, ISSP Family and Gender Survey; (3) 2002, ISSP Family and Gender Survey

⁸ As it is related to paid work.

⁹ Only household and care work. Volunteer work with community or charity organizations is not included.

Parental leave (for both fathers and mothers)¹⁰

1.3.3. Compulsory yes/no: yes

Fathers entitled for how many weeks (of how many weeks total)?¹¹

1.3.4. 120 or 150 calendar days, depending on payment level. It is obligatory for the mother to take 45 days (six weeks) following the birth; the remaining period may be divided between parents by mutual agreement. An extra 30 days ('sharing bonus') is available if both parents share the leave and if the father stays alone with the child during this period. The Initial Parental leave may be taken in the following ways: 1) the mother (or the father, after the mother's obligatory 45 days) may take all 120 days at 100 per cent of earnings or all 150 days at 80 per cent of earnings, i.e. there is no sharing of leave; 2) parents may divide between themselves 150 days at 100 per cent of earnings on condition of sharing the leave (e.g. the father must take at least 30 consecutive days or two periods of 15 consecutive days of leave alone, without the mother, or vice versa); 3) parents may divide between themselves 180 days at 83 per cent of earnings on condition of gender sharing of leave (e.g. the father must take at least 30 consecutive days or two periods of 15 consecutive days of leave alone, without the mother, or vice versa). eligible weeks for fathers of 8.5 weeks total.

1.3.5. How many weeks for the fathers are paid? 2 weeks after childbirth (fathers' only parental leave). See above.

1.3.6. Relation of payment related to earnings (%): 100% (obligatory 2 weeks after childbirth). See above.

1.3.7. Usage/take-up rate of fathers:

1.3.7.1. of births in total: 2008 - 36.8%*/ 44.8**%;

1.3.7.2. of total applications: 2010*** - 25%

1.3.7.3. of total weeks: no data available%

explanatory notes *this percentage was calculated before the application of the new 2009 legislation, in which Paternity leave' and 15 days optional Parental leave for fathers has been replaced by 'fathers-only Parental leave' (20 days) and a 'sharing bonus' - it refers to the optional 2 weeks parental leave ; ** this percentage refers to the compulsory 5 days paternal leave that existed before 2009; *** this percentage covers all fathers who shared the non-obligatory Parental Leave for 30 or more days in relation to the total number of applications in accordance with the 2009 law. It does not include the percentage of fathers who took the compulsory two-weeks fathers' only parental leave, for which data is not available in 2010; year and source: 2010, Instituto de Informática e Estatística da Segurança Social.

1.5. Paternity leave (for fathers only)

1.5.1. Compulsory yes/no yes

1.5.2. Fathers entitled for how many weeks?: two obligatory plus two optional weeks

1.5.3. How many weeks of the leave are paid? 2

1.5.4. Relation of payment related to earnings (%):100%

1.5.5. Fathers' usage/take-up rate related to births in total: in 2008: 5 days obligatory paternity leave 45%; 15 days optional Parental Leave 37%;

¹⁰ For consistency reasons, we chose weeks as the time frame of reference. If in the country you cover months or days are the respective time frame of reference, please enter weeks into the table, and enter the official time frame (months or days) into the explanatory notes.

explanatory notes The percentages above were calculated before the application of the new 2009 legislation, in which Paternity leave' and 15 days optional Parental leave for fathers has been replaced by 'fathers-only Parental leave' (20 days) and a 'sharing bonus'. ; year and source: 2009, Instituto de Informática e Estatística da Segurança Social

1.6. Childcare

For how many children (%) is a public childcare facility (nursery, crèche, kindergarten, primary school) available in the age of

- 1.6.1. 0 to under 3 years: 36%; year and source: 2009; Eurostat
- 1.6.2. 3 to the mandatory school age: 81%; year and source: 2009; Eurostat

1.7. School degrees (male/female)

Leavers from education without formal degree ("Drop-outs"): 32.7%/24.6%; year and source: 2010, INE, Annual Employment Survey ; definition of drop-outs: This indicator is the same as below. In Portugal the recent changes in the education system and the poor degree of educational qualifications make it difficult to define a clear notion of what a formal degree is. Such a calculation would imply a more detailed analysis by cohort: for instance, for individuals above age 40 a formal degree implied only 4 years of schooling or even less, which is not the case for younger individuals (e.g. between ages 15 and 25) since the number of obligatory years of school increased, from 1999 onwards, to 12 years.

- 1.7.1. 2.3. Overall and single topics: politics, health, violence and others
- 1.7.2. Early leavers from education and training (Percentage of the population aged 18-24 with at most lower secondary education and not in further education or training) 32.7%/24.6%; year and source: 2010, Eurostat
- 1.7.3. Graduates upper secondary level (Percentage of the population aged 20-24 with at least upper secondary education): 54.8%/62.7%; year and source: 2010, Eurostat

1.8. Male participation tertiary level:

46.6% (share of men among tertiary students); year and source: 2009, Eurostat

1.9. Life expectancy in years (men / women): 76.5/82.6; year and source: 2009, Eurostat

1.10. Do **military services** or other compulsory services for one sex group only exist? Which? No
For whom? No
How long? No

1.11. Do **quotas** exist? (E.g.: quota for men in crèche, quota for women on boards in plc.s)

Example 1: Where and how? No

Example 2: Where and how? No

Example 3: Where and how? No

Example 4: Where and how? No

2. Measures, success and barriers

- Most important measures implemented (and why they were necessary)
- In which way did they help? (Refer to good practices)
- Where did obstacles appear?

Focus on the effects. Legal and policy measures might be the most important, but consider also the role of counselling institutions/ organisations, political networks on men and gender equality, important initiatives.

There are a number of important measures that promote gender equality. One landmark advance is related with the expansion of the parental leave and the flexibility it allows to men, in a gender equality perspective. This policy measure has had almost immediate effects in men's practices after childbirth, with the increase of take-up rates of fathers. Secondly, the measures aiming at the increase of women's political participation has also produced positive effects. However, the political system is still male dominated and further measures are needed. Thirdly, another major advance is related to the recognition of same-sex marriage in 2010. We can say that in Portugal, the legal measures applied to promote gender equality and overall equality between different groups of men (and women) show, until now, a clear-cut political agenda that considered equality as a priority. Nonetheless, the spirit of the law is not yet completely fulfilled. More supervision is necessary. But, we believe that some of the barriers hindering gender equality can only be overcome with a strong improvement of the overall educational levels of the population. Class-based inequalities, even in regard to gender equality, show a striking gap between those who are more qualified and those who are not. The latter tend to be more conservative and to have more difficulties in coping with the measures already made legal. Finally, in the context of the current debt and financial crisis, a major problem that can endanger what has been conquered is, of course, the financial cut-backs in the Portuguese welfare state.

3. Needs and recommendations

Considering the facts and measures, what has to be done with regard to men in order to promote gender equality? Point out the most urgent, the most important, as well as the most promising tasks and steps that should be focused on.

It is important to promote family policies that might be suitable to deal with the persisting gender inequalities. Possible solutions would include granting men with more flexibility in working hours according to the number and age of the children. One important point would be to increase the supervision of private employers in order to guarantee that the Law is not ignored (one must note that many men are still not making use of the compulsory parental leave). On the other hand, measures to support lone fathers or fathers in post-divorce family arrangements should be a key priority of legal regulation and of social policies: lone or guardian fathers could benefit, for instance, from reduced

working hours, etc. In short, the promotion of positive discrimination measures encompassing multiple types of families, including same-sex couples, could help increase the pace of social change in gender relations and equality. On the other hand, violence should also be addressed in a more profound and enlarged manner, not limiting the discussion and measures to violence against women, even if this is a real problem. Nonetheless, the violence of some men against other men should be brought into public debate and the political agenda. (max. 350 words)