



# WHITE PAPER MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY IN PORTUGAL

## Title

**WHITE PAPER – Men and Gender Equality in Portugal**

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# INTRODUCTION

## 1. Objectives

The main objective of the White Paper Men and Gender Equality in Portugal is to summarize relevant information on men, male roles and gender equality and to help identify challenges and recommendations in this area, to be discussed and weighed up by all bodies and social actors interested in promoting gender equality in Portuguese society.

This document was drafted as part of the project MEN'S ROLES IN A GENDER EQUALITY PERSPECTIVE, funded by the Mainstreaming of Gender Equality and Work-Life Balance Programme (EEA Grants/Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality - CIG), and undertaken over the course of two years (2014-16) in a partnership which brought together the Commission for Equality in Labour and Employment (*Comissão para a Igualdade no Trabalho e no Emprego* - CITE) and the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon (*Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa* - ICS-ULisboa). The participating international representatives were Berit Brandth and Elin Kvande (Norwegian University of Science and Technology) and Gerardo Meil (Autonomous University of Madrid)<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. Men and gender equality: research background and approaches

In the light of the social change which has taken place in Portugal over recent decades, this White Paper seeks to map and analyse the place of men in Portuguese society in various domains of life (family and work-life balance, labour market, education, health and violence). The analysis embodies three specific approaches.

**The first approach reflects a need to take into account not only male roles but also changes in female roles and gender equality.** Beyond stressing the obvious point (that men's place in social life always has its counterpoint in women's roles), it was necessary to acknowledge that the promotion of gender equality was always a women's issue, as it inevitably would be in a context where male domination withheld power and independence from women. In recent decades gender equality in modern Western societies was synonymous with women and their struggle for financial independence, education, equal salaries, equal responsibilities and powers, in the fight against domestic violence and against oppression. Consequently public policies for gender equality were mainly guided by a concern to improve women's lives in society, seeking above all to reinforce their position in the public sphere (employment, rights, political participation, etc.).

However, as is emphasised in a number of recent documents and studies, gender equality applies to men as much as to women (World Economic Forum, 2015; European Commission, 2012; Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012; OCDE, 2012; Norwegian Ministry for Children and Equality, 2009; EIGE, 2015; Gornicks and Meyers, 2008; Connell, 2003). Men spend less time with their children and

in performing household tasks. This negatively affects women's participation in the public sphere. Men also have lower life expectancy, are at greater risk of accidents, are over-represented in the crime statistics and under-represented in professions traditionally allocated to women (teaching, social services, nursing, etc.), and more frequently drop out of secondary education. Nevertheless, men still occupy most positions of power in society, have higher incomes than women and are the main perpetrators of violence in the public and private spheres.

The need to take into account men's contribution to gender equality is of course not an entirely new question. It was placed on various national agendas (e.g. in Norway) at the beginning of the 1990s and also on international intergovernmental agendas, at least since the 4th UN Beijing Conference on Women in 1995. But it is undoubtedly in more recent years, particularly since the beginning of the 21st century, that it has emerged as a key element in gender equality policies in several different European countries and also at the EU level. The first EU conference on Men and Gender Equality took place in 2001, under the Swedish presidency. There was a second conference in 2006, during the Finnish presidency, and in the same year the Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities between Women and Men pointed out that both men and women may benefit from gender equality, in particular through: better balance in decision-making; less horizontal and vertical segregation in the labour market; more sharing of caregiving and family; cultural changes in relation to gender stereotypes in education and the media; and action to combat violence against women (European Commission, 2012). The document also underlined the need to promote new models of masculinity and new forms of thinking on men's expectations and their specific needs.

<sup>1</sup> Entities involved in the elaboration of the White Paper at the end of this publication.

**The second approach embodied in this analysis relates to the question of gender itself.** The studies on which this White Paper is based assume gender as a social construct and a fundamental aspect of social organization, encouraging institutionalized social practices which classify people according to male and female roles and thus establish systems of inequality based on those differences (Ridgeway and Correll, 2000). In this conceptualisation, gender is interpreted as interfering with and conditioning relations between men and women through institutionally situated mechanisms which are interactive and individual (Risman, 2004). Thus, for example:

- At the institutional level, public policies, legislation and organizational rules and regulations distribute resources and allocate opportunities in a genderified manner. Leave policies in Portugal are a good illustration of how the State allocates parental responsibilities differently to men and women.
- In the realm of interaction, gender roles have to be seen as behaviours which are situated in and framed by gender norms and expectations (Hobson, Duvander and Haaldén, 2006). For example, in the workplace a man who is to become a father may be faced with a corporate culture in which the father's role is reduced to that of being the provider.
- Finally, at the individual level, socialization over the life course and its surrounding discourses, whether in the family or in peer groups, and in the dominant culture, influence individuals' identities and their representations of gender roles in public and private life (for example, what it is to be a father or mother).

**The third and final approach relates to the historical and macro-social context:** male and female roles have to be analysed in the light of historical changes and policies which promoted different gender regimes. The rapid integration of women into the labour market and the introduction of gender equality policies after the 25 April 1974 revolution in Portugal were key moments for promoting a family division of labour model based on dual earner couples, even for couples with small children (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012). In this connection priority was given to the status of women and reconciling female employment and family, to some extent neglecting the participation of men in private life. As a number of studies and data have shown, these developments led to dualism and inequality, a situation in which women took a larger part in the labour market than men did in unpaid labour. In addition, it is only recently that men have been included in the public debate and in gender equality policies in a more systematic way, obliging them, and society as a whole, to

rethink traditional male roles. The focus on men has been more on policies which safeguard paternal interests, but also covers the right to reconcile work and family life for all individuals, thus opening up significant breaches in the way men and women see themselves and live their lives.

### 3. Mission and Methodology

The White Paper Men and Gender Equality in Portugal is the outcome of a number of different activities, studies and methodologies for collecting and analysing data. In line with the partnership agreement, the ICS-ULisboa research team was charged with supplying a description of the Portuguese situation based on the following mission:

- Outline of how attitudes to gender roles have evolved, including a specific module on public comprehension of gender equality policy, by carrying out the Family and Changing Gender Roles survey of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP). In order to assess recent changes in men's roles and disparities between men and women in work-life balance in Portugal, a comparison was made of the results of two editions of the survey: ISSP 2002, which was applied to a representative sample of the Portuguese resident population aged 18 and over (1092 individuals); and ISSP 2012, carried out in Portugal in 2014, using the same sampling criteria (1001 individuals)<sup>2</sup>;
- Analysis of secondary data and developments in national policies, in order to identify the principal trends in men's roles and gender differences in various domains of life in society, in particular in the family and the labour market, but also in education, health, political participation and domestic violence. The following databases were used: Census INE, Employment Survey INE, ISSP Family and Gender Roles Survey 2002 and 2012, PORDATA, PISA Programme 2003/2012, DGEEC Education Statistics, DGE National Exams, Eurostat, EU-SILC, Time Use Surveys 1999 and 2015, National Health Survey 2014, Social Security Statistics, EUROFOUND EWCS and Quality of Life Surveys, OECD Family Policy Database. National and international reports, research projects and studies on this topic were also consulted, together with recent national legislation, particularly on leave policies. Over the last ten years more attention has been paid to men's place in gender equality, both in terms of public policies and research work;
- A qualitative case study on the impact of leave policies, in particular the introduction of shared initial parental leave in 2009, on how paternity is experienced and on how gender roles are structured following the birth of a child;
- Consultation and dialogue with gender equality experts,

<sup>2</sup> The ISSP is an international network of comparative and longitudinal studies to which Portugal has belonged since 1997. Portugal took part in only two of the five ISSP surveys on 'Family and Changing Gender Roles', in 2002 and 2012 (in Portugal the latter was only carried out in 2014, as part of this project). For more information on the ISSP consult: [www.issp.org](http://www.issp.org) and [www.issp.ics.ul.pt](http://www.issp.ics.ul.pt).

stakeholders (social partners, civil society associations) and political decision-makers, with a view to capturing their views on the topic and identifying possible recommendations, by means of two focus group sessions (discussion groups), an interview, and a parliamentary hearing.

- Holding two international seminars in collaboration with the project partners: the first seminar, on Men and Leave Policy (May 2014); and the second, on Men and Gender Equality: Analysis of secondary data (November 2015);
- Drafting of a preliminary version of the White Paper Men and Gender Equality in Portugal, submitted and discussed at the final project conference (October 2016);
- Publication and dissemination of White Paper Men and Gender Equality in Portugal and 3 Policy Briefs: Policy Brief 1 – Men, Male Roles and Gender Equality (Rodrigues, Cunha and Wall, 2015); Policy Brief II – Men and Parental Leave: Legal Framework, Attitudes and Practices (Cunha, Atalaia and Wall, 2016); Policy Brief III – Main Conclusions and Recommendations of the White Paper (Wall, Cunha and Atalaia, 2016).

To sum up, the White Paper Men and Gender Equality in Portugal, based on various studies and data systematically collected, seeks to provide and disseminate deeper, organized knowledge on the role and situation of men in the context of gender equality in Portugal. Men's practices and roles in gender equality vary, partly as a result of the different positions which they occupy in the labour market, and partly due to the diversity of institutional, interactional and individual factors mentioned above. Based on existing studies and data, as well as on research projects carried out as part of the project, the White Paper shows the situation of men and gender equality in the following areas:

- Men's participation in family life, and in reconciling work and family life (Chapter 1).
- Men's situation in the labour market, bearing in mind not only changes over recent decades but also the impact of the financial crisis (Chapter 2).
- The place of men in education (Chapter 3).
- Men's position in other domains such as health and violence (Chapter 4).

The data collected and results outlined in the White Paper, together with the views and recommendations of experts and stakeholders consulted throughout the project, in particular during the final conference, underpins the development of the main challenges and proposals for recommendations for improving men's role in gender equality in Portugal. The ideas, challenges and recommendations are directed at political decision-makers and all actors and bodies seeking to design and implement gender equality policies which take into account the role of men, on the unshakeable assumption that this objective can only be realized with the contributions of men and women and with measures which benefit both sides and are never to the disadvantage of one or the other.

# SUMMARY: MAIN CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 1. Men, family and reconciling work and family life

A fundamental step towards establishing equality between men and women was taken after the downfall (in 1974) of the dictatorship of the *Estado Novo* in that, from that time on, the rights of both sexes were recognized. While this step shook up a culturally, socially and politically entrenched gender regime which, through legislation itself, perpetuated gender inequalities, it is undeniable today that that victory did not dismantle gendered cultural norms, which continue to be ascribed to male and female roles in the form of social expectations of performance, thereby structuring, conditioning and defining attitudes and practices of men and women in different contexts of Portuguese life. It is precisely in the realm of work-family balance that we find the intersection of two of these contexts which are particularly conducive to (re)producing inequalities between men and women: the labour market and family life.

ISSP data – both the study comparing attitudes and practices of men and women of working age with regard to the division of paid and unpaid labour between 2002 and 2014, and the sounding out of resident men's and women's attitudes in 2014, in the light of the progressive reinforcement of father's rights - show that both men and women are today more receptive to fathers' participation in family life, and thus to accepting the male contribution to reconciling work and family life on an egalitarian basis. The most prominent factor shown up by this analysis is age, which reveals the generational effect on this movement towards change, both as concerns the division of occupational and household work and receptivity to State intervention in the balance between work and family life, in particular by means of facilities and support services for families, and the introduction of leave policies. The following significant changes have been observed in recent years in practices and attitudes to the role of men in family life and in reconciling work and family:

- **Regardless of age, men take a larger part in household work** Men today devote a greater number of hours to most routine household tasks, among which only “doing the laundry” is the exception, in that it is the task which is most resistant to male involvement;
- **The conjugal division of labour has moved towards greater equilibrium**, above all in couples of an age at which it is more common to have small children. The generational group most involved in these changes is those aged between 30 to 44 years. The men in this group were, in 2002, those who were least involved in performing household work and most involved in paid work;
- **There is an increasing perception, among men and women, of fairness in the division of household work.** This is a characteristic of how attitudes have moved in line with changes in practices. While older men (aged between 45 and 64) have not followed this trend, it is also true that more

conservative attitudes to gender roles are becoming blurred among individuals of all ages;

- **A caring masculinity is being disseminated.** This can be seen especially in the consolidated growth in the take-up of leaves – most men take the father's only leave not only for the compulsory days, but also for the optional days. Sharing of the initial parental leave with bonus, which enables the father to stay alone with the baby, has also seen sustained growth. A number of studies have shown that this caring masculinity leads to greater autonomy and empathy in the couple, and to the deconstruction of merely gender-based practices. Take-up of leaves by the father goes hand in hand with the mostly receptive attitude of those surveyed regarding the compulsory nature of leave and the option to share it, with younger men being the most in favour of measures which encourage a genuinely early involvement in paternity;
- **Popular attitudes are in line with the egalitarian principles promoted by leave policies.** In effect, male and female attitudes to a genuinely early involvement in paternity are well suited to a policy which seeks to achieve gender equality, the well-being of the child and the harmonization of responsibilities all at the same time. The majority of individuals interviewed believe that a father's taking up leave not only has positive effects on the father's and mother's relationship with the child and on the conjugal and family dynamic, but also contributes to the well-being of all members of the family, to equality between men and women, and to the mother's involvement in the labour market;
- **Clear evidence of changing gender roles in the family is observable.** The perception has gained ground that the man has as much responsibility as the woman in the conduct of family life, and there is a prevailing conviction among men and women that the child's well-being is adversely affected when the man is not involved in providing care.



Attitudes and practices regarding men's participation in family life, and their role in balancing work and family life, have changed significantly in recent years, suggesting that the ongoing implementation of gender equality policies has played an important part in those changes. But those attitudes and practices also show there is a long way to go in achieving full equality between men and women. In effect, the results analysed here also reveal norm-induced behaviours and values which are a barrier to gender equality. In the period under study, there is an identifiable set of practices and attitudes which run counter to the observed changes. Those practices and attitudes, by insisting on a differentiated division of labour based on gender difference, are resistant, if not opposed to, greater male participation in family life:

- ***The male pattern of reduced allocation of time for household work persists, as well as the idea of the man as a secondary performer in the domestic sphere.***

On the one hand, women continue to spend more time on household tasks and to be charged with organizing family life. On the other hand, not only are the observed changes among men regarding the time available for household work still insufficient for achieving a balanced division of unpaid work, but their participation is achieved through conjugal sharing, and not through individual responsibility for performance. In other words, while greater male participation in family life does have a mitigating effect – there are fewer women today carrying out household work alone, so they are able to devote more time to other spheres of life, such as their professional life –, it is also true that male participation is less a reflection of their having taken on an independent role and more of a decision to collaborate in managing family life;

- Despite the changes observed, ***men still have more conservative attitudes to the division of household and caring tasks***, since it is they who least agree with the idea that the father is 'as capable as the mother of taking care of a baby under one year of age' – thus showing they are more apprehensive about the possible negative effects of the mother's pursuit of a career on children's well-being – and it is also they who are most in agreement with a more traditional division of labour. Observed continuities in practises reflect the persistence, in terms of attitudes, of the perception that the woman has greater responsibility in family life, even though that perception may be in decline;

- ***Employers continue to resist a more caring masculinity.***

This attitude, which is in effect the result of a combination of conservatism and disinformation, produces a refusal to recognize that the right to take up father's leave is enshrined in the law and an inability to see the benefits of men enjoying parental leave. Men experience this conservative attitude with some apprehension, fearing on the one hand that they will impair their participation in family life if they do not take up the leave and, on the other hand, that they will suffer at work through reprisals or, in extreme cases, loss of their job. This explains why quite a large number of men perceive a conflict between taking up father's leave and each spouse's career, believing that men taking up the father's leave may both damage the father's career and help the female partner to hold on to her job. Moreover, that conservative attitude on the part of employers also moderates the trend for fathers' and mother's sharing of initial leave to increase, so that levels of sharing of leave remain lower than they could be.

To sum up, gender norms' persistent prescriptive ability in the realm of (more conservative) men's attitudes and practices (a still clearly inegalitarian division of labour) suggests that the more widespread perception of fairness in the division of labour is not necessarily reflected in achieving the reflexivity needed to attain critical distance from those norms. But that increasing perception of fairness, and all the changes observed in attitudes and practices of both men and women, describe a scenario in which changes in the gender order have undeniably taken place. That scenario also reveals a form of masculinity which today is far more oriented towards family life and to an early involvement in paternity. Now if in part those changes are the result of State intervention, which seeks – through a comprehensive system of policies designed to achieve balance between work and family not only with leave policies, but also with measures in the realm of family support services – to help couples with children and encourage a balance between paid and unpaid work, detaching it from the gender inequalities of the past, then it is important to put forward, on the basis of this study's conclusions, the following set of recommendations:

- ***To promote gender equality, parental equality and the right of the child to live with both parents after a divorce, encouraging shared physical custody. To suggest a public debate on the legal presumption of shared physical custody.***

Divorce and separation are increasingly common events in men's and women's lives. Despite reforms in post-divorce parenthood regulations from the early 1990s on, culminating, in 2008, in the generalised principle of "shared legal custody", the practice of children staying with the mother persists, and it is the mother who takes on "the exclusive responsibility for day-to-day life of the children". This frequent practice, which is often uncontested by fathers and mothers or decreed by a court decision, is based on the conviction that men and women have specific and complementary responsibilities in parenthood, based on "natural" gender roles, which consider that it falls to the mother to care and the father to provide. This view of family and the roles of father and mother not only is out of step with the reality of modern families but also, post-divorce, enables and maybe amplifies the inequalities between men and women in the public and private spheres. Women are burdened with an extra "exclusive" responsibility for day-to-day life. This has strong impact on their relationship to the labour market, on work and family life reconciliation, on time management and on the financial health of their household. Men see access to their children hedged around with the difficulties of a visitation system which prevents them from sharing their day-to-day life and maintaining the relational proximity which daily life enables them to cultivate. At the same time it removes their responsibility for events of day-to-day life of their children because they become "no-resident parents";

- ***To commit to training and disseminating information to employers,***

making them aware of the potential conflicts which couples with small children face in reconciling careers and family life. The attitudes of the resident population to taking parental leave and the interviews conducted with those parents who shared their initial parental leave showed there is still an employer culture which is resistant to releasing men to their family lives and to recognizing their right to reconcile work and family. Employers thereby condone the



persistence of inequality for women in the labour market and their overburdening in family life. Fathers and mothers have the constitutional right to reconcile their working and family lives. And a fair, shared balance no longer based on a gender division of paid and unpaid work has its proven positive effects on the well-being of fathers, mothers and children, as well as a positive impact on employees in the performance of their professional duties. Special attention needs to be given to lone parent families with small children - whether the parent is a father or a mother alone – as reconciling work and family can be particularly difficult for them;

- **To promote in-depth training in bodies responsible for imparting information and applying it, and effective supervision of situations where mothers' and fathers' enjoyment of their rights is being obstructed.** There is some ignorance, as well as disinformation among employers and staff at Social Security offices in relation to the rights enshrined in current leave policies, particularly fathers' rights. This ignorance on the part of responsible officials, and the hostility to fathers taking leave and reprisals in the workplace, must be corrected, given that they may interfere with men's constitutional right to reconcile work and family life. Supervisory bodies have an important role to play in monitoring impediments to the take-up of leave and non-compliance with the law, for both fathers and mothers;

- **To promote institutional publicity on parental leave to the public at large,** so as to inform them of the rights enshrined in the law and give social visibility to the take-up of leave by parents. To involve employers in these activities, especially those who are proactive and receptive, and businesses with egalitarian management models and best practices in terms of reconciliation of work and family life and promotion of the right to take optional exclusive leave and to share initial parental leave;

- **To remedy the gap in current information on the effective take-up of parental leave by employees and civil servants and those who are not part of the general Social Security system.** Available data only relate to individuals covered by the general Social Security system. The true picture is therefore incomplete, and this prevents us from accurately monitoring trends in the take-up of leave and the differential impact of various different sectors on the practices of male and female employees;

- **To assess the effectiveness of leave policies by devising and implementing management tools which will make it possible to produce and disseminate statistics on the take-up of leave,** in official Social Security reports and statistics. To produce tools for gathering data (social and demographic variables, activity sector and labour conditions) to enable us to know which fathers take up and which do not take up leaves, namely the optional exclusive leave and the initial parental leave, and in which sectors;

- **To develop leave policy with a view to strengthening its basic principles – the well-being of the child, the harmonisation of parents' occupational and family responsibilities, gender equality – and eliminating the legal barrier to father's take-up of initial parental leave.** In the current leave framework there persists the principle that the mother is the main target of the measures, while the possibility of the father taking leave is contingent on the mother being eligible. This obstacle to take-up of initial parental leave by men needs

to be eliminated. Likewise it is necessary to make the underlying principles of this policy effective by abolishing, possibly progressively and without prejudice to acquired rights, the gap between mother's and fathers' periods of leave, whether in compulsory or optional days. The new leave policies should be inclusive, recognizing the diversity of family contexts in which children are born and grow up, with no discrimination against same-sex couples;

- **To continue to promote reconciliation between work and family life by supporting families in the form of services and facilities and also through full-time schooling for children under 12.** To increase the coverage of not-for-profit crèches, with a view to combatting territorial and social inequalities, making a special commitment to districts with reduced coverage of facilities for children up to 3 years of age, particularly in the non-profit sector of the network. Since disadvantaged families are more dependent on this type of care solution, lack of supply may accentuate work-family reconciliation difficulties. To reassess some aspects of the way certain services operate in the context of the public school system by, for example, extending curriculum enrichment activities (AEC) to the second cycle of compulsory schooling, providing family support services (CAF, ATL) in all schools, rearranging timetables in the second cycle, and adjusting the school calendar so as to reduce the time allocated to summer holidays (which will also make it possible to spread activities more evenly over a longer period of time);

- **To socialize and educate early in life for gender equality and for the value of male care.** Inequality is embedded, reproduced and legitimated through gender stereotypes in very many aspects of life in society, from family to school, from the labour market to public policies and their legal framework. This is the consequence of socialization by successive generations, transmitted and made natural by the day-to-day attitudes of men and women. One of the most powerful stereotypes, in that it legitimates gender inequality in different aspects of life and grants prerogatives to those who are dominated, namely women, is the notion that caring is a woman's attribute, because it is inscribed in the feminine nature which takes its material form in motherhood. This linear association of motherhood with parenting skills has for several decades kept women captive in the role of carers (of small children and also, because it is inherent in the role, of other family members whether ill or dependent) and distanced men from tasks and responsibilities considered to be "feminine". From generation to generation, sons and daughters, male and female pupils, boys and girls, are socialized to carry out highly differentiated social roles. But in the same way that women have achieved careers and been able to access higher education – a process which involved a profound reshaping of the way female children and young women were socialized to carry out these new roles – so too is entry into the world of the household through caring paternity and the sharing of unpaid work now open to men, even though the socialization of boy children and young men for caring and household work is a revolution which is still ongoing within the family, the school and other places where socialization occurs;

- **To enshrine in the Portuguese Constitution the right to care, associated with the duty of care,** in the light of the fundamental rights to reconcile work and family and non-discrimination on grounds of gender, bearing in mind the State's

task of promoting equality between men and women and the reasoning outlined in the previous recommendation;

- **To undertake more in-depth studies of the attitudes and practices of Portuguese men and women with regard to men taking on a more prominent role in family**, in particular by monitoring how values and behaviours evolve, listening out for signs that gendered structures persist and interpreting those changes and their meaning. The aim of this greater depth of research is to contribute to refining and perfecting those State strategies devised to reconcile paid and unpaid work so that, in detaching themselves from those mechanisms which produce gender inequality, they will positively combine children's well-being, the relationship between parents and their children and, finally, the conjugal dynamic itself.

## 2. Men and the Labour Market

The social relations of the labour market are one of the fundamental aspects of gender relations. Paid work, which defines roles culturally attributed to each sex, is a crucial aspect of the unequal status and power on which the more conventional pattern of masculinity rests. In Portugal, that traditional masculinity was structured around the role of family provider and was mainly shaped and promoted by the ideology of the *Estado Novo*, which saw the man as the "head of the family". Over the last four decades that idea has been in decline, very much as a result of equality policies created precisely to encourage the presence of women in the labour market. Thus while activity rates for men remained high and broadly unchanged over that time, activity and employment rates for Portuguese women rose sharply, significantly reducing the numerical imbalance between men and women in the labour market. These changes in the operation of the labour market were reflected in a transformation of how family life was organized, with the male breadwinner model of the past giving way to dual employment. This reorganization of male and female roles in the family challenged the traditional masculine archetype, and today there is a more widespread caring masculinity, clearly much less beholden to the provider role.

The results of the analysis carried out for this paper, drawn from a variety of sources – Employment Survey (INE), Eurostat, ISSP 2002 and 2012 [Family and Changing Gender Roles survey], GEP/MSESS, GEE/ME, and the European Commission's Justice DG – show that even though women have achieved a significant degree of autonomy, social relations in the labour market continue to come up against cultural barriers, inherited from the past, to gender equality: although men are close to women today in the number of hours of paid work performed, there is still an imbalance in working hours between the sexes; despite both sexes being in favour of female participation in the labour market, men are more reticent on this point; even though horizontal segregation is not as rigid as it was in the past, the number of incursions by men into sectors traditionally dominated by women is lower than the other way round; despite the income disparity between men and women having reduced over the last thirty years, male incomes still considerably exceed female incomes; despite the fact that there are more women in decision-making positions today, progress towards equality in this area has been cautious and slow, especially in the private sector.

Against a backdrop of economic crisis which overall has affected men as much as women (especially younger ones), the data suggest that, in Portugal, the path has been opened up to gender equality despite social expectations rooted in a cultural model which attributes well-defined and barely negotiable roles to each gender. Below we outline the main results of this analysis, noting in particular how gender inequality in the labour market has become more complex, precisely because the dynamics of change have taken place in a context of persistent barriers to male-female equality:

- **The labour market in Portugal has high activity and employment rates, for both men and women, and asymmetries are attenuating, particularly among young adults.**

Although the numbers of men and women in the labour market are coming closer together, in 2015 the employment rate for men was higher than for women in all age groups except those aged 25 to 34, where employment rates are practically the same. The existing disparity is due, above all, to the fact that the numbers of women in the labour market fall off after the age of 55, particularly those with low levels of educational attainment (up to basic schooling). In younger age groups and among those with intermediate and higher education the disparity is less marked. This accounts for the fact that men's working lives in 2014 lasted on average 3 years more than women's, even though this disparity has been declining in recent years;

- **In 2015 the activity rate for men was 56% and for women 47%**, figures which reflect the ageing of the Portuguese population in general, and the imbalance in the demographic make-up of the inactive population, given that there are far more women over 65 in the population as a whole (57.5% versus 42.5% respectively, according to Census 2011);

- **The employment rate for men in the 24 to 49 age group is higher when they have very young children (up to 6 years of age), but not so in the case of women, for whom the figures remain almost the same.** These figures confirm that maternity has no impact on women's participation in the labour market when they have very young children, unlike in other European countries. But it also reflects the persistence of a male provider ethic, in other words, of the fact that men feel added financial responsibility when they become fathers. **The fact that men in particular take on a second paid job, and that they work the longest hours** (an extra 2.1 hours per week) also reflects the financial responsibility and the identitarian investment in paid work still associated with contemporary masculinities;

- Despite the attenuation of some asymmetries between numbers of men and women in the labour market, women are still offered less favourable and disadvantageous contract terms. **Job insecurity, vulnerability to unemployment and low earnings continue to be the hallmark of more women's working lives than of men's. These inequalities reflect a highly gendered and androcentric labour market, which goes hand in hand with vertical and horizontal segregation;**

- **Vertical segregation contributes to income disparities and unequal access to positions of power and leadership.**

In 2013 men's incomes (average monthly earnings) were 26% higher than women's, mainly due to differences in men's additional income (allowances, bonuses, overtime). Little has

changed between 2005 and 2015 in terms of high-level decision-making positions, visible moves towards equality having only occurred in middle-ranking department head positions in the civil service, where women have made gains;

- Alongside vertical segregation, **horizontal segregation helps to explain inequalities between men and women, in particular income disparities.** Salary discrimination arises not just because men occupy the top positions, but also on account of the differentiated gender structure in less well qualified occupations in the second and third sectors of the economy. Women continue to be over-represented in the services sector, in which the jobs (especially the less well qualified jobs in health, education, personal services and cleaning) are generally less well paid than jobs in industry and construction, still predominantly male. The two sectors of activity where there is the greatest occupational segmentation – education and human health/social services – are predominantly female and include work in some way connected to caring for others;

- Curiously, **horizontal segregation in the labour market also has negative effects on men**, as demonstrated by the financial and economic crisis of recent years. In effect, unemployment affected the more male-dominated sectors, like construction and industry, to such an extent that in 2012 the unemployment rate for men exceeded that of women. Even though the labour market continues to absorb unskilled male labour, younger men and those with lower educational attainment are more vulnerable to unemployment in times of economic recession;

- Even if there are still significant differences between men and women in paid work in terms of salaries and segregation, **the attitudes of the Portuguese population to legislative incentives for gender equality in the labour market show there is an overwhelming support base for equal pay measures (91%).** There is less consensus when it is suggested there should be quotas for women in positions of power and for men in the more feminized occupations, with men adopting more conservative attitudes when it comes to combatting horizontal segregation.

Despite some favourable trends, the gender inequality in paid work suggested by these results, which operates to the detriment of women, takes place against a backdrop of conservative attitudes among employers which cut across all European countries. The prevailing work culture in Portugal encourages workers to do long hours and a great deal of overtime, even though it is well known that long hours do not necessarily improve productivity. The dominant organizational culture continues to observe gender norms in prescribing behaviours and managing expectations in the workplace, thus showing up the gap between rapidly changing social attitudes and the labour market's actual ability to adjust, by adopting equivalent criteria for men and women in connection with working hours, types of contract, salaries and career progression. Employers can and must take on a key role in bringing about change, especially as far as vertical segregation is concerned. It is known, for example, how important it is to provide women with more opportunities to gain access to high-level decision-making positions. Some studies, for example, outline various reasons why boards of directors with a better gender balance improve business management. On the one hand these boards have a broader view of possible approaches, origins,

experience and skills when dealing with problems. On the other hand, women in top management jobs, who are under-represented in traditional networks of male work colleagues, may bring a more independent approach to board meetings, thus reinforcing the board's control functions. In addition, women are better at using leadership skills more than men, in particular through personnel development, bonuses, role models, inspiration and joint decision-making (Desvaux, Devillard and Sancier-Sultan, 2011). Moreover, it has been shown that their presence on boards of directors improves attention to detail in managing conflicts of interest (Brown, Brown and Anastasopoulos, 2002).

The following recommendations are aimed at combating attitudes and practices inherited from the past which are the main obstacles to gender equality. They seek to promote greater awareness and joint action by public and private employers, political actors and unions, as well as non-governmental organisations and social enterprises:

- **To encourage change in organizational culture and management models**, by introducing communication programmes for employers and employees, to deconstruct perceptions and stereotypes regarding male and female roles, and awareness programmes to achieve fairer distribution of caregiving tasks, given that those responsibilities often prevent women in their careers from having the "critical experiences" which give access to management jobs.

In this connection we recommend that innovative projects of various types be devised for the private sector, the implementation of new gender equality rules, introducing the notion of "workplaces friendly to caregiver parents" and finally, Human Resources management tools to be devised to provide support to professionals in this field. All these measures to promote a more gender-equal workplace better oriented to the lives of workers as a whole should be encouraged in the public sector so as to provide an example to the private sector;

- **To make universities aware of their responsibility to promote gender equality in their capacity as educational bodies par excellence for future managers**, by drafting curricula which include promotion of gender equality and reconciliation of work and family life;

- **To encourage employers to adopt best practices in terms of the balance between men and women in responsible positions**, helping women to access those positions by valuing their individual skills but also, from the outset, through recruitment and career development processes, including salary and promotion policies, with the aim of avoiding any bias which adversely affects women. The European Commission suggests that Portugal, like most European countries, could benefit from a combined system of quotas and awareness initiatives to reduce vertical segregation in management and among workers of both sexes, encouraging debate on the advantages men would derive from such a system of quotas (less pressure, greater diversity, better balance between work and family life, etc.). It is also important that the social partners value and implement such measures, so as to ensure parity in terms of representation, given that they too are key actors in the promotion of those best practices;

- **To develop positive discrimination measures to encourage parity in male- and female-dominated sectors**, adopting co-ordinated strategies with social partners to avoid treating salary increases in a typical and uniform way, given that recurrently granting the same salary terms perpetuates salary differentials;
- **To develop initiatives to support careers for men in traditionally feminized sectors.** It is recommended that, in conjunction with employers, men be recruited to professions dominated by women, for example, by undertaking social projects which encourage boys to choose female-dominated professions, through special study scholarships or internships, and undertaking campaigns to raise the status of education and above all health professionals, promoting the notion of “care” as a fundamental skill in organizations, without it being any longer necessarily “female” or “male”, in other words, as a key skill for business efficiency and success which should therefore be included in quality systems (such as the ISO system);
- **To ensure the fundamental right of men to reconciliation (of work and family life) and involve the Authority for Working Conditions (Autoridade para as Condições no Trabalho - ACT) in the prosecution of this aim.** There is already broad recognition of situations of discrimination against women in the enjoyment of the right to that reconciliation. It is important to generate awareness of the situation of men who provide care, protecting them from employers’ reprisals when they choose to take compulsory or optional paid leave, miss work to assist family members (children or other dependents), work shorter hours or work part-time. Some European countries, in particular the Nordic countries, have adopted pioneering models of development in the labour market which encourage men to work fewer hours, thus promoting reconciliation between work and family life;
- **To provide support to the business sector in respect of the costs involved in employees’ reconciling their work and family lives, by measures such as the setting up of a common fund for compensation to firms which find it difficult to meet such costs.** The Portuguese business fabric is essentially made up of small and medium-sized businesses, some of them in highly segmented sectors. Currently it is those firms which employ traditionally female labour that are most penalized by work-family reconciliation arrangements, not only because of lost productivity when a female worker takes parental leave, or leave for feeding or family support, but also because the costs of these last two types of leave are borne by the employer. The redistribution of those costs thus involves not only the sharing of responsibilities between the father and the mother, but also the setting up of a common fund;
- **To involve men, especially political decision-makers and employers, as active participants and agents of change.** The promotion of gender equality could benefit from the example of male public figures from politics or business arguing publicly in favour of men’s right to be caregivers (to children, partners who are ill, dependent parents) and to structure their working time with a view to reconciling their careers and family lives. Such an approach could have a strong impact on public opinion and on attitudes of other employers and employees;

- **To counter the effects of the crisis, particularly on younger, less well qualified men**, committing to social projects aimed at men who are excluded from the labour market;
- **To implement European-wide programmes to support interchanges between businesses to disseminate and adopt successful good practices.** It is important to undertake international programmes, given that employers all over Europe have conservative attitudes;
- **To promote research and devise support materials based on the results - in particular action guides and teaching manuals which will encourage awareness of parity and respect for male and female employees.** This may help to make businesses aware of both the costs of gender inequality and the dominant masculinity policies, and of the benefits of gender equality for workers of both sexes, and of the value added in terms of the financial return on their investment in equality policies.

### 3. Men and Education

In recent decades there has been a trend towards increasing educational attainment levels in Portugal. Nevertheless, despite successive measures in the educational field and the general increase in attainment levels, in 2015 the majority of the Portuguese population had completed the basic level of schooling, a little over a third had completed the period of compulsory schooling and less than a fifth had completed a higher degree. In addition, while there is still a long way to go in raising the educational attainment levels of the Portuguese population as a whole, this is a process involving changes which affect gender equality and men’s education.

The analysis in this chapter is based on data from sources both national – INE, DGEEC, MCTES, DIMAS/RAIDES and PORDATA – and international – Eurostat and the OECD. It addresses how males progress in school and what factors affect that progress, but not without attending to observed disparities between men and women in this domain. It starts out, in particular, by looking at success and failure in school, retention and performance, drop-out trends and qualifications. It goes on to describe the characteristics and nature of the family and school backgrounds which define them as key factors in the educational trajectory. As in all the OECD countries, Portugal too has seen major changes which make inequalities between the sexes in access to education more complex: roughly speaking, the position of men and women has become reversed, with men now standing out as being at a disadvantage in terms of retention, performance, dropping out of school, qualifications and early precarious entry into the labour market. In addition, there is an observable persistence of specialization in school performance, in vocational and occupational choices, with boys favouring fields related to mathematics, the natural sciences, engineering and technology. This analysis also shows how family and school produce inequalities between boys and girls and are channels for reproducing socially ingrained stereotypes and traditional gender roles. Both nationally and internationally, education is a key sector for promoting equality between men and women.



The fundamental importance of education in the realm of gender equality is demonstrated by the fact that this sector was the highest recipient of financial support allocated to promoting gender equality in 2010 by the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD (OCDE, 2012).

The following specific points emerge from the results of this analysis:

- **Men in Portugal have lower educational attainment levels than women.** In the context of a population with low levels of attainment generally (basic schooling), men mostly have basic and secondary schooling and are found in lower numbers among those with university degrees;
- **School failure among boys increases the higher the educational level.** Boys have higher grade retention levels and are less likely to complete basic and secondary schooling. In 2014/2015, the majority (58.3%) of boys aged 18 had not finished secondary school;
- **Early school leavers rates have fallen over time, but are still significant, particularly among boys.** In 2015, 16% of boys aged 18 to 24 (five points more than girls) dropped out of school early, giving up studying before completing secondary schooling. Even so, and despite the extension of compulsory schooling, some 5% of boys in 2015 were not in school of any sort and did not have a job (NEET);
- **The influence of gender on student performance persists.** As in the rest of the OECD countries, school performance varies according to sex, particularly in mathematics and reading: boys are better in the former and girls in the latter. The tendency in this disparity, both in Portugal and elsewhere in the OECD, has been to the detriment of boys, whose reading and Portuguese language performance has deteriorated in comparison to girls, who for their part are achieving levels ever closer to, or even higher than those of the boys in mathematics. In addition, 15% of boys, and 10% of girls, failed to reach the minimum level of competence (up to level 2) in any of the main PISA tests. On the other hand, the probability of academic success in the various disciplines simultaneously is the same for both sexes: the disparities practically disappear when comparing high-performing girls and boys (level 5 and level 6) in mathematics, reading and science tests at the PISA2012/OECD level;
- **The influence of gender stereotypes on students' occupational and vocational choices is persistent.** In secondary education, boys tend to prefer courses associated with rationality and objectivity, and are under-represented in languages, humanities and visual arts courses. In higher education, men are more likely to choose fields such as Engineering, Manufacturing Industries, Construction and Services (Personal, Transport, Security and Environmental Protection). And they are less likely to choose fields like: Education, Health and Welfare, Social Sciences and Law;
- **Occupational and adult courses in basic and secondary schooling are mostly a male option.** In 2014/2015, almost half of secondary school pupils chose these options, the number of boys being 13.4% higher than the number of girls. In adult education, men are in the majority in the third cycle of basic schooling and in equal numbers with women in secondary education;

- **Young people entering the labour market very early and having insecure jobs are often the result of early dropout and low-level qualifications.** Even though the school leaving age was raised to 18, and despite the increase in unemployment as a result of the financial crisis, the percentages of those dropping out and starting work early remain significant, particularly for boys;
- **The number of male students in higher education or with degrees has consistently been lower than the number of female students, in both polytechnic and university courses.** As far as higher education is concerned, the distribution of university students by sex is the reverse of what it was about 40 years ago. In 1978, men accounted for 58% of the student population in higher education, while in 2015 they were less than half (46%). But the disparity between men and women is aggravated when looking at finishing a given level of higher education. In effect, despite the remarkable growth in the numbers of those having a higher degree in the last decade (from 17.5% in 2005 to 31.9% in 2015), in 2015 only 23.3% of men (as against 40.1% of women) aged between 30 and 34 had higher education qualifications. Moreover, between 2000 and 2015, men consistently accounted for just over a third of new higher education degree-holders;
- **Parents have stereotyped expectations of career choices of boys and girls.** In PISA2012, one in two parents of boys and only one in five parents of girls asserted they expected their children to work in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics;
- **Boys' performance is more likely to be adversely affected by the socio-economic status of the family and the school context than girls'.** In PISA 2012 tests, the difference in scores of boys from socio-economically higher and lower level families is always slightly higher than the corresponding difference among girls. The same is true when comparing children in schools where the majority come from socio-economically advantaged and disadvantaged environments. For example, in a reading test in which boys scored an average of 468 points and girls 508 points, the difference between the better-off and less well-off boys was 104 points and between the girls 95 points. For the same reading test, and looking at the socio-economic level of the school, the difference was 110 points for boys and 93 for girls;
- **School is a strongly feminized environment.** The teaching body and non-teaching staff at all educational levels in schools are still mostly female. In the same way, the skills, attributes and behaviours associated with good pupils match the gender stereotypes attributed to women: dependency, imitation and conforming to expectations. The feminization of the school environment produces in boys a clash between previously acquired attributes and those demanded on entering school, giving rise to inequalities by demanding that boys make a greater effort to adjust and succeed in school;
- **School, in addition to reproducing stereotypes, also produces gender inequalities.** School textbooks use written and visual language which reinforces gender stereotypes by a process of masculinization of the generic. The recourse to a single teaching strategy and the image of the good pupil constrain children with different personalities, attributes, interests and motivations.

In the light of the analysis conducted and presented throughout the chapter entitled Men and Education and the contributions made to this project by gender equality experts, stakeholders and political decision-makers, we make two sets of White Paper recommendations.

The first set is designed to promote equality of outcomes for boys and girls in school:

- **To continue to combat school dropout** by strengthening awareness initiatives to point out the benefits of compulsory and higher education to families, children, young people and adults individually;
- **To encourage schools to get back young adults who dropped out.** There has been an observable increase in the number of men in basic schooling (third cycle) and in secondary education. This is indeed a significant incentive, given that completing specialized training at the secondary or university level, even if later in life, may, together with early job experience, practical knowledge, and the ability to adapt to new and challenging surroundings, bring considerable advantages in the labour market;
- **To include a gender perspective in combating school failure and dropout, involving social partners in this type of action.** Despite the positive effects of educational measures adopted to deal with school failure and dropout, disparities between men and women remain, and place boys at a disadvantage. In this connection, including a gender perspective in programmes to counter school failure and dropout – involving crossing the effects of several factors (e.g., socio-economic ones) with gender effects, would make it possible to strengthen the positive trends in this indicator so that it reaches values closer to the more desirable targets. In addition, working together with the social partners could lead to concerted action against the typically insecure and low-skilled jobs into which those who drop out of school early are placed;
- **To make the school culture and education system more attractive, so as to promote academic success amongst boys in school.** To include more practical, challenging and autonomous education strategies and encourage boys to perform and be successful in their school trajectories;
- **To design and develop socially inclusive learning strategies and teaching styles** that enhance the abilities, interests and skills of boys and girls, even those which are not formally recognized (experimentation, civic involvement, music, artistic expression, etc.);
- **To undertake more in-depth studies on teaching styles and school textbooks,** with a view to better identifying the impact of teaching strategies on gendered practices of teachers and on pupils' school performance and vocational preferences;
- **To explore educational strategies which develop the boy's abilities and propensity for reading in digital form with a view to developing their interest in reading.** Boys and girls not only differ in their propensity to read, but also in types of reading: girls read more lengthy and complex works, fictional or otherwise, while boys read more comedy. But these disparities are attenuated in digital reading, given that men tend to prefer reading books in digital form;

- **To promote the inculcation of reading habits in boys at school and at home.** To make parents and teachers aware of the need to encourage boys to read, making materials available to them which address themes more likely to interest them. Longer and more complex works, which today continue to attract girls more, can only really become appealing to boys once the reading habit is ingrained;
- **To make less stereotyped vocational and career choices more appealing to boys and girls.** It is recommended that examples of professional men and women in non-stereotypical fields be given as models, that gender stereotypes in school textbooks be removed, and that more appealing materials and evaluation methods be used for boy and girl pupils;
- **To encourage boys' interest in higher education by making them perceive the advantages of a university education.** It is important to sound out boys' attitudes to higher education and how they assess its advantages and the types of course offered at polytechnics and universities. In actual fact, the government's EF2020 target of 40% for the percentage of degree-holders (in the 30 to 34 age group) is still far from being achieved, and progress so far has actually been in the higher number of women graduates than men. Boys' lesser interest in higher education may on the one hand reflect the persistence of a normative model of masculinity grounded on the labour market and, on the other hand, be a side-effect of boys' failure in school.

The aims of a second set of recommendations include the dismantling of norms which, in the form of gender stereotypes, underlie educational and institutional practices, conditioning learning trajectories, student vocational choices and the future professional life of boys and girls:

- **To define gender equality as a topic for reflection and debate between teachers and students** at all levels of schooling (from pre-school to higher education), with a view to achieving equality of outcomes, in addition to equality of opportunities in the labour market;
- **To promote training programmes for teaching and non-teaching staff, to make them aware of the presence and effects of gender stereotypes in their practices.** To make teachers aware of the implications of gender stereotypes, in verbal and non-verbal communication, for children and young people;
- **To promote more equality in the numbers of men and women in the teaching and non-teaching staff in schools,** taking into account the importance of having people of both sexes in all contexts of socialization of children and young people;
- **To include in the school curriculum, alongside skills learned in traditional disciplines, gender equality, citizenship and caregiving** as personal and social skills to be developed in a new curricular discipline as part of schools' educational plan, with specific course units and evaluation criteria;
- **To promote the setting up of a national gender equality programme in nursery schools, kindergartens and the first cycle of school.** To act early on jointly responsible institutions and secondary socialization actors through teams of qualified professionals to go into schools. These actions will embody games and recreational activities, with

a view to building in children and educators/teachers more egalitarian identities and deconstructing the gender roles and stereotypes incorporated or interiorized from an early age;

- **To explore cooperation strategies between the government, schools and businesses** with a view to establishing measures to promote gender equality. For example, employment fairs and career opportunities in schools which are aimed at students and their parents should seek to awaken girls' interest in subjects related to science, mathematics, engineering and technology, and boys' interest in subjects related to the social and human sciences and the arts;
- **To commit to disseminating comprehensive information on the impact of stereotypes on society.** From childhood onwards, gender stereotypes define trajectories and choices for boys and girls. These choices are also reflected in later vocational and occupational choices. In effect, it is still girls who opt more frequently for fields with access to occupations with more flexible hours, above all in education and public administration. The genderization of vocational choices, especially in higher education, is a concern, since these choices go along with the persistence of horizontal and vertical segregation in the labour market. This state of affairs keeps men away from sectors like education, adversely affects women's career opportunities, reducing their chances of equal pay with men, and finally leads to the underutilization of available human capital.

## 4. Men, Health and Violence

Women and their status have been studied and discussed in contexts as diverse as health and violence far more than men.

As far as health is concerned, despite the androcentric view underlying the study and practice of medicine, which tends to treat women as exceptions, the knowledge of health matters acquired over time was aimed above all at women's health, even if that knowledge was also crucial for men's health. In addition, it is only recently that health has been viewed from the male point of view. There is as yet little knowledge of the true implications of male socialization, different forms of masculinity and socially significant experiences of male life on men's health, although it is known that men's life expectancy is lower than women's, that men are more likely to adopt risk behaviours (they drink more; smoke more and use illegal psychoactive substances more), use preventive health services less (they have fewer medical consultations, including those with specialists, and have less frequent check-ups, etc.). Using as its main sources Eurostat and Statistics Portugal (INE), the analysis of the data confirms that:

- **Average life expectancy for men is lower than for women, but increases the higher their level of educational attainment.** Men with basic schooling have a life expectancy 5.1 years lower than that of men with higher education, and 7 years lower than that of women with the same level of educational attainment;
- **Men die younger more often than women, but have fewer health problems over the life course and have a more positive assessment of their health status.** Deaths of men aged between 15 and 64 are at least twice the number of women in

the same age group. Women have more health problems over their life course, particularly chronic illness, and are more negative in assessing their health status. In 2014, 57.9% of men reported their health status was good or very good, as against 45.5% of women;

- **The probability of suicide is greater among men.** Men are three times more likely to commit suicide than women, and at least one in ten deaths of men aged 15 to 29 is the result of suicide. But suicide is more frequent among the elderly living in rural areas, above all in the Alentejo region, on account of social isolation, poverty, and the high incidence of chronic incapacitating illness;
- **Men are more affected by malignant tumours than women.** In 2014, men accounted for over 59.7% of deaths from malignant tumours. The probability of a death from malignant cancer of the lip, mouth cavity and pharynx is 5 times higher for men than for women, as is the likelihood of death from a malignant tumour of the oesophagus. The difference between the sexes regarding these two types of tumour increased between 2000 and 2014;
- **Men resort health services less than women do, but this pattern is less prevalent with age.** In general, women visit the doctor more frequently, including specialists, but in the 65 to 74 age group the disparity between men and women declines;
- **Men have less healthy eating habits and are more likely to obesity than women.** Although they do more physical exercise than women and use drugs less, in particular anxiolytics and antidepressants, men have poorer eating habits, and are heavier users of tobacco, alcohol and illegal drugs.

The following recommendations are made in the light of the observed differences between men and women in the field of health:

- **To develop more in-depth studies on the impact of social inequalities on men's health and undertake awareness campaigns based on the social determinants of men's health.** Particular attention should be given to men with lower educational, occupational and financial resources. These men occupy a disadvantaged social position, take less care over their nutrition, make less use of professional healthcare services and are more likely to be found in high-risk occupations (such as construction industry). For all these reasons they are at a clear disadvantage in relation to other men and to the population as a whole. Specific campaigns will be required to target these men, so as to make them aware of the need to take better care of themselves, in a logic of prevention. It is particularly important that these campaigns be directed at the younger generation, i.e. to boys from disadvantaged social backgrounds, given the risk of social inequalities being reproduced in health matters;
- **To promote awareness campaigns aimed at young men (aged 15 to 29), alerting them to the risk of death due to external causes.** Most deaths in this age group are the result of external factors, above all **traffic accidents**, which account for about 25% of all young male deaths. The likelihood of a man dying in a traffic accident is some four times higher than for a woman (a probability that remained unchanged between 2000 and 2014). These campaigns should be undertaken in schools, from the first cycle of basic schooling up to secondary school, in partnership with associations representing those severely or irretrievably injured in traffic accidents;



- **To develop awareness campaigns on the effects of excessive alcohol consumption over the life course.** Recent data indicate that young Portuguese males have a greater propensity for excessive alcohol consumption on a single occasion (6 or more drinks on a single occasion), but the behaviour of younger women (up to age 35) is closer to that of men. The target age groups for these campaigns are young people of both sexes (aged between 15 and 34) in secondary and higher education. They should be given information on the pathologies and causes of death associated with alcohol consumption;
- **To adopt urgent measures to combat suicide.** It is necessary to break the link between male gender and suicide, promoting greater gender equality in access to specialised health care, in particular psychiatric help, and also psychological follow-up visits. For older men, it's important to ensure the improvement of diagnosis and therapies for depression in primary health care, while also adopting measures to combat social isolation and to provide psychological and financial help to those facing financial hardship. As far as young people are concerned, it is recommended that more wide-ranging psychology support offices be made available in schools. The implementation of measures promoting the setting-up of more community teams for mental health, coming from public hospitals and working in articulation with professionals from the Primary Health Care sector, is also recommended, so that it is not just family doctors who monitor those with suicidal tendencies (men/women; boys/girls);

**To promote specific campaigns aimed at men, regardless their sexual orientation, on the use of male contraceptive methods such as condoms and vasectomy.** In Portugal, for reasons connected with mass use of the pill as the contraceptive method of choice for women and the implementation of family planning consultations in health centres after 25 April 1974, sexual and reproductive health questions are in most cases regarded as a matter for women. It is however necessary to examine the issue of male contraception, bearing in mind men's and women's interests, in so much as it broadens the range of contraceptive choices, particularly when couples decide to have no more children;

- **To include sex education in the curriculum of various disciplines and to set up a specific Education for Health and Citizenship discipline, to include issues relating to sexuality.** Law 60/2009 of 6 August established the system for applying sex education in schools (public, private and co-operative primary and secondary teaching establishments) with each child and young person having a minimum number of hours' sex education in each school year – 6 hours in the first and second cycles and 12 hours in the third cycle and in secondary education. It was complemented by Regulation 196-A/2010 of 9 April, which defined the content of sex education for each cycle of basic and secondary education. In 2012, the abolition of non-disciplinary curriculum subjects – Civics Training, Project Area and Accompanied Study created serious hindrances to implementing sex education in schools. When the 21st constitutional government, headed by António Costa, took office, discussion on the adoption of sex education in schools, at the various levels, was once again on the agenda as part of the new curriculum discipline Education for Health and Citizenship;

- **To include the Human Papilloma Virus (HPV) vaccination for boys in the National Vaccination Plan.** In 2008, Dispatch 8378/2008 (2nd series, issue 57) made the cervical cancer vaccine available for girls on the National Health Service (SNS - *Serviço Nacional de Saúde*). Although the HPV vaccine for boys is available on the market, its cost is not subsidised by the State. Nevertheless, HPV is among the probable cause of death by malignant tumours of the lip, mouth cavity and pharynx and malignant tumours of the oesophagus which affect men 5 times more than women; and men continue to be carriers of HPV;
- **To ensure that men and boys take advantage of the services and healthcare available to them on the National Health Service (SNS - *Serviço Nacional de Saúde*).** To publicize what services and healthcare are available to men on the National Health Service units. To this end it is necessary to undertake awareness campaigns for males stressing the importance of information on matters of sexual and reproductive health throughout life. The 5th National Equality Plan (2014-2017) envisages the production of technical reference material (Measure 24) and the inclusion of the gender perspective in health programmes relating to Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs), Non-Transmittable Diseases, Sexual and Reproductive Health and Violence throughout life (Measure 25), but there are no concrete measures for practical action addressed to the male public.

As with health, so too approaches to violence have focused on the situation of women, above all because the victims of violence in the vast majority of cases are women themselves. Although not all perpetrators are men, and not all the victims are women, nearly all women in Portugal (93%) believe it is fairly common or very common for women to be the victims of violence (FRA, 2014). It is therefore not surprising that the topic of violence has gained prominence in public debate and in academic research through physical, psychological and/or sexual violence against women. Analysis of the data made available by the Statistics Portugal (INE), APAV, UMAR and OMA allows us to draw the following conclusions on violence in Portugal. That violence, in its various aspects, from physical and psychological violence to moral and sexual harassment, and not forgetting all discriminatory practices and attitudes based on gender difference, is found in society in various domains (conjugal, infant, school, between peers, etc.):

- **Men are the main perpetrators of violence,** against both women and other men, Violence against women takes place in the private space of the home and takes the form of physical violence. According to the Assassinated Women's Observatory (Observatório de Mulheres Assassinadas - OMA), 43 women died as victims of domestic violence in 2014. In the vast majority of cases the men with whom they had, or had had, an intimate relationship in the past were the perpetrators of the crime;
- **There has been an increase in the reporting and social recognition of domestic violence in which men are the victims and women the perpetrators.** There are more and more allegations and accusations in which the victims of conjugal violence are men. Women's violence against men is psychological violence, so that it is more difficult for men to accept that they are victims of violence, because they fear that this will be a sign of weakness which goes against the

grain of that dominant masculinity embedded in the stereotype of being a man and in gender norms inculcated since childhood;

- **Men are also victims of sexual harassment in the workplace than women, and the perpetrator may be a man or a woman.** A recent national survey on sexual and moral harassment in the workplace showed that 9% of men and 15% of women reported having been victims of sexual harassment by managers, colleagues or clients. In the case of female victims, 95% of the sexual harassers are men and only 5% are other women; in the case of male victims, 65% of the sexual harassers are women and 35% are other men;
- **Men are the main victims of violence between peers, which takes place above all in public** (schools; nightclubs; in the street, etc.). Violence between peers is perpetrated by men on other men as a way of establishing hierarchy in male groups;
- **Certain groups of men are more subject to violence by other men:** ethnic minorities; sexual minorities (homosexuals, transsexuals, effeminate and transgender men, etc.); immigrants, the homeless and the disabled.

The data on violence and the differences observed between men (mainly as perpetrators) and women (mainly as victims) suggest the following recommendations:

- **To gain more in-depth knowledge of violence in Portugal.** There is still very little official data on violence in Portugal. Although a significant number of qualitative studies point to male violence between peers as the most frequent form of violence in Portugal, there is insufficient data available on it. The debate on violence has focused on domestic violence, in particular male violence against women. But violence is a broader phenomenon, not limited to the private domestic sphere, and we need to understand it to its full extent and in all its complexity – preparing official statistics which will enable a proper assessment of the phenomenon of violence in its multiple forms (conjugal; against children; at school; between peers; etc.) and its different aspects (physical, psychological and sexual) – so that the right measures can be adopted to eradicate these situations;
- **To acknowledge men as victims of violence, in particular conjugal violence, in the national Plan for Combatting Domestic Violence (PNCVD - Plano Nacional de Combate à Violência Doméstica).** Despite the fact that the number of complaints of domestic violence lodged by men is low (approximately 15% of the total), men may also be victims of violence, and their visibility continues to increase, given the growing awareness of the topic of violence in Portugal;
- **To promote non-violent forms of masculinity from childhood.** To develop campaigns to make people aware of violence, in particular physical violence between peers in school, devising educational strategies which will encourage children to adopt non-violent forms of behaviour, especially boys in the basic schooling stage (1st, 2nd and 3rd cycles). Special attention to be paid to the implications of new technologies on violence between peers, as in the case of cyber-bullying, for example;

- **To promote training for education professionals to help them combat violence in schools.** To provide educators with sufficient information and knowledge to identify situations of violence in schools, flag them and act upon them. To draw up a guide about violence in schools in its many forms, enabling educators to respond to violent situations on the spot without ignoring any of the parties involved. 'Educators' here means all those who work in schools: kindergarten teachers, class teachers, class helpers, leisure time supervisors, and operational assistants;
- **To adopt standards for monitoring victims of violence between peers at school,** in particular when the victims are immigrants or disabled persons or belong to sexual, ethnic or religious minorities. Boy victims of violence in schools often belong to one of these groups. It is thus necessary to devise strategic plans in schools providing basic schooling (1st, 2nd and 3rd cycles) which have high ethnic diversity among their students, with the support of psychologists, police and non-governmental organizations who work in the field of violence;
- **To combat the idea that sexual dimorphism is the cause of inequality between men and women.** To educate for equality in diversity and difference, from kindergarten up to secondary school. To bring in the study and analysis of the Guides on Gender and Citizenship produced by the Ministry of Education under the National Plans for Equality and Citizenship, in the various different higher education courses having a teaching option. It is necessary to deconstruct the stereotyped versions of masculinity and femininity which schools continue to promote, and it is the teachers, as front-line educators, who need to be enabled to undertake this work with pupils;
- **To promote a caring masculinity, more involved in fatherhood, as a way of combatting domestic violence.** To seek to promote the value of the caregiver role for men and make them aware of its importance to the well-being of the child. In addition, the promoting of a caring masculinity can be achieved by giving incentives to businesses so that they recognize caring fatherhood perspectives which embody the sharing of parental responsibilities;
- **To undertake awareness campaigns for the general public on how the cycle of violence reproduces itself.** To educate parents not to be violent with their children, and thereby promote the practical application of the 2007 change to article 152 of the Penal Code, which criminalized physical violence by parents against children;
- **To provide support to men who are the victims of violence.** Awareness campaigns are required to get men to denounce aggressors who harass others sexually or morally in the workplace. Businesses and other entities should be involved in devising these campaigns, so that employers' policies and organizational cultures also change. Businesses and other entities should implement a zero-tolerance policy for these situations. In the realm of domestic violence, the system of safe houses for men should be extended to other parts of the country – like the safe house recently (September 2016) set up in the Algarve.

## 5. Final Considerations: the social place of men and factors which promote gender equality

The aim of this White Paper is to point to factors and incentives which contribute to placing men in society in a gender equality perspective, in terms of both public policy and variables in the social context (work, family, education, etc.). In line with current research and debate on masculinity and gender relations, this study shows that abolishing inequalities between men and women involves profound changes not only in the condition of women but also of men, in particular in terms of identity and the ways of being a man in private life. Thus it is worthwhile highlighting the key aspects which have contributed to equality between men and women, based on the data and recommendations made in this White Paper, by breaking up the traditional patriarchal model of masculinity and putting forward a new model of masculinity which is more caring and egalitarian.

The first and most important aspect is the impact of public policy over recent decades. Whether by way of a symbolic change, which established a strong representation of equality as a legitimate norm, whether by the introduction of specific legislative measures, it is undoubtedly true that trends in public policy aimed at gender equality and the reconciliation of work and family life gradually produced their effects. It is perhaps in the family, in particular through the paternity protection policy, that these effects are most visible. Not only were there profound changes in the principles which underlie and govern family life (e.g. the principle of equality between spouses, parental obligations generically defined, paternity and maternity protection from 1984 onwards), there were also specific new incentives, from the end of the 1990s, for men to take up and share leaves. The impact of these measures on paternity can be seen in the sharp increase in the numbers of men who take these leaves and also in the general attitude, which today prevails among the majority of men and women, of agreement with the idea that children's well-being suffers when the father takes no part in looking after them. In addition, this is a profound generational change: it is in the behaviour of the younger generations that the movement of men into the domestic sphere and caring parenting is most in evidence. It is important therefore to underline the need to continue and strengthen leave policies which encourage this caring masculinity, as well as those broader policies covering unpaid work and work-family reconciliation, the former promoting men's role and skills in household work, the latter acknowledging that the tensions and even conflicts between work and family life also apply to men and therefore demand specific measures in the workplace and in businesses, as well as in rights associated with that reconciliation.

The second important aspect to highlight is the impact of a set of factors related to socialization and a number of variables like education, social class, position in the labour market and the stage of life men are at (living as a couple or alone, with or without children, etc.). It never hurts to remember that identities and gender roles passed down to children and young people in the family, at school, in the media and even in patterns of consumption which suggest gender-differentiated toys and other products, internalize and shape from an early age the expectations and identities of boys and girls. In this process, family and school, which are the prime loci for learning and the inculcation of norms and stereotypes, take on a fundamental importance. This points to the essential

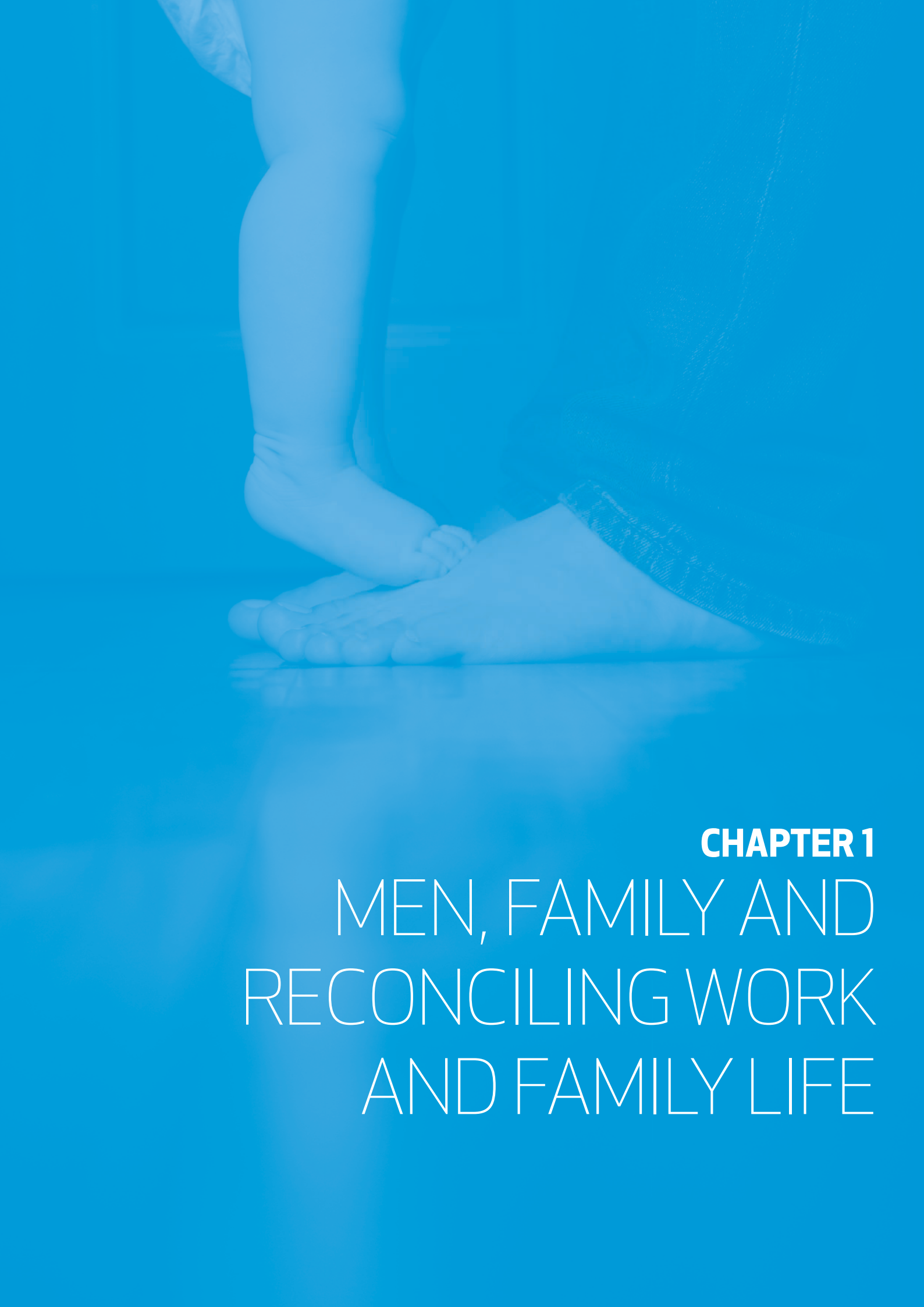
role of certain forms of intervention and policy measures, in terms of both creating awareness and providing information and education and debate, aimed at parents, teachers, and other, often less visible actors such as teaching assistants, grandparents and publishers of school textbooks. It is essential to recognize that many of those involved find this unceasing construction of gender in the family and at school, which is embodied in daily gestures and interactions, often difficult to identify and, for this reason, difficult to recognize and modify.

Education and employment variables, now examined from the point of view of qualifications obtained, are shown to be another fundamental factor in promoting gender equality, in so far as they influence men's opinions and behaviours throughout life. Levels of educational attainment and qualifications have a profound effect on men's attitudes and practices in all areas of life in society. In the family, it is those with higher educational attainment levels who argue for and practice a more egalitarian division of paid and unpaid work and who devote the most time to caregiving. In the labour market, better qualified and better informed men are better at negotiating with employers and peers a worldview less centred on the figure of the male breadwinner totally devoted to work and more focused on the perception of a universal carer who combines a private life with his working life. As far as health is concerned, better qualified men have healthier habits and adopt behaviours which distance them from risk and avoidable illness.

The concern therefore is to take into account the long-term effects of educational disadvantage on boys. The disparity between girls and boys in school starts in the early cycles of basic schooling and extends into secondary and higher education. This disparity constructs and reinforces gender stereotypes in so far as it defines, from early on, a form of (active, dominant, restless and disobedient) masculinity which is seen as the antithesis of (passive, obedient, receptive) femininity and which produces different standards in attitudes and practices in school. In later life this leads to extra vulnerability, today significantly more marked than in the past, of a large contingent of less well qualified men in the labour market. Recurring unemployment and precariousness, both of which affect a high number of young and adult men with low levels of educational attainment – and which the economic crisis of recent years has inexorably exposed – are systematically related, as the data in this White Paper show, to attitudes and practices less challenging to the traditional figure of the male provider and head of the family, and are therefore further removed from the new demands men face in relation to their occupations and their private lives (being a father, being affectionate and participative, being companion and partner).

Finally, it is important to stress that some of these factors cross over and combine with each other, demanding that the intersection of different variables be taken into account, such as age, level of education, marital status, type of family and family division of labour, position in the labour market and some additional factors which have received relatively scant mention in this study, such as inequalities associated with the territory (e.g. rural versus urban), economic sector (e.g. public versus private) or belonging to a minority (e.g. sexual, immigrant, gypsies, homeless, those imprisoned or interned, many of these made up overwhelmingly of men, as in the case of the last two categories). In this connection it is important to consider the roles of men in gender inequality from the point of view of men who are more vulnerable, both to social exclusion and to discrimination based on factors like the area in

which they live, their occupation, the type of business they work for, their nationality, or their sexual identity. These are challenges which need to be signposted and included in any future more in-depth approach to the place of men in Portuguese society in a gender equality perspective.



## **CHAPTER 1**

# MEN, FAMILY AND RECONCILING WORK AND FAMILY LIFE



# CHAPTER 1 – MEN, FAMILY AND RECONCILING WORK AND FAMILY LIFE

## 1.1 Introduction

The question of reconciling work and family life has been addressed more from the woman's perspective than that of men. Women were regarded until recently as being 'naturally' responsible for household tasks and for the well-being of family and dependents – including children, the sick and the elderly. The burden of reconciling working life and family life traditionally fell on them and still to a great extent falls on them today. The data assembled in this chapter show that men are now taking a greater part in unpaid labour, particularly as far as caregiving is concerned, but at the same time point to the persistence of significant gender inequality in the division of household and caring tasks.

It is important to situate these facts in their social and historical context. It should be recalled that, in the Portuguese case, for decades the background to gender roles in the family was defined by the impact of public policies and other macro-social variables (the labour market, social inequalities, religion, the rural economy). Particularly relevant is the long period of the *Estado Novo*<sup>1</sup>, during which family and gender policies were marked by a view of the woman's primordial role as mother, obedient wife and housewife and of the man's role as that of provider and "head of the family". At the same time, family and intergenerational contexts encouraged a women's culture and knowhow focused on the household, passed down from one generation to the next and incorporated over time in women's day-to-day skills and gestures. Finally, the gender equality policies brought in after the 25 April 1974 revolution sought to promote men's and women's equal access to the labour market (financial independence), and to authority (sharing of power and responsibilities), as the first threshold of gender equality. The man's place in the family underwent profound change at this time. He was no longer the "head of the family" and provider. Both spouses were now responsible for managing the life of the family and exercising parental authority, and for contributing financially to family expenses.

However, despite the new legal order, in which the family was represented as a space for equality and companionship, it was only later, in particular from the 1990s on, that public policies were directed to promoting a second fundamental threshold for gender equality: sharing household tasks and parental care or, in other words, the principle that if both men and women have jobs, then parental and household duties should be the responsibility of both. Some innovative measures were introduced in the 1990s with respect to paternity leave and absences, but only in 1997 did the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic enshrine the right of all citizens to work and family life balance. This was the recognition, albeit belated (and somewhat cautious), that encouraging male participation in caregiving and household tasks is a fundamental strategy for increasing and reinforcing female participation in the labour market.

The persistence of an unequal gender division in reconciling work and family life should be looked at in the light of this past, and also in the context of a set of factors (age groups, educational and social inequalities, diversity of organizational cultures, and values and attitude to gender roles) which affect male participation in the labour market and promote a plurality of male practices.

In order to assess recent changes in the situation of men and gender equality in the domain of family life and work-life balance in Portugal, this chapter brings together a series of results from various sources: legislation, official statistics, surveys and interviews. Analysis of changing trends focused on three main domains: co-residence; the division of paid and unpaid work; and work-life balance policies and their impact on individual attitudes and practices.

The chapter starts by giving an updated portrait of households of the resident population, based on the results of the Census 2011. Next, indicators relating to uses of time since 1999 are analysed, using surveys of the Portuguese population, and a more detailed comparison is made of the results of two editions of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012), covering the topic 'Family and Changing Gender Roles', in order to evaluate the changes, with special attention to generational changes in connection with the conjugal division of paid and unpaid work in working-age couples, the perception of justice in the division of unpaid work, and attitudes to gender roles. Finally, the main developments in policies for reconciling work and family life are analysed, with special emphasis on leave policies, which are regarded as a key area for promoting gender equality in paid and unpaid work. This study is complemented by an analysis of official statistics on the take-up of parental leave by men between 2000 and 2015, of the results of ISSP 2012 (carried out in Portugal in 2014) on attitudes among the resident population to the main measures for including the father in early child care and their effect on men's, women's and children's lives, and with an analysis of interviews of men who share initial parental leave with their partners when a child is born, and who gave an account of their experiences and thoughts on the same.

The chapter concludes with a set of recommendations, informed by analysis of recent changes and the current situation of men in the family and work-life balance, and by the substantive contribution of experts, decision-makers and stakeholders representatives, as part of the focus group sessions held and the project's final conference.

<sup>1</sup> *Estado Novo* was the right-wing dictatorship that lasted for four decades and that ended up with the 25th April Revolution, which implemented the democratic regime in 1974.

## 1.2 Highlights

**Men tend to live more in couple households than women do, and in particular in couple households with children.** Even so, they do not always live together with their own children, but with their partner's children in a stepfamily. The mother residing alone after divorce, a situation which still prevails in Portuguese society and is reflected in the high numbers of female lone parent families, contributes to removing the 'non-resident father' from his children's daily lives and to the added financial responsibilities and difficulties which the 'resident mother' faces in reconciling work and family life.

**Over the last decade, men living in a couple slightly increased their participation in household work.** In 2002, men (aged 18 and over) living in a couple devoted 7.0 weekly hours to household tasks, while women devoted 26.3 hours. In 2014, men were devoting an extra hour to household work (8.1 hours) and women almost 2 hours less (24.5 hours), leaving a gap of 16.4 hours.

**In the context of 16 countries of the EU28, the time that Portuguese men living in a couple devote to household tasks is lower than, but close to the average (in Finland, for example, men devote 7.6 weekly hours to household work). Portugal stands out, however, by being the country with the highest gap between men's and women's hours devoted to household tasks.** The gap seems to be the result more of the amount of time Portuguese women devote to household work, compared to women in other European countries (in Finland: 12.1 hours), than the time that Portuguese men devote to it compared to those in other countries. These results point to the existence in Portugal (but also in other countries, like Spain, Croatia and Slovenia) of a pattern of intensive, highly feminized household work.

**Men of working age who live in a couple – particularly men aged between 30 and 44 years, those who are of an age to have children – are those who spend the most time on household work.** Between 2002 and 2014, participation by these men in household tasks went from 4.2 to 10.7 weekly hours (an increase of 6.5 hours); this trend was accompanied by a reduction in the time spent by women, from 23.6 to 19.3 hours per week (4.3 hours less). In this age group the gender gap is 8.6 hours, i.e. half that recorded for couples overall.

**In 2014, it is also men in the 30-44 years age group who spend the most time caring for family members** (17 as against 22 hours spent by women of the same ages), a gap of 5 hours per week, which contrasts with the gap of 8 hours among couples overall (18 and over). The greatest change in terms of time spent on paid work was also found among individuals in this age group: men worked 5.1 hours per week less, while women worked slightly more (an additional 1.9 hours).

**This trend was accompanied by the 'conjugalization' of household work, i. e., by greater conjugal sharing of household tasks.** It is above all men and women between the ages of

30 and 44 or, in other words, with a greater likelihood of being parents of small children – who are the protagonists of this change, with the emphasis on 'shopping' and 'helping the ill', tasks which are now widely shared. 'Dealing with the laundry' is, however, an exception, in that it remains a highly feminized task.

**Despite the changes, there is still a pattern of less time allocated by men to household tasks and of the man as secondary performer of household duties.** On the one hand, women continue to devote more time to household tasks, and to be responsible for the management of family life. On the other hand, not only are the changes in the amount of time devoted by men to household work insufficient to achieve a balanced division of unpaid work, but also their participation is achieved through conjugal sharing, and not by the individual being responsible for his own performance. In other words, while greater male participation in family life has a mitigating effect – there are fewer women today doing household work on their own, so they have more opportunities to devote time to other aspects of their lives, in particular their careers – that male participation is less of a reflection of a role undertaken and more of a decision to collaborate in family life.

**There is an increasing perception, among men and women, of the fairness of a division of household work,** a characteristic of the changes in attitudes which have accompanied the above-mentioned changes in practices. While those changes do not extend to older men (aged 45-64), it is also true that more conservative attitudes regarding gender roles are blurring among individuals of all ages.

**A caring masculinity is spreading,** as can be observed in particular in the consolidated growth not only in take-up of father's exclusive parental leave (most men take both the compulsory and optional days), but also in sharing of initial parental leave, which allows the father to stay alone with the baby for at least a month. Several studies show, and the interviews confirm, that this caring masculinity produces greater autonomy and empathy in the couple, conjugal negotiation of the costs of parenthood in the career of each one, and the deconstruction of practices organized simply as a function of gender. Men's increasing take-up of leave has been accompanied by increasing general receptiveness to current leave policy, which strengthens fathers' rights and encourages sharing among the parents, as ISSP 2012 confirms. And it is younger men and women (who have already benefited or may benefit from these measures), but also more highly qualified individuals, who are most favourable to the public promotion of a more involved paternity at an early stage.

**Public attitudes are therefore in harmony with the principles of equality promoted by leave policies.** In effect, male and female attitudes to early paternal involvement match a policy which seeks equality between men and women, the well-being



of the child and the harmonization of career and family responsibilities. Most individuals see the up-take of parental leave by fathers as not only having beneficial effects in the parents' relationship with the child, on conjugal and family dynamics and the woman's relationship with the labour market, but also as contributing to reconciliation and equality between men and women.

**There are clearly observable symptoms of a transformation of gender roles in the family.** The perception that the man has as much responsibility as the woman in the management of family life has gained ground, and there is today a conviction among men and women that the child's well-being is adversely affected when the father does not take part in caregiving.

**While interviewees' ages and levels of educational attainment are crucial in explaining more or less conservative attitudes to gender roles in family life, men tend to be more conservative than women,** being less receptive to the idea that 'the father is as capable as the mother of looking after a baby under one year old', and more receptive to the idea of a woman's central role in organizing family life. Observed continuities in terms of practices reflects the persistence of attitudes whereby the woman has greater responsibility for unpaid work deriving from specific gender competencies, even though a generational shift is taking place towards a more egalitarian view.

**The experience of parents who share parental leave shows the persistence of employers' unfavourable attitudes to caring masculinity,** an attitude resulting from a combination of being conservative and misinformed which is reflected in a refusal to recognize that father's leave is a legal right, and to see that the benefits of men taking up leave. It is this conservative attitude on the part of employers that men view with apprehension, fearing that they will penalize family life by not using the leave and fearing reprisals or, in extreme cases, being sacked if they do. This explains how ISSP 2012 revealed that a large number of men believed there was a conflict between the father taking leave and their careers. Conservative attitudes among employers also likely contribute to moderating the increased sharing of initial leave between the father and the mother, that sharing being still below its full potential.

## 1.3 Developments and trends: what changes have there been in the situation of men and the disparity between men and women?

### 1.3.1 Co-residence: an outline of households in the Census 2011

Co-residence is an inescapable aspect of family life. In recent decades, Portuguese society underwent significant changes in the composition of family households<sup>2</sup>. These changes are the outcome of a combination of factors: 1) structural demographic

changes, in particular the ageing of the population and the decline in fertility; 2) the emergence of new values in family life, accompanied by a fall in the number of marriages and births, and an increase in the number of divorces, cohabitation, same-sex partnerships and marriages, stepfamilies and births out of wedlock; 3) a general improvement in Portuguese living standards, which meant greater autonomy in individual and family living arrangements (Wall, Cunha and Atalaia, 2013). As a result, over recent decades there has been a consistent increase in the number of family households and a reduction in average family size. In addition, despite the fact that the couple is still "the predominant form of family organization" (Delgado and Wall, 2014: 24), lone-parent and lone persons households are those which have proliferated the most.

Since these underlying trends in family life affect all individuals, it is important to understand current disparities between men and women as far as mode of residence is concerned, i. e. with whom do men and women cohabit throughout their lives. To this end, this study analyses the results of Census 2011 relating to the family households of the adult resident population, taking into account sex and age group in particular.

In 2011, 71% of the male population aged 20 and over resided in couple households, for the most part, with children (52% of all households) (figure 1.1). The remaining male population resided in complex families (14%), lone-parent families (7%) and lone persons (7%) households. Only 1% lived in other types of family household, made up of two or more persons, related or not, but not having conjugal or parental ties. This pattern of co-residence is not constant over the life course, and different age groups reflect this: in 2011 men aged between 30 and 49 were those mostly living in couples with children (63%), while living alone or just with a spouse was more common among men over 65 (12% and 58%, respectively). This is a stage of life increasingly marked by widowhood, when adult children no longer live with their parents.

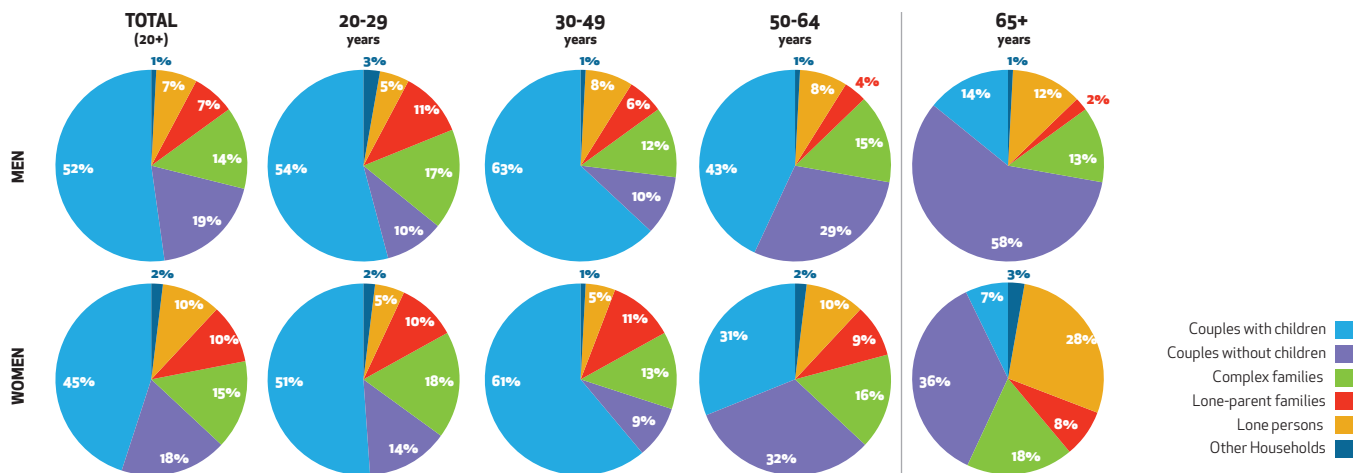
Even though these patterns of co-residence cut across both genders, the data show that more men than women live in couples, and not so much in other types of household. On the other hand, inequality in co-residence mode increases with age: between 20 and 29 years male and female patterns are relatively similar; between 30 and 49 years disparity arises, with more women living in lone-parent family households as a result of the residential reorganization which follows divorce/separation of couples with children; between 50 and 64 years and for those aged 65 and over the disparities between men and women increase, largely on account of the greater incidence of female widowhood<sup>3</sup>. In effect, for the more elderly population as a whole, it is mainly women who live alone (28%), in complex families (18%) and in other types of household (3%), suggesting that life circumstances are different for widowed men and women.

Analysis of disparities shows the differences in co-residence patterns even better. It is important to stress the key role of

<sup>2</sup>'Household' is the sociological concept designating the group of persons who live in the same house, the residence criterion being based on shared lodging and resources. A household may be made up of one person alone, of various unrelated persons or of various persons with blood or marriage ties. The detailed description of the coding process underlying this suggested analysis of 'households' in the Census can be consulted in Delgado and Wall (2014, Chapter 2 - Annex - Methodological Notes, pp. 61-63).

<sup>3</sup>In 2011, the resident population aged 65 and over was made up of 818,706 men and 1,106,394 women: 42.5% and 57.5%, respectively (Delgado and Wall, 2014).

**Figure 1.1 - Resident population (aged 20 and over) by type of household, sex and age group (%) – Portugal, 2011**



Source: Censos 2011; Delgado and Wall (2014).

men’s and women’s specific calendars in establishing a family and throughout family life, which is reflected in their greater or lesser presence in a given type of family according to age group (figure 1.2), as the disparity in lone-parent families shows, in which the number of men in the youngest age group is higher than the number of women. This disparity is due to the fact that men start out later on conjugal relationships, frequently at this age still living with their family of origin, whether with their parents (couple with children), or with just one of them (lone-parent family).

The disparity in single-person households reflects, in part, men’s and women’s increasingly divergent modes of residence over the life course. In fact, the prevalence of men in the 30 to 49 age group represents not just a greater delay in entering into conjugal relationships (when living independently), but also the impact of divorce. In effect, when a conjugal union is dissolved it is women who, as a rule, keep custody of the children, thus becoming a lone-parent family (from the age of 30 onwards, women predominate in this type of family), while men start living alone or move on to new conjugal relationships, where it is common for them to become stepfathers, as is attested by the increase in stepfamilies, namely stepfather families, between 2001 and 2011 (Atalaia, 2014) (see Box: Stepfamilies).

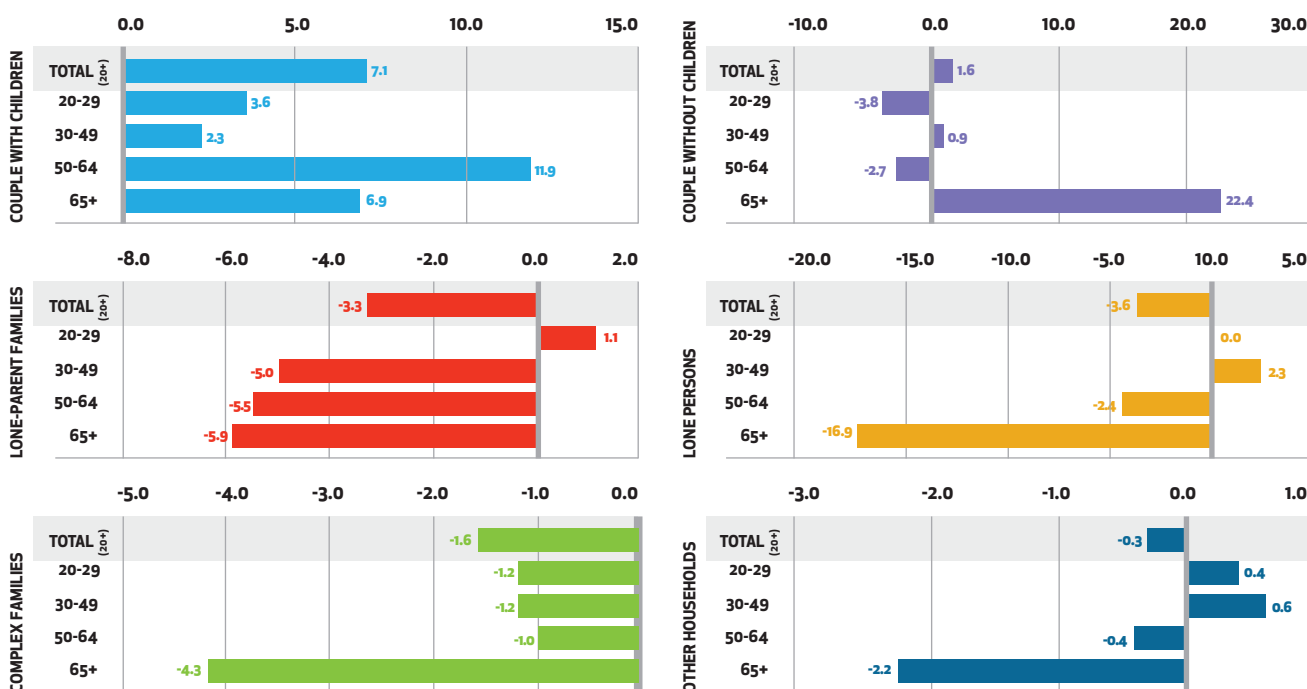
Living in a couple with children is always more common among the male population, although for the 20-29 age group this is more a reflection of staying at home with their parents than constituting their own family. From age 30 onwards – following divorces/sep-

arations, rulings on child custody and families being reconstituted – many men who live in a couple with children no longer reside with their own children (the fathers being ‘non-resident’), but with stepchildren, in stepfamilies. In this way lone-mother families, on the one hand, and stepfather families, on the other, are to a large extent a mirror image of each other, the outcome of post-divorce child custody rulings, in which custody tends to be given to the mother (see Box: Fatherhood after divorce or separation).

There is a different pattern for couples living together without children, often associated with belonging to different age groups within the couple (men tend to be older than their partners): it prevails among women aged 20 to 29 and men between 30 and 49, reflecting the difference in ages between them at the start of married life; and it prevails once more among women aged 50 to 64 and men over 65, corresponding to that stage of the life cycle when couples again live alone, following the departure of their adult children.

It should also be mentioned that the highest disparities between men and women are found among the elderly, because of differing male and female family timetables, but also because of greater female life expectancy and consequently the greater incidence of widowhood, which explains the large female presence in lone persons households and in complex families, while men continue to live in couples.

**Figure 1.2 – Disparity between men and women in the resident population (aged 20 and over) by type of household, by age group (percentage points) – Portugal, 2011**



Source: Censos 2011; Delgado and Wall (2014).

### BOX: STEPFAMILIES

Between 2001 and 2011, Portugal recorded a slight reduction in the number of couples with children, in both absolute terms (rate of variation -7.3%) and relative terms, bearing in mind the proportion such couples represents in the total number of couples (5 percentage points less) (Cunha and Atalaia, 2014).

Nonetheless, the numbers of stepfamilies (couples with at least one non-common child), more than doubled over a decade (rate of variation 126.1%), representing 7% of the total of couples with children in 2011 (figure C1.1). Most stepfamilies live only with non-common children (59%), a situation which has increased since 2001. It is above all women who bring children into stepfamilies: in 78% of these units, the non-common children belong to the woman only, as against 17% of units in which the non-common children belong to the man alone. Stepfamilies with a co-resident stepfather are therefore much more common than stepmother families (Atalaia, 2014).

**Figure C1.1 Stepfamilies (Number and Percentage) – Portugal, 2001, 2011**

	2001	2011
Stepfamilies (absolute values)	46 786	105 763
% of stepfamilies / Total of couples with children	2,7	6,6
Stepfamilies with non-common children only	53%	59%
Stepfamilies with non-common and common children	47%	41%
Total	100%	100%
Previous non-common children		
Children of woman only	79%	78%
Children of man only	17%	17%
Children of the man and the woman	5%	5%
Total	100%	100%

Source: INE, I.P. Census 2001 and 2011.

A detailed analysis of stepfamilies in the Census, corresponding trends, social and demographic characteristics and geographical incidence has been undertaken in: **Atalaia, Susana. 2014. "As famílias recompostas em Portugal: dez anos de evolução (2001-2011)". In Anabela Delgado and Karin Wall (eds). *Famílias nos Censos 2011. Diversidade e Mudança*. Lisboa: INE/Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 225-239.**

**BOX: FATHERHOOD AFTER DIVORCE OR SEPARATION\***

In recent decades, divorce and separation of couples have become significant factors in changing and diversifying fatherhood, motherhood and co-parenting. The adoption into law of the principle of shared parenting in various Western countries brought in a new model of parenthood for separated mothers and fathers, enshrining the continued involvement of both parents in the well-being, education and parental responsibility for children following divorce, as well as flexibility in residence and contact arrangements. The legislation sought to counter the negative consequences of divorce on children's and parents' emotional, financial and social well-being, mainly the frequent disengagement of one of the parents (as a rule the father) from parental responsibility, which the literature attributes to the gendered foundation of the maternal residence and paternal visits dictated by the legal terms of "sole custody" (Arendell, 1995). But it also sought to reflect ongoing cultural changes in the roles, practices and identity of women and men in parenthood - in particular, the increasing inclusion of parental equality in the practices and representations of separated mothers and fathers, as well as their effects on the increase in shared residence families (Neyrand, 2009; Kruk, 2015).

This was the background for the legal reform of post-divorce parenthood which began in Portugal in 1995. This started by giving parents the possibility of choosing "joint custody" (termed *joint paternal power*), in the context of the legal presumption of "sole custody" (termed *sole paternal authority*), generally of the mother, with which residence with the child had previously been associated (Law 84/95 of 31 August, article 1906). The reform culminated in Law 61/2008, of 31 October (article 1906), which replaced the legal concept of "paternal authority" with "parental responsibility" and separated the residence with the child from the exercise of parental responsibility. The 2008 Divorce Act establishes the legal presumption of shared parental responsibility for the major issues affecting the child, combined with exclusive responsibility of the parent with whom the child resides for everyday life actions. It also provided for the safeguarding of the child's contact with both parents, establishing the exclusive exercise of all parental responsibilities in situations where there is a need to protect the child from parental abuse, violence and negligence. The legal presumption of "shared legal parental responsibility" was thus established, with sole residence and contact with the non-resident parent, in all aspects similar to "joint legal custody", as it is called in other countries (Nielsen, 2011). The possibility of the child having shared residence with both parents (33-50% of the time with one parent, the remainder with the other), in the context of sharing legal parental responsibility, was not introduced under this reform. Even so, however, since 1995 various judges have made or ratified shared residence orders and consent orders.

The experience of fathering under shared residence arrangements in Portugal was researched by Marinho (2011). The author's main aim was to explore the diversity of ways in which men construct and negotiate their practices, roles and identity as fathers in their relationships with their children, and in father-mother parental co-ordination. The study was based on in-depth interviews with men who had been awarded shared residence arrangements by a court or had agreed such arrangements with their partners, either as part of a negotiation to transform maternal custody into shared residence arrangements, or after the break-up of a civil union in which the parties agreed not to resort to the courts for parental agreement.

The results of this study reveal four different ways of being a father under shared residence: the *assertive*, the *reconstructed*, the *joint* and the *conditioned*. Each of these forms involves a combination of practices, meanings and identity, which shape particular ways of being a father, building the father-child relationship and sharing childcare, education and residence of the children with the other parent.

These patterns are shaped by the entanglement between the conjugal and parental trajectories of men and the social representations, norms and values which guide fathering and co-parenting. In this context, diversity in fathering in shared residence is connected to various social processes: the negotiation of the individualization of fathering; the balance between autonomy and parental togetherness; and the construction and deconstruction of gender in interactions. Parental co-ordination under these arrangements tends to be achieved in both equal and unequal periods of residence. But it also revolves around parallel parenting (separation of practices, territories and parental decisions on day-to-day sharing) and negotiated parenting (compatibility of practices and parental decisions on day-to-day sharing), each of these being combined or more or less marked. The relationship of fathering to gender is found in different conceptions of men's and women's parental roles and skills, negotiated in parental partnerships and father-child relationships. In these conceptions fathers and mothers may be equal and interchangeable, equal and complementary, or different and complementary.

**Marinho, Sofia. 2011. *Paternidades de Hoje. Significados, práticas e negociações da parentalidade na conjugalidade e na residência alternada*. PhD Thesis. Lisboa: Universidade de Lisboa. Available at: <http://repositorio.ul.pt/handle/10451/4940>**

\* Text kindly drafted and ceded by Sofia Marinho for the White Paper (September 2016).

**1.3.2 Changes in paid and unpaid work**

In Portuguese society, judicial norms which for decades sustained the patriarchal ideology of the *Estado Novo* and legitimized the inequalities and hierarchy of men and women within and without the family enshrined the role of submissive wife and caring mother to women, based on a 'natural order' of gender (Wall, 2011). In effect, Article 5 of the 1933 Constitution laid down the "equality of citizens before the law [...], except, as far as women are concerned, the differences resulting from their nature and the good of the family"; and the Civil Code of 1966 stated, in article 1677, that "To the woman during the conjugal life falls the organizing of the household, in accordance with the usage and conditions of the spouses".

Despite the changes which have taken place in gender relations in Portuguese society, in particular with extensive female participation in the labour market and their increasing educational attainment (see Chapters 2 and 3), changes in the home have been slower, hence the acknowledged overload or dual burden of women, i. e. the accumulation of hours of paid and unpaid work, including occupational work in the former and household tasks and care of children and other dependents in the latter (Amâncio, 2007). While both are time consuming, the social recognition of the value of each is quite different, with only the first being 'calculable' (producing a financial return), so that the "increasing interest in the value of 'non-calculable' work is due to the dissatisfaction of many social groups, especially women, given that their work has little visibility in most political and economic interpretations" (Durán, 2013: 18). Thus, just as the time women devote

to paid work has become a key indicator of gender equality in the labour market, so the time men devote to unpaid work is today a fundamental indicator in analysing gender equality in family life and in mitigating women's dual burden.

### 1.3.2.1 Hours of paid and unpaid work

At the turn of the millennium, INE [Statistics Portugal] conducted a large survey of men's, women's and children's use of time in Portuguese society – the Time Use Survey 1999 – in which some 10,000 individuals over 6 years of age were interviewed over the whole country. Perista's analysis (2002), using a subsample of individuals aged 15 and over, confirmed the existence of very significant differences between men and women in terms of participation in unpaid work: 59% of men and 94% of women stated they did household and care tasks; men spent on average about 2 hours a day on those tasks, while women spent 5 hours. Totalling the time spent daily on paid and unpaid work, the data further showed that despite men devoting on average an hour and 13 minutes a day more to their occupations, women's working day in 1999 lasted practically 2 hours more. Eurofound surveys results for Portugal later confirmed the intensity of women's working day (see Box: Eurofound Index 18).

The recorded differences in time allocated to unpaid work clearly reflected men's and women's differing participation in various household tasks, in particular doing laundry, cleaning and preparing meals. The feminization of these tasks (particularly intensive in terms of time they take and the regularity with which they are carried out) was a reality in 1999: between 74% and 79% of women dealt 'always or frequently' with laundry, cleaning and meals, while the percentage of men who 'always or frequently' carried out the three tasks was 7%, 10% and 17%, respectively. However, among those with higher income and educational attainment levels, the author found greater participation by men in household tasks, in particular in preparing meals, and less participation by women, as a result of the higher incidence of contracting out household work in these family households, as was verified in another national survey on family life in 1999 (Wall, 2005). The presence of small children in the household is also associated with greater male participation in household tasks, which suggests that this stage of married life is one of the key moments for reorganizing unpaid work. In effect, the birth of a child increases the amount of time allocated to unpaid work – whether in looking after the child or associated tasks – and this often leads to greater male participation in household work with a view to alleviating the overload of their female partners, as qualitative research has confirmed (Rosa, 2013; Wall, Aboim and Cunha, 2010; Wall, Cunha and Marinho, 2013).

Another significant finding of the 1999 Time Use Survey was the different ways in which men and women treat the relationship between paid and unpaid work. While for men a longer or shorter paid working day had little influence on the amount of time they devoted to household tasks, for women this was a key factor: "the lower the number of weekly hours of paid work, the more

time is devoted to household and family care tasks; thus when women have a lower than 35-hour paid working week, the time they devote to unpaid work is over 5 hours a day" (Perista, 2002: 450). This is a very interesting finding, which confirms that at the turn of the millennium there was still a dualist perspective of men's and women's roles in society. In effect, the need to balance time in paid and unpaid work (which did not apply to men, because expectations on them are mainly financial) shows that female participation in the labour market did not free them from the ultimate responsibility for the domestic sphere; and that this social charge is greater when there is greater inequality in the job situation between men and women, thus further discouraging male participation in the domestic sphere and changes in attitudes to gender roles in family life.

In 2015, CESIS, in partnership with CITE, launched a new National Time Use Survey (INUT), applied to a representative sample of the resident population aged 15 and over (N=10 146 individuals). Even though the results are not fully comparable with those of 1999, they confirm the persistence of differences in the time men and women devote to paid and unpaid work (Perista *et al.*, 2016). Taking the last working day as the point of reference, men with jobs reported on average 11 hours and 39 minutes of paid and unpaid work, and women 12 hours and 52 minutes. This overall difference of 1 hour and 13 minutes is the result above all of time devoted to unpaid work, which for women was 1 hour and 40 minutes more on the last working day. Men devoted 27 minutes more to paid work, which covers the time spent in occupational work, including overtime or secondary activities, and commuting<sup>4</sup>.

The overall difference in daily time men and women devote to paid and unpaid work (which is necessarily reflected in the time they have for rest and leisure) confirms that redistribution of these hours does not account for everything. The female overload is based, accordingly, on accumulated gender inequalities in the labour market and in family life, as in men's and women's attitudes to gender roles and the expectations which exist in relation to fulfilling those roles.

### 1.3.2.2 The conjugal division of paid and unpaid work and the perception of justice in working-age couples

Work-family reconciliation is an aspect of life which affects men and women in different family contexts, and may even be quite complex and difficult in certain situations, as in the case of lone-parent families with small children (Correia, 2010, 2013; Wall, São José and Correia, 2002), families that are more vulnerable in financial terms (see Box: Financial Vulnerability and work-family reconciliation in lone-parent families) – for the purposes of this study it is particularly relevant to assess the changes which have occurred in the working-age population living in a heterosexual conjugal relationship, in which there is a negotiation and definition of gender roles which may help to reconcile occupational and family obligations. The analysis of the ISSP results which follows focuses specifically on this aspect – the

<sup>4</sup> For more information on the INUT project consult: <http://www.inut.info/>.

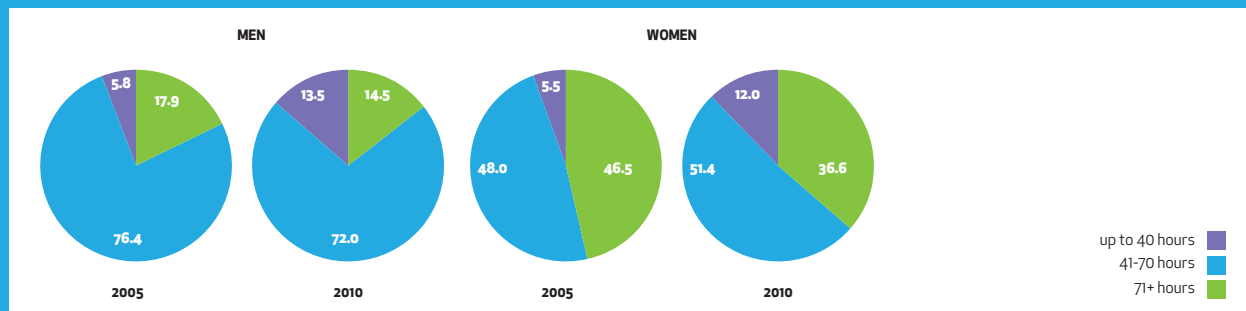


## BOX: EUROFOUND INDEX 18

In the 2000s, the Eurofound European Working Conditions Surveys (EWCS 2005 and EWCS 2010), revealed a slight reduction, for both men and women, in the total number of weekly hours allocated to work (paid, unpaid and other – see methodological note below), and the persistence of a heavy female overload (figure C1.2): in 2005, 47% of women, as against 18% of men, spent over 70 hours per week working; the corresponding percentages for women and men in 2010 were 37% and 15%, respectively.

While in 2005 only a small residual percentage of men and women spent less time in work (up to 40 hours a week), that percentage had more than doubled by 2010. This may be due to the slight reduction in overall working hours in Portuguese society in the early years of the crisis (see Chapter 2) and possibly to the reduction in time allocated to other activities.

**Figure C1.2 – Number of hours per week of paid and unpaid work (up to 40h, 41-70h and 71+h), by sex (%) –Portugal, 2005, 2010**



Source: Eurofound, EWCS 2005, EWCS 2010.

### Note on methodology:

This indicator is based on an index built by Eurofound (Index 18: Number of hours spent on paid and unpaid work per week) from the number of weekly hours allocated to various activities: main and secondary job, commuting, political and voluntary work, care of children and dependent adults, housework, education and training.

EWCS is a Eurofound survey applied every 5 years which seeks to monitor trends in working conditions in Europe. The first survey, in 1990/1991, covered workers aged 15 and over in the 12 member-states of the European Community. Subsequent surveys have covered an increasing number of countries. The sixth and most recent survey was carried out in 2015, in 35 countries. The database for this is not yet available, so it is not possible to present the most recent figures.

**For more information on EWCS publications consult the Eurofound website, available at: <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/pt/surveys/european-working-conditions-surveys>**

conjugal division of paid and unpaid labour as reported by working-age men and women (18-64 years) who state they are living as a couple<sup>5</sup> (married or cohabiting). To identify trends of change in men's situation and the disparity between men and women this study thus observes the evolution of indicators between 2002 and 2014, taking respondents' ages into account, so as to assess the different generations' greater or lesser contribution to change.

### Division of paid work

As is amply demonstrated in the chapter on the labour market, reconciliation of work and family in Portuguese society takes place in a context of full-time employment for men and women, unlike other European countries, where the lower female activity rate, and part-time female employment, produce other forms of division of paid work (see Box: Europe: Conjugal Division of

paid and unpaid work). The ISSP results for 2002 and 2014 reflect precisely that, with most couples working full time (figure 1.3). However, whereas in 2002 the percentage of couples "both working full time" was at least 70% in all age groups, but higher amongst the younger generations, in 2014 it was only higher among couples aged between 30 and 44 years. The main changes which occurred were, as expected, greater insecurity in the labour market and the increase in the unemployment of one or other member of the couple (or both working part time, which is also a form of insecurity), which affects both younger and older couples. But bearing in mind the situation of younger couples in the two years under study, it can be seen that the couple's formation became a more vulnerable stage of life in terms of work in Portuguese society. The 30 to 44 years age group evolved differently: here there was an increase, against the grain, in the numbers of those "both working full time".

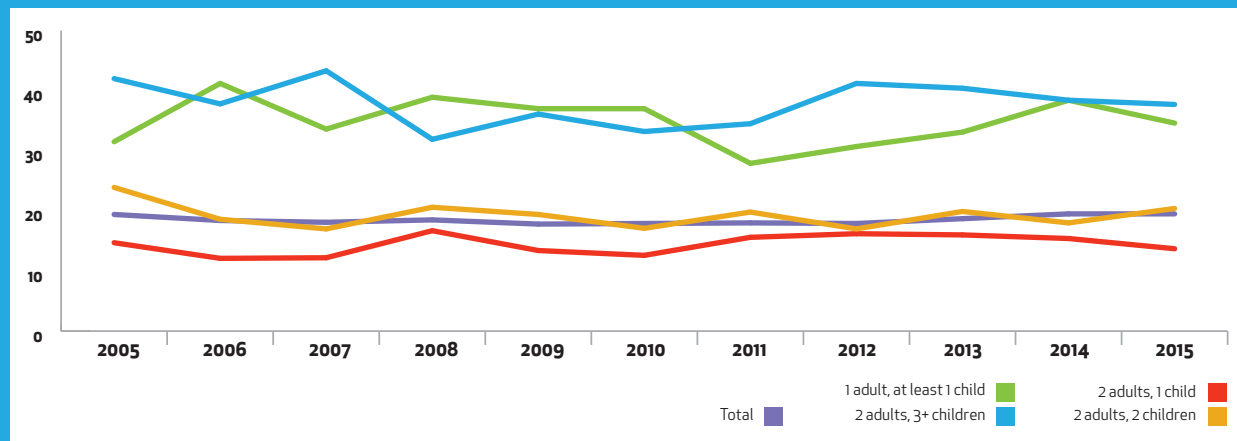
<sup>5</sup> A limitation of the ISSP surveys is the fact they do not identify the sex of the respondent's partner, so it is not possible to exclude same-sex couples from the analysis.

### BOX: FINANCIAL VULNERABILITY AND WORK-FAMILY RECONCILIATION IN LONE-PARENT FAMILIES

Lone-parent families with children, which are increasingly common and highly feminized in Portuguese society (Marinho, 2014), are particularly vulnerable in economic terms, and are amongst those at the highest risk of poverty, alongside large families (figure C1.3). Where there is unemployment, the risk-of-poverty affects 9 in every 10 lone-parent families, according to OECD data, a risk level very much higher than that of families with two unemployed adults (figure C1.4).

During the financial crisis, the situation of lone-parent families worsened considerably, as was shown by a study on the impact of the crisis on Portuguese children (Wall *et al.*, 2015). Between 2011 and 2014, the risk-of-poverty rate for these families increased by over 10 percentage points. There was no equivalent rise in that rate for families with two unemployed adults, even in large families.

**Figure C1.3 – Risk-of-poverty rate, by type of household with dependent children (%) – Portugal, 2005-2015**



Source: EU-SILC 2006-2016.

**Figure C1.4 Risk-of-poverty rate for households with children, by type of household and job status (%) – Portugal, 2010<sup>P</sup>**

Households with children	2 adults	1 adult
Employed	4,8	26,2
1 Unemployed	34,3	90,2
Both unemployed	53,2	-

Source: OCDE 2011 – Income Distribution Questionnaire.  
P = provisional data

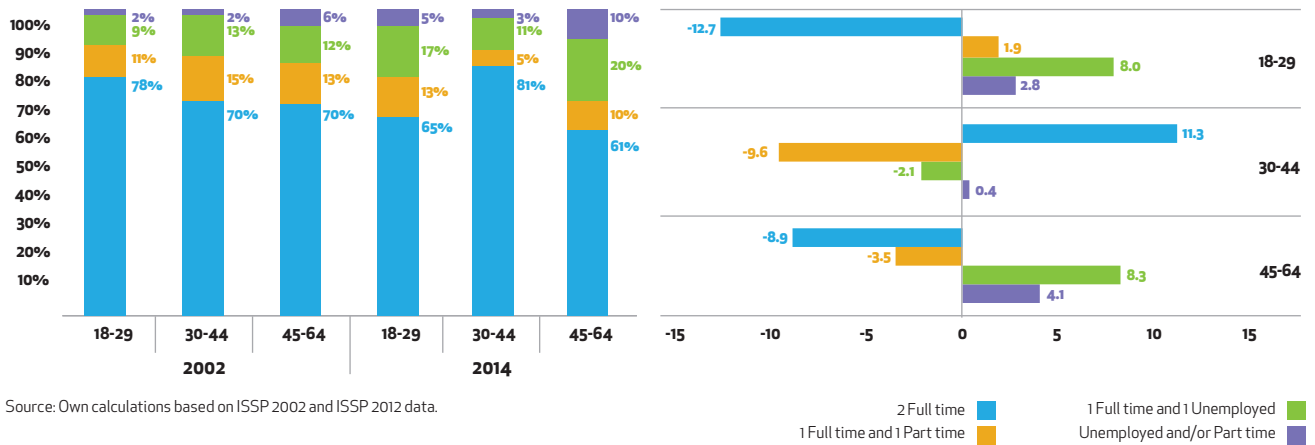
In an original qualitative research on reconciliation between work and family life lone-father and lone-mother families, Correia (2013) mapped out five common strategies for reconciling family and work: *self-centred management, multiple delegation, grandparents' support, returning to parents' home* and, lastly, *precarious or non-existent reconciliation*.

One of the author's conclusions is that, where there is no spouse, formal and informal support and childcare networks are key elements in determining how lone-parent families organize their daily lives and reconcile work and family. With the exception of self-centred management – a strategy in which the father or the mother copes alone, based on their ability to manage working life and children's timetables, the other strategies demonstrate the extent to which these lone fathers and mothers depend on third parties. When such formal or informal support, which focuses on daily management or combined solutions, is lacking, it becomes particularly difficult to balance work and family life.

The author finds that most disadvantaged lone-parent families are those which are weakest in terms of work-life balance. A weak or non-existent support network – whether due to the absence of close family or lack of money to pay for formal or informal care, often associated with unskilled jobs, casual work, irregular hours or very low pay - means that these families have a very hard time looking after their children, and are often obliged to place them in the care of older siblings, or even leave them alone at home or on the streets of their neighbourhood, while they go out to work.

**Correia, Sónia Vladimira. 2013. Conciliação família-trabalho em famílias monoparentais. Uma abordagem comparativa de género. PhD Thesis. Lisboa: ICS-ULisboa. Available at: [repositorio.ul.pt/bitstream/10451/.../1/ulsd067977\\_td\\_Sonia\\_Cardoso.pdf](http://repositorio.ul.pt/bitstream/10451/.../1/ulsd067977_td_Sonia_Cardoso.pdf)**

**Figure 1.3 – Types of conjugal division of paid work in working-age couples and trends, by age group (%) – Portugal, 2002, 2014**

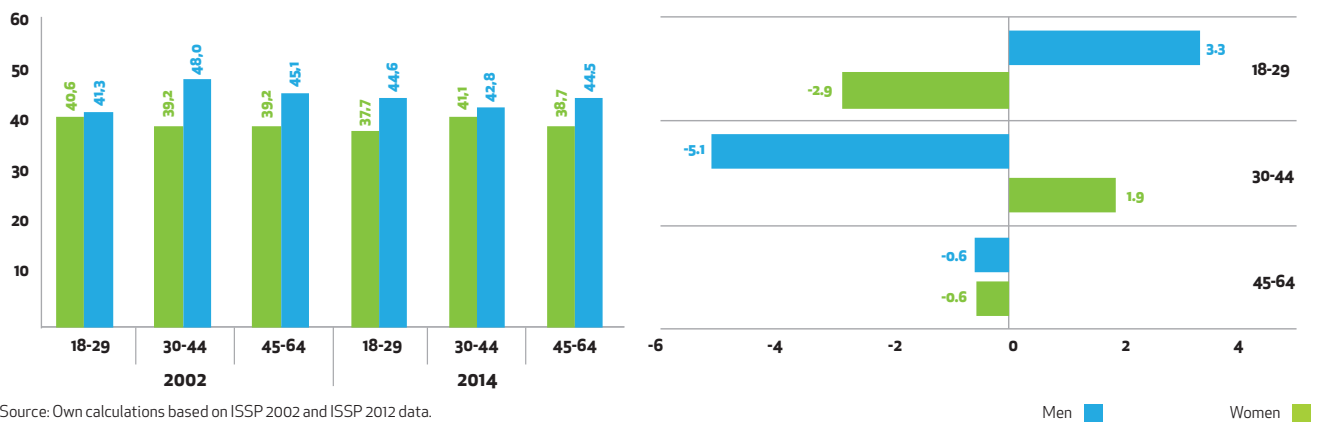


Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012 data.

Like INUT 2015 (Perista *et al.*, 2016), the ISSP reveals a pattern of greater male than female devotion to paid work, *always* over 40 hours per week regardless of age group (figure 1.4). However, between 2002 and 2014, there were some interesting changes, but in opposite directions depending on the age group: while younger men, who in 2002 were those who allocated the fewest hours to paid work, started working 3.3 hours more per week, men aged between 30 and 44, who worked significantly more hours in 2002

(48 hours per week) reduced their time in paid work by 5.1 hours, and thus became the group with the fewest hours in 2014 (42.8 hours per week). The pattern also changed for women in the same age groups, but in the opposite direction: in 2014 women aged 30 to 44 devoted the most hours to paid work, 41.1 hours per week. It is thus in this stage of life, when men and women are building a family and have small children, that the number of hours in paid work is most similar.

**Figure 1.4 - Average number of hours per week of paid work and trends, by sex and age group (hours) – Portugal, 2002, 2014**



Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012 data.

**Division of unpaid work**

Analysis of hours per week spent on household tasks<sup>6</sup>, performed by working-age men and women living as couples (18-64 years), confirms the persistence of the male pattern of shorter time allocated to these tasks compared to the higher female pattern. In 2002, men spent on average 6.2 hours per week on household work, and women 26.5 hours; in 2014, men spent 8.7 hours, and women 23.4 hours. Nevertheless, there is a certain compensation effect operating here, since men started spending 2.5 hours more, while women started spending 3.1 hours less. But this analysis also shows significant changes between 2002 and 2014 in the increased time allocated to household

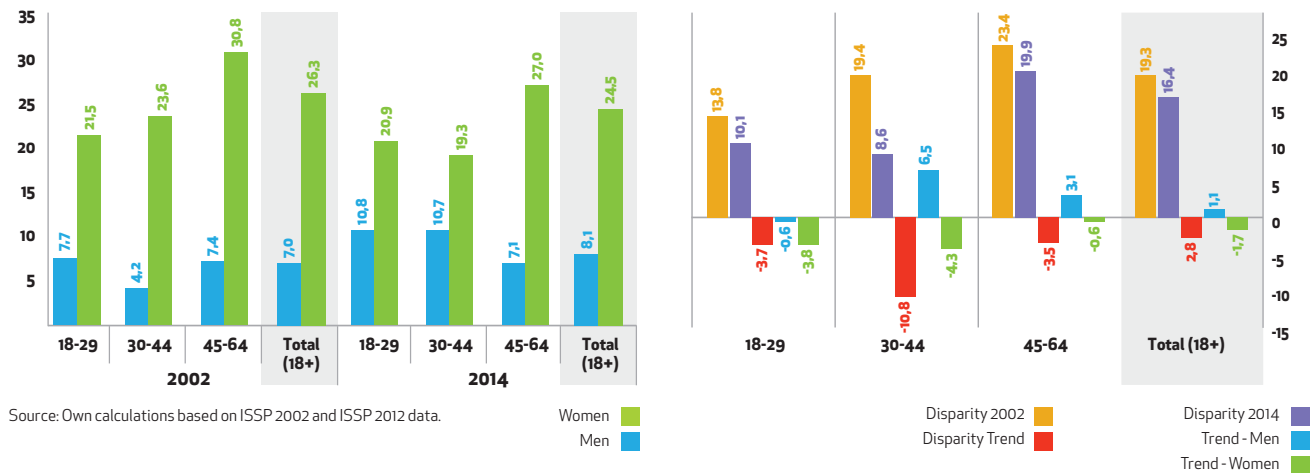
tasks by younger men (up to age 44), which is accompanied by the reduction in the number of hours spent by women of all age groups (figure 1.5). In fact, the increase in the number of hours performed by men in 2014, compared to 2002, seems to have a mitigating effect on the time women devote to household work, particularly in the 30 to 44 years age group, in which men work 6.5 hours more per week and women 4.3 hours less.

Despite the fact that inequality between men and women in this sphere of conjugal life continues to be the dominant note, it is important to state that men (and women) aged between 30 and 44 today have a different attitude to household work compared to those in the same age group in the early 2000s. In effect, in

<sup>6</sup> It is not possible to show trends in time spent in unpaid work including both household tasks and caregiving, because only the 2014 edition includes a question on time allocated to caregiving. So it is only possible to compare time allocated to household tasks.

2002, men aged between 30 and 44 were those who devoted the least time to household work (4.2 hours per week), and women in that age group had almost 6 times as many hours. In 2014, the difference between men and women in this age group is less than half, and these men allocated over half the time to domestic tasks compared to 2002.

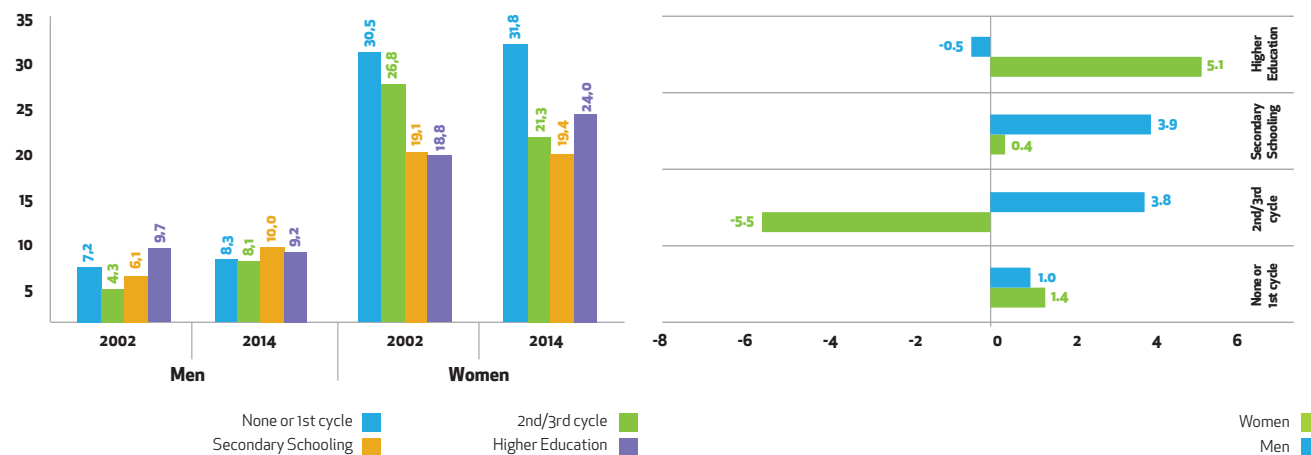
**Figure 1.5 - Average number of hours per week spent on household tasks, and trends in disparity between men and women, by sex and age group (hours) - Portugal, 2002, 2014**



Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012 data.

In relation to educational attainment levels (figure 1.6), in 2002 men with the highest levels were those who spent the most hours per week on household tasks, while men with the second and third cycles spent less than half that time (9.7 hours and 4.3 hours, respectively). In 2014, with the exception of men with higher education, all others had started allocating more time to household work, with an emphasis on men having the second and third cycles and secondary education, who began doing practically 4 hours more per week. Among women in 2002 there was significant variation in the time allocated according to educational attainment level, with women having up to the third cycle doing much more household work (over 26 hours) and women with secondary and higher education doing less (around 19 hours). In 2014 there was a significant increase in the time spent by more highly qualified women (5.1 hours more) and a reduction among women with the second and third cycles (5.5 hours less). The differences between men and women were highest up to the third cycle in 2002 (around 23 hours) and lowest for those with higher education (9 hours). In 2014, the difference persisted up to the first cycle (23.7 hours), but no longer in the second and third cycles, with particular emphasis on the secondary education level, which currently has the lowest difference (9.4 hours).

**Figure 1.6 - Average number of hours per week spent on household tasks and trends, by sex and educational attainment level (hours) - Portugal, 2002, 2014**

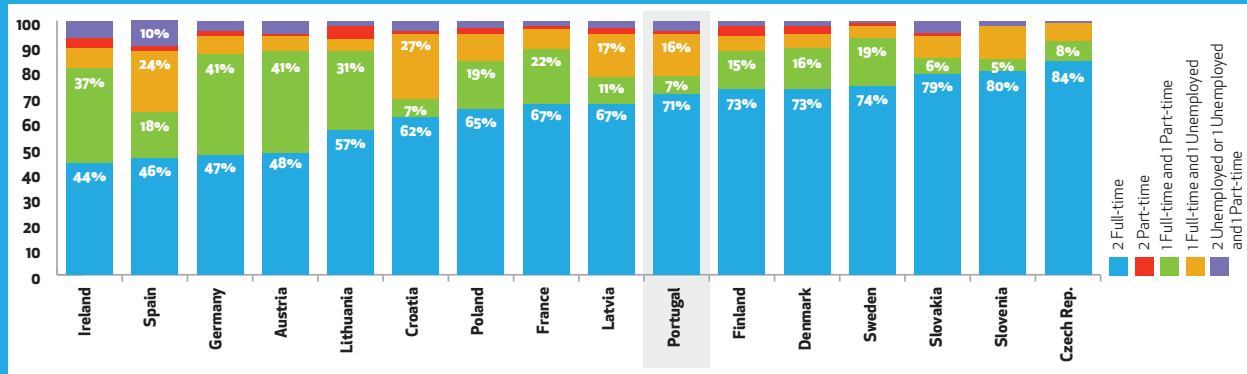


Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012 data.

### BOX EUROPE: CONJUGAL DIVISION OF PAID AND UNPAID WORK

In the group of 16 EU28 countries which took part in the 2012 ISSP ‘Family and Changing Gender Roles’ Portugal, together with Northern and Central European countries, had a high number of “dual earner” couples (figure C1.5), i. e. couples in which both spouses work full time (between 71% and 84%). Couples with “one and a half jobs”, where one of the spouses works full time and the other part time (typically the man works full time and the woman part time) are particularly significant in Germany, Austria and Ireland (between 37% and 41%), where they co-exist with “dual earner” situations, but are also quite significant (between 18% and 22%) in France, Sweden, Poland and neighbouring Spain. The impact of the financial crisis on the conjugal division of paid work also needs to be highlighted, with a considerable number of working age couples in which at least one of the spouses is unemployed, as in Spain (where in 10% of couples both spouses are unemployed), Croatia, Latvia and Portugal.

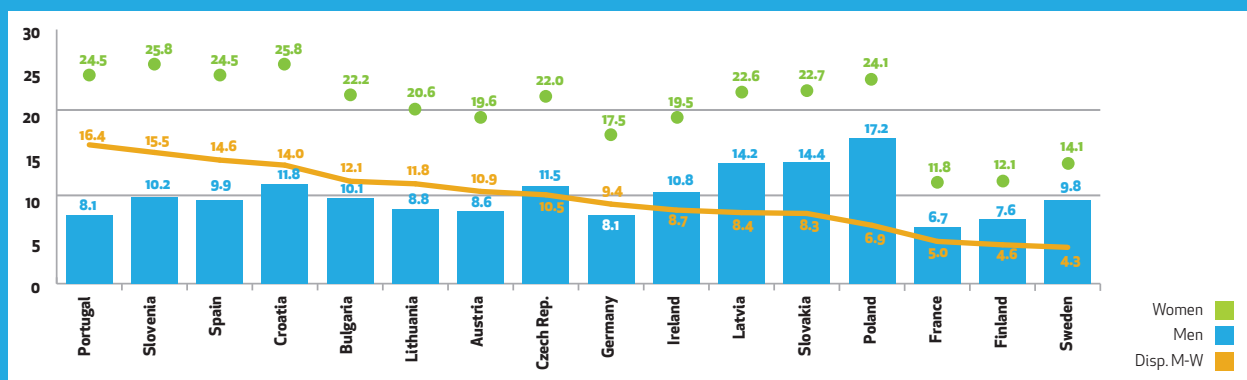
**Figure C1.5 – Conjugal division of paid work in economically active couples (%) – 16 countries of EU28, 2012/2014**



Note: These results only reflect situations in which both spouses are economically active. They do not include situations of inactivity of one or both spouses (students, retired people, housewives/househusbands, etc.), so the more traditional “male breadwinner/female housewife” situation is not covered.  
Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2012 data (data for Portugal from 2014).

In connection with the number of hours that men and women (of all ages) living in couples devote to household tasks, the ISSP 2012 results for 16 countries of the EU28 show that Portugal has the highest disparity, with women spending 16 hours a week more on household work (figure C1.6). Spain, Slovenia and Croatia are close behind, while Sweden, Finland and France have the lowest disparity figures (between 4.3 and 5 hours per week). The lesser inequality in the conjugal division of unpaid work in these countries seem to be the result of a less intensive pattern of household work, in that, in the overall European context, these men and women are among those who spend the least time on household tasks. By contrast, the highest levels of inequality are associated with a highly feminized pattern of household work, accompanied by a low average male participation rate, as in Portugal, Spain and Slovenia. In effect, the differences in gender asymmetries in these 16 countries seem to derive more from the amount of time women devote to household work rather than the amount of time men devote to it, where the variation between countries is smaller, as ascertained by Aboim (2010) in connection with the results of ISSP 2002.

**Figure C1.6 Average number of hours per week spent on household tasks by men and women living in couples, and disparity (hours) – 16 countries of EU28, 2012/2014**



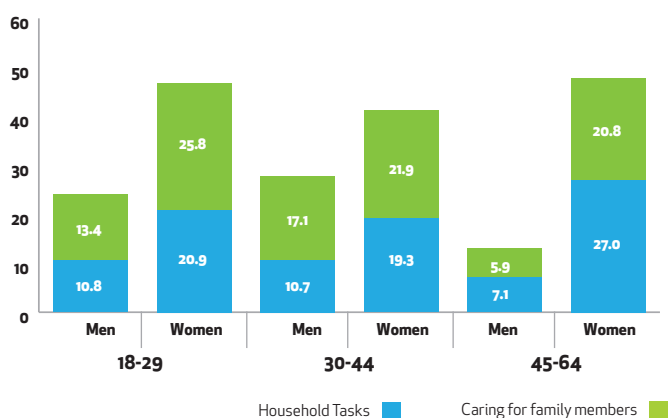
Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2012 data (data for Portugal from 2014).

It is interesting to note that disparities in unpaid work do not seem to depend on the conjugal division of paid work: the countries in which the disparities are the greatest and the least are those where “dual earners” prevail; in countries where “one and a half jobs” are common, disparity levels are average, with average amounts of time devoted to household tasks as well. This means, first, that these two types of conjugal division of labour are not necessarily connected. The conjugal division of paid work model may indeed be more closely tied to care and childcare needs in those societies. Secondly, it also means that there are cultural standards governing household work, more or less intensive and genderized, and these are reflected in how couples manage their households, regardless of their job situation in the labour market.



Questions on time devoted by men and women to caring for family members – which includes care of children, the elderly, the sick and the disabled – were only applied in the ISSP 2012 edition (2014 in Portugal), so it is not possible to assess ongoing changes in this domain. The time spent per week on caring for family members by men and women of working age living as couples is higher than the time spent on these tasks up to age 44 and lower for older age groups. But it follows the same pattern in terms of contribution, with a direct impact women’s overload of unpaid work (figure 1.7). The difference in men’s and women’s contributions is highest in the oldest age group, in which men spend 5.9 hours per week on caring work, compared to women, who spend 20.8 hours. At a stage of life in which most couples no longer have small children, it can be seen that only women still have a high workload in terms of caring and household tasks, clearly because they are supporting adult children, grandchildren and elderly parents. This lower participation of older men in unpaid work reflects this generation’s more conservative attitude to gender roles (as will be seen below). In contrast, the difference in contributions is lower in the 30 to 44 years age group, with the mitigation effect visible also in women doing caring tasks, as it is here that men devote the most time to caring, 17.1 hours per week.

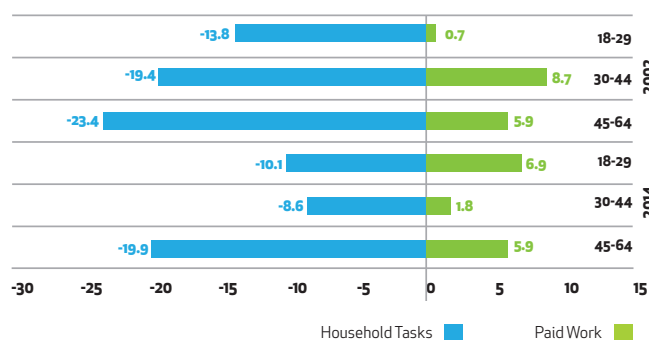
**Figure 1.7 - Average number of hours per week spent on household tasks and caregiving by sex and age group (hours) – Portugal, 2014**



Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012 data.

Given the disparity between men and women in time spent in paid and unpaid work, i. e. the difference in the number of hours which men and women living as couples devote to these spheres of life, this study confirms that the greater amount of time men spend on their occupations is greatly exceeded by the amount of time women spend on unpaid work, even when taking into account household tasks on their own (figure 1.8). While this is the reality regardless of age group and year under study, there is a trend between 2002 and 2014 for a reduction in the disparity between men and women of all ages in the amount of time devoted to household tasks, but which is more significant for the 30 to 44 age group. Curiously, it was also in this age group that the disparity in time devoted to paid work fell, from 8.7 hours per week in 2002 to 1.8 hours in 2014.

**Figure 1.8 – Disparity between men and women in average number of hours per week spent on household tasks and paid work, by age group (hours) - Portugal, 2002, 2014**



Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2012 data.

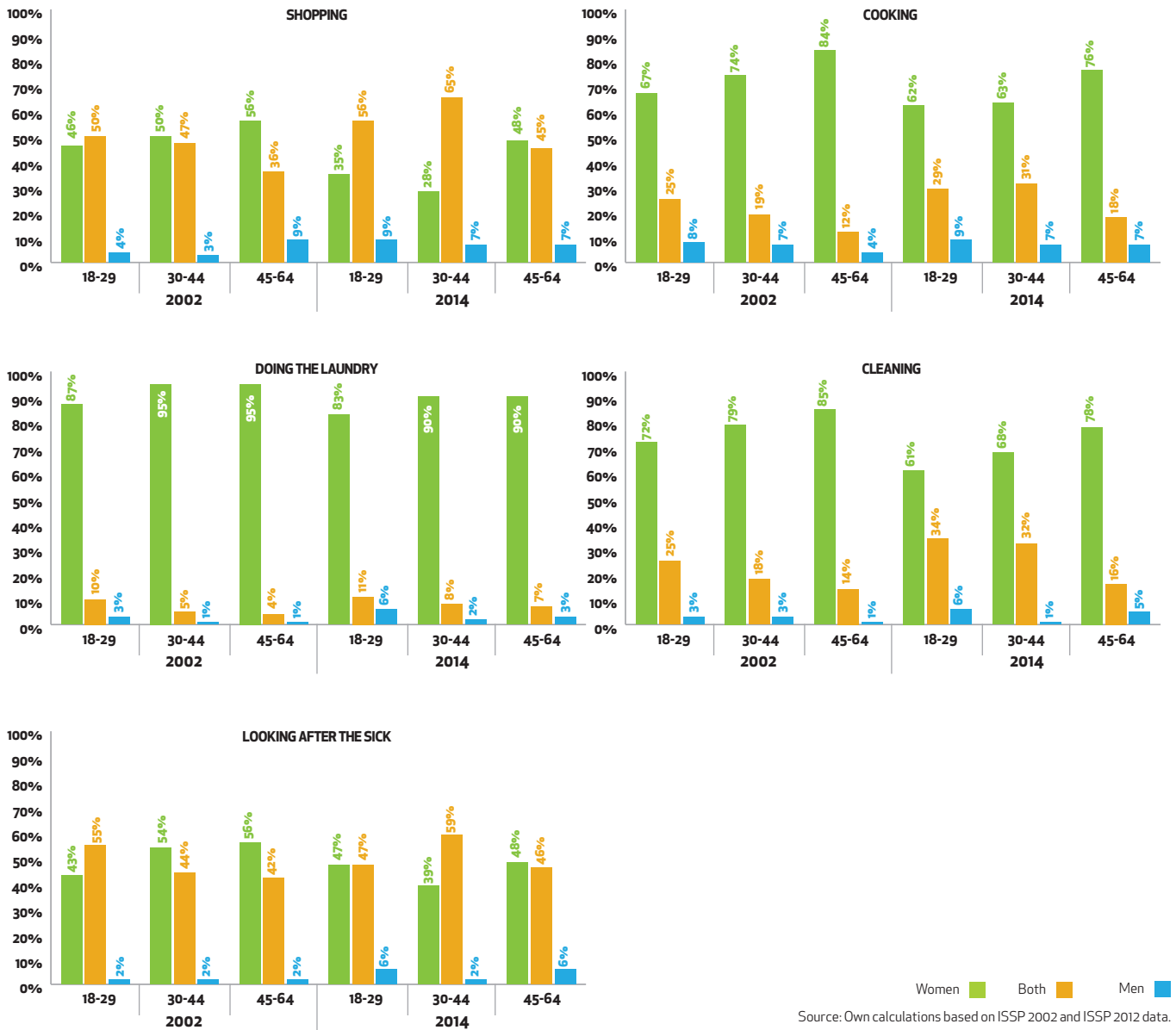
**Conjugal division of certain tasks**

In addition to these results in connection with time devoted by working-age couples to unpaid work – which, despite the significant differences which persist, are moving in the direction of greater male and lower female participation – it is also important to understand changes in the distribution of household tasks and the ways these are carried out, in particular for more routine tasks or those which require more time, and which have always been allocated to women in the household.

Analysis of specific tasks shows that men living in couples continue to be secondary performers in domestic production, because in the majority of couples it is still the woman who is responsible for ‘cooking’, ‘doing the laundry’ and ‘cleaning’ (figure 1.9). Regardless of age group and year under study, the most common situation is for the woman to perform those tasks always or usually. The reverse situation, where the man usually or always performs those tasks, continues to be much less frequent, not exceeding 9% in tasks such as ‘cooking’ and ‘shopping’. The most significant participation by men occurs through the ‘conjugalization’ of household work, i. e. by sharing tasks with their partners. In this context there has indeed been a positive trend between 2002 and 2014, in which younger men have been the main players, in tasks such as ‘cooking’ and ‘cleaning’. Conjugal sharing, in which both perform these tasks regularly, accounts for about one-third of these situations. Two specific tasks stand out in this specific sharing context, however: ‘shopping’ and ‘looking after the sick’ (children or other family members). Already in 2002, there was considerably sharing of these tasks, and even more so in 2014, to the extent that this sharing became the most common situation among couples in the 30 to 44 age group.

It should also be emphasized that one task – ‘doing the laundry’ – seems to be resistant to change, remaining highly feminized. Male participation in this task remains residual. Only in the 18 to 29 age group in 2014 was there male participation of 17%, with the man being the main person responsible in 6% of situations.

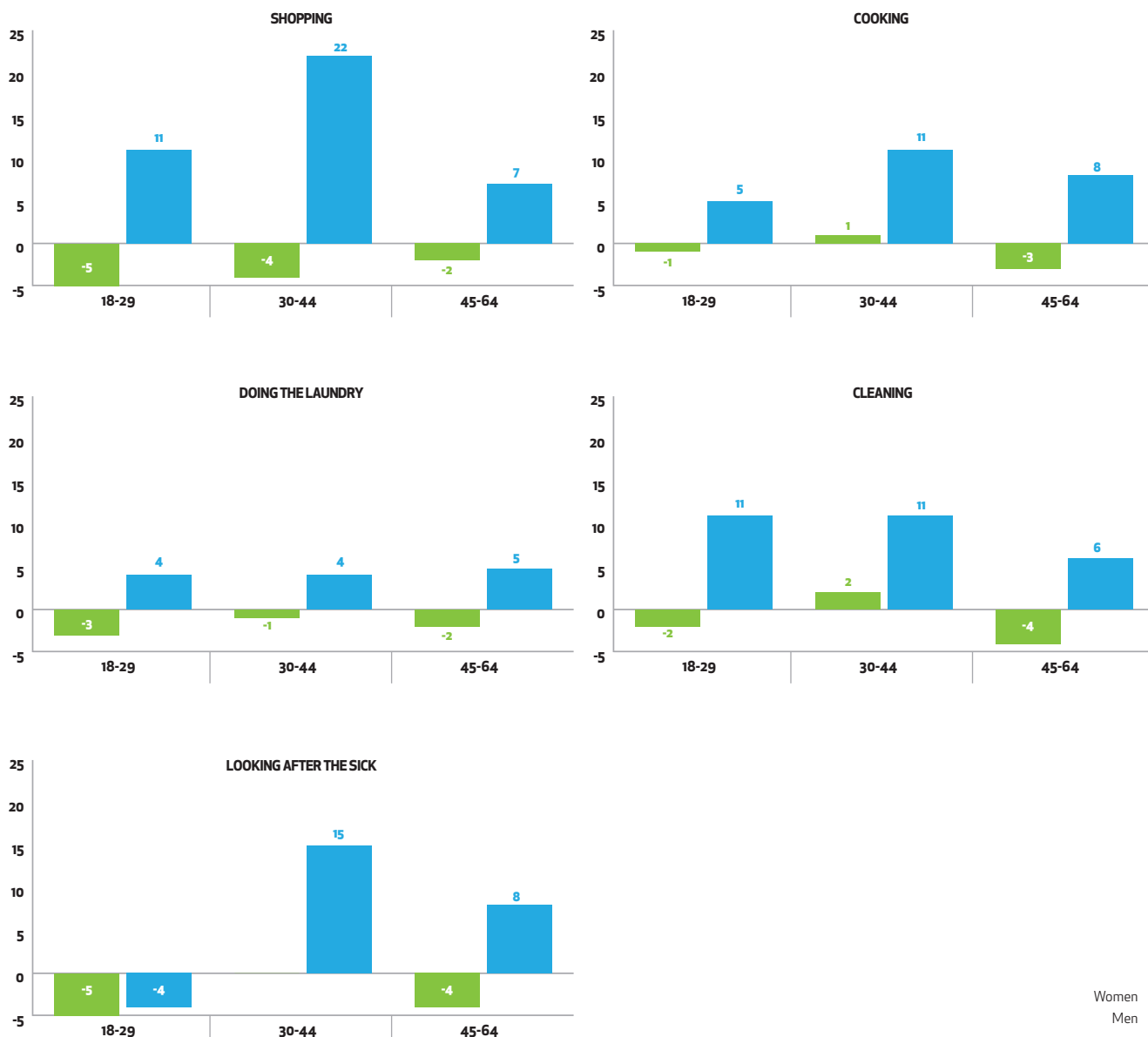
**Figure 1.9 - Conjugal division of household tasks, by age group (%) – Portugal, 2002, 2014**



Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012 data.

The positive trend during the period under study in the amount of time men of working age living in couples spend on household work is thus the outcome of a tentative entry into the heavy and routine tasks traditionally carried out by women. This male participation takes place not so much by men becoming responsible for the performance of these tasks, but rather as a result of conjugal sharing (in other words, doing the task together, as in the typical case of ‘shopping’, or taking turns, as may occur with ‘cleaning’: Marinho, 2011; Wall, Aboim and Cunha, 2010), not freeing women from some responsibilities or even from organizing how the tasks are to be shared. That is why the slight increase in male participation in the different tasks (either on their own or sharing) is not reflected in a corresponding reduction in female participation in them (figure 1.10). Nevertheless, it does have a mitigating effect, in that tasks are no longer exclusively carried out by women. By way of a note, the negative trend in the task ‘looking after the sick’ among younger men and women is likely to be related with the marked postponement of parenthood in Portuguese society, which means that most younger couples do not yet have children (Cunha, 2014; Cunha and Atalaia, 2014).

**Figure 1.10 – Trends in (shared or not shared) performance of household tasks, by sex and age group (percentage points) – Portugal, 2002, 2014**



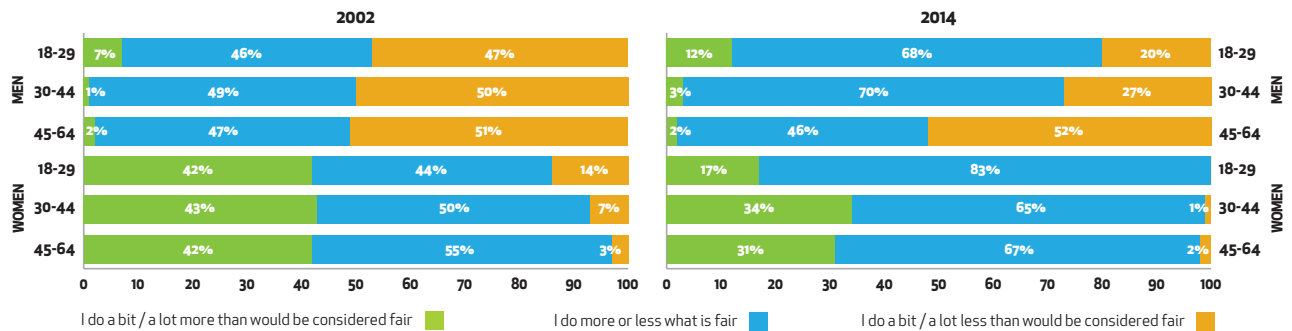
Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012 data.

**Perception of fairness in the division of unpaid work**

While there are signs of change in the role of men in household organization, mainly among younger men – pointing in the direction of greater conjugal sharing of routine tasks, an increase in the amount of time spent weekly on household work and even some mitigation of female participation -, it cannot be denied that the burden of performing unpaid work continues to fall on the woman in the couple, and this is reflected in the persistence of a significant disparity in the number of hours per week allocated to it, and the fact that performance of the tasks in question depends in large measure on the woman’s contribution. There are few couples in which the man takes on the performance of this type of task on his own. In the light of this situation, it is necessary to establish whether changes in terms of couple practices are accompanied by changes in men’s and women’s perception of fairness in relation to the organization of household work in their lives as a couple.

In 2002, there was a split in the perception of fairness in the conjugal division of household work, a perception which did not change according to gender or age group (figure 1.11): around half of respondents stated they had a fair division of household tasks; about half stated they had an unfair division, based on the woman being overloaded. Men’s and women’s perceptions thus converged and mirrored each other, with men saying they did ‘less than what would be considered fair’ and women saying they ‘did more than what would be considered fair’. In 2014, the scenario is different indeed, in that the feeling of fairness prevails over the feeling of unfairness, for both men and women. Except for men in the 45 to 64 age group, where there was no change in the assessment of fairness/unfairness in the conjugal division of household work, there was a significant reduction in the feeling of unfairness tied to the woman’s overload, a trend which is very marked among younger men and women, up to age 29, but also among those aged between 30 and 44.

**Figure 1.11 – Trends in the perception of fairness in the conjugal division of household tasks, by sex and age group (%) – Portugal, 2002, 2014**

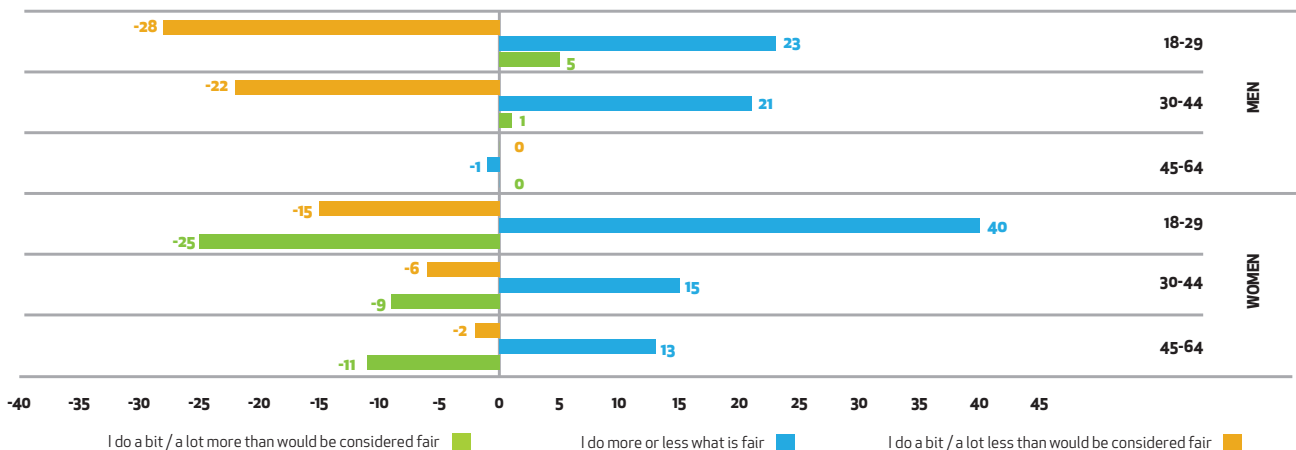


Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012 data.

Analysis of the change, in percentage points, of men’s and women’s attitudes to fairness in the conjugal organization of household work confirm a significant increase in the perception of fairness, particularly among the younger groups (figure 1.12). This gain in recognition that what is being done is ‘more or less what is fair’ is correspondingly accompanied by a decrease in the feeling of unfairness resulting from female overload: recognition that women do ‘more than what would be considered fair’; and recognition that men do ‘less than what would be considered fair’. It is also interesting to note a residual increase, among younger age groups, in the feeling of unfairness in relation to men, and which is recognized by both sexes: ‘I do more than what would be fair’, in the male case; ‘I do less than what would be fair’, in the female case.

Increasing participation by younger men in household work, in particular through conjugal sharing of tasks, is undoubtedly a significant explanation for the developing views of men and women in connection with the fair distribution of unpaid work.

**Figure 1.12 – Trends in the perception of fairness in the conjugal division of household tasks, by sex and age group (percentage points) – Portugal, 2002, 2014**



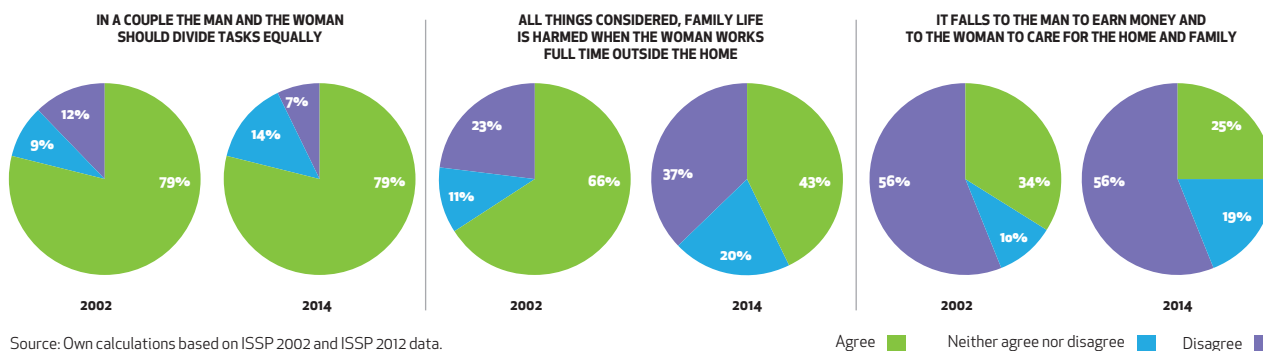
Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012 data.

### 1.3.2.3 Attitudes to gender roles in family life

While the reallocation of paid and unpaid work times does not fully explain the persistence of female overload in household work, and men’s and women’s perceptions converge in connection with fairness in the conjugal division of household work, which continues to fall mainly on women, it has to be asked why changes in the direction of gender equality are not faster and deeper, and if attitudes to gender roles in family life in some way explain the *status quo*.

In effect, while a large number of interviewees are in favour of strict equality in the conjugal division of household work, in 2002 as well as in 2014, there is still a prevailing perception that the woman has added responsibility for the management of family life (which may be adversely affected by the time she devotes to paid work), and sometimes even sole responsibility (figure 1.13). In 2014, 43% of interviewees agreed that ‘family life is harmed when the woman works full time outside the home’, and 25% were even in favour of the male breadwinner-female housewife model, i. e. a traditional view of gender roles which is not significant in Portuguese society (see Chapter 2). Despite the changes in such attitudes to gender roles between 2002 and 2014, the results show the latent conflict between a standard of equality in family life – which emanates from the post-25th April 1974 legal framework and the consolidated facts of female full-time work – and a certain nostalgia for a model of the conjugal division of paid and unpaid work, based on complementary roles and naturalizing gender specializations, which for decades was a hallmark of the ideology of the *Estado Novo*.

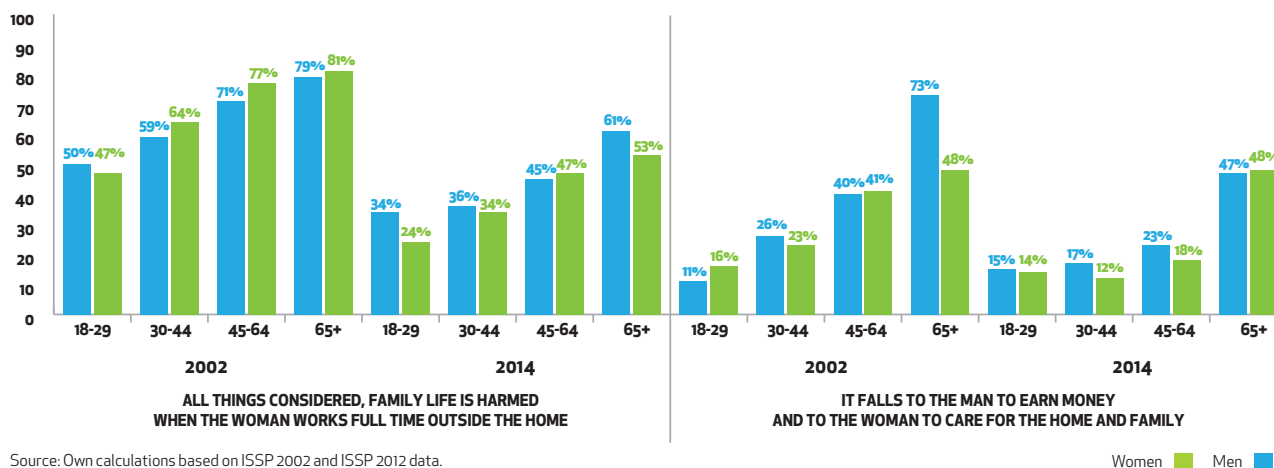
**Figure 1.13 – Trends in attitudes to gender roles in family life (%) – Portugal, 2002, 2014**



Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012 data.

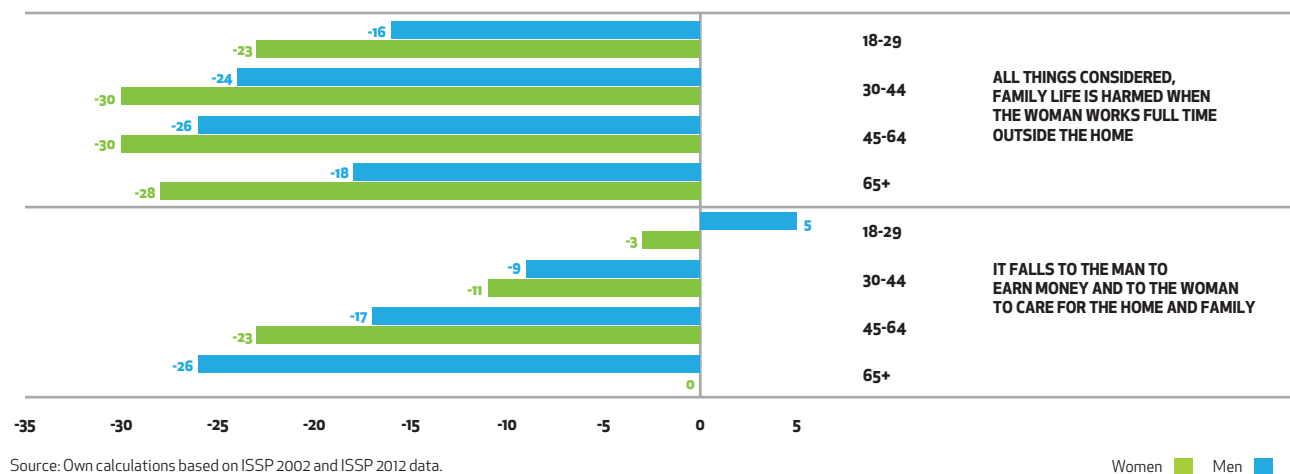
These conservative positions are of course more common among older individuals, and have declined significantly between 2002 and 2014 in all age groups (figure 1.14). While more men, as a rule, are in favour of a traditional division of gender roles (Ramos, Atalaia and Cunha, 2016), in 2002, it was women who were more in favour of the view that family life is 'harmed when the woman works full time outside the home'. This greater value attached to women's central role in managing family life reveals their acquiescence in gender inequality in paid and unpaid work, and even the defence of a traditional redoubt of female power. However, a profound change in both younger and older men's and women's attitudes is ongoing in this area, as is shown by the reduction, in percentage points, of levels of agreement with the 'naturalization' of roles in family life (figure 1.15).

**Figure 1.14 – Trends in the numbers of individuals who 'agree' with the specialization of gender roles in family life, by sex and age group (%) – Portugal, 2002, 2014**



Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012 data.

**Figure 1.15 – Trends in the numbers of individuals who 'agree' with the specialization of gender roles in family life, by sex and age group (percentage points) – Portugal, 2002, 2014**

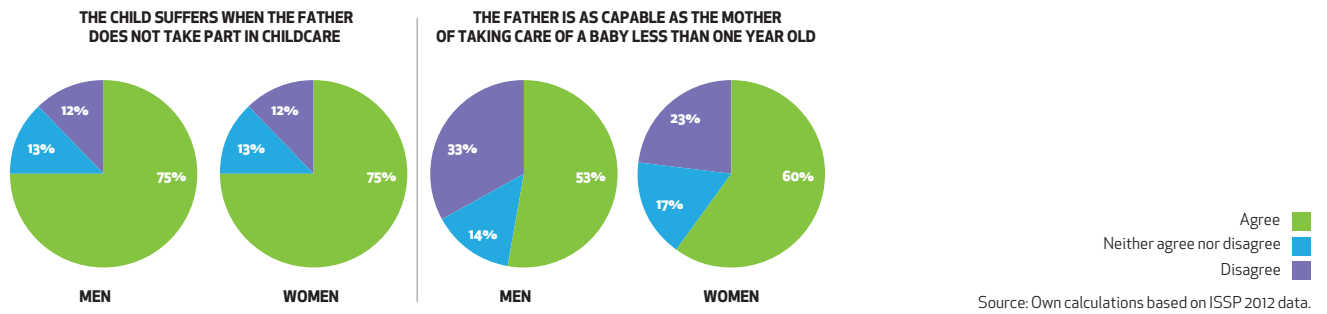


Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2002 and ISSP 2012 data.

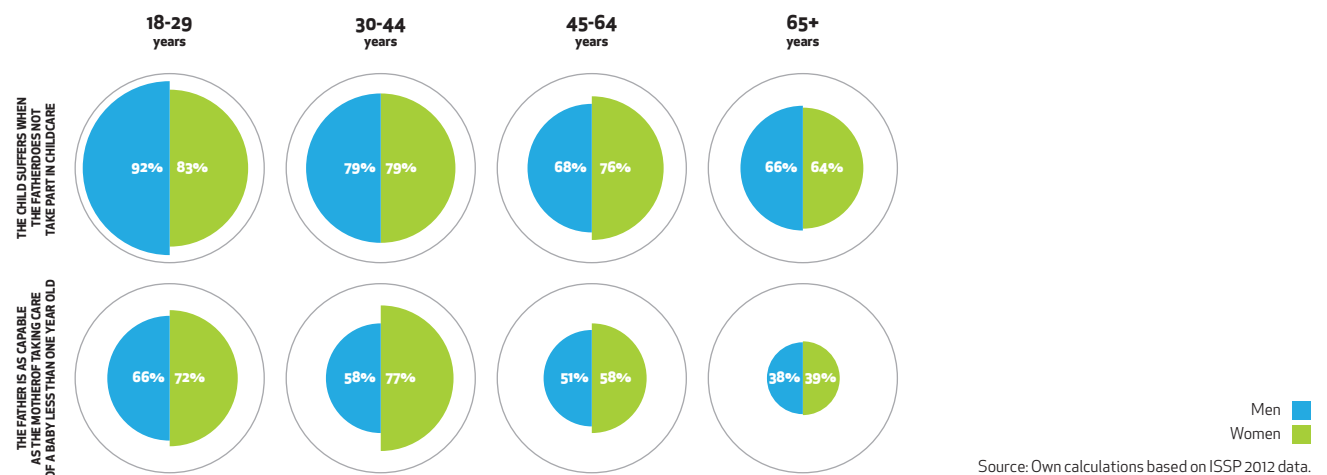


Finally, the 2012 ISSP Survey ‘Family and Changing Gender Roles’, put specific questions to interviewees on the importance and skills of the father in childcare. Although it is recognized that participation of the father is fundamental, to the extent that 75% of men and women think that the ‘child is harmed’ if there is no such participation (figure 1.16), there is a lower consensus regarding the idea that the father is ‘as capable as the mother of taking care of a baby less than one year old’. It is indeed men who least agree with the statement, i. e. they are the ones who most see parental aptitudes as the natural property of the female gender and qualify women to take care of babies in the first year of life. However, this gendered view of parental roles is clearly giving way to a more egalitarian view in both men and women in younger age groups (figure 1.17).

**Figure 1.16 – Attitudes to the father’s place in childcare, by sex (%) – Portugal, 2014**

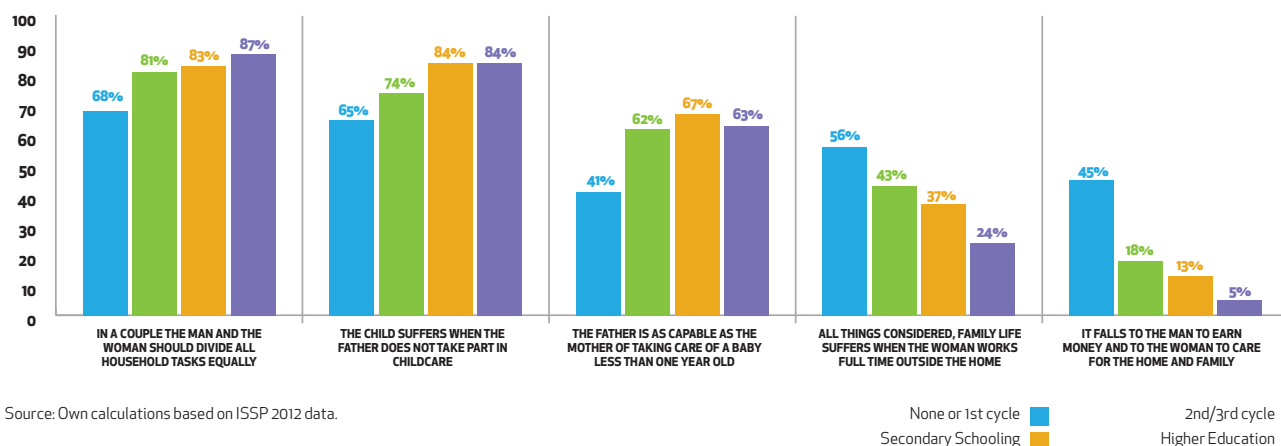


**Figure 1.17 – Individuals who ‘agree’ that the child suffers when the father does not take part in childcare and that the father is as capable as the mother, by sex and age group (%) – Portugal, 2014**



Analysis of this set of indicators, which reflect the attitudes of the resident population to gender roles in family life by reference to interviewees’ educational attainment levels, shows that educational capital is also a decisive factor (figure 1.18). There is increasing belief in the ideal of equality in the division of household work and perception of the importance of the father’s childcare skills; reducing agreement with more gendered positions on the role of men and women in paid and unpaid work. Interviewees who have at most the first cycle of basic schooling stand out because they have more conservative attitudes to gender roles; and interviewees with secondary and higher education also stand out because they subscribe to more egalitarian values. However, it is interesting to note that there is little difference between individuals who have completed the second and third cycles of basic schooling and up on the equal division of household tasks, there being ample agreement with this ideal view of the organization of unpaid work; and on the view that the father is as capable of caring of a baby as the mother, where individuals with secondary schooling stand out.

**Figure 1.18 – Individuals who ‘agree’ with certain statements related to gender roles in family life, by educational attainment level (%) – Portugal, 2014**



Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2012 data.

These results clearly show that in addition to the generational change which is taking place, educational trajectories also affect men’s and women’s attitudes to family life and gender roles. Individuals with higher educational attainment levels reinforce, and are even at the forefront of, the change in mentalities in the direction of egalitarian ideals and equal roles in parenthood, household work and the economic sphere.

**1.3.3 Changes in work-life balance policies and main types of impact on attitudes and practices**

Work-life balance policies based on the principle of gender equality have had a considerable impact on parental roles and the place of the father in Portuguese society. The development of leave policies, which culminated in the current system of ‘parenthood protection’, implemented in 2009, is an excellent example of this<sup>7</sup>. It is therefore necessary to summarize the development of leave policies over the last three decades, together with attitudes, practices and their impact on the place of the father in family life.

**1.3.3.1 Three decades of development in the father’s place in leave policies**

The dualist perception of men’s and women’s roles in Portuguese society is tied in with persistent gender inequality in the labour market and in family life, and with the central place and overload of women in reconciling work and family (Wall and Guerreiro, 2005; Guerreiro and Carvalho, 2007; Perista *et al.*, 2016; Rodrigues, Cunha and Wall, 2015; Rosa, 2016; Rosa *et al.*, 2016; Torres *et al.*, 2004; Wall and Amâncio, 2007). One of the most crystallized social representations, which is one of the key factors legitimizing this state of affairs, is the ‘essentialization’ of maternity (Almeida, 2003), the belief that there are certain skills inherent in the feminine nature which predispose and qualify women to care for children.

This collective understanding that there are specific (and complementary) gender roles, and that the ultimate responsibility for parenting lies with the mother, generates social expectations which guide individual action, and also that of political and economic actors.

During the period of the *Estado Novo*, prevailing family policies promoted a model of the family based on inequality and a hierarchy of the spouses (Wall, 2010, 2011) which strongly penalized women. Today there is a genderized labour market that penalizes women in their careers, and resists freeing men up to take a greater part in family life. Consequently, despite the large number of couples in Portugal in which both partners work full time outside the home [71% in 2014, according to ISSP data (Wall *et al.*, 2015)], women continue to spend more time every day and are more involved in child-related activities than men are (Perista *et al.*, 2016; Rodrigues, Cunha and Wall, 2015; Wall and Amâncio, 2007). Nevertheless, some qualitative studies undertaken in Portugal show that other models of masculinity, anchored in a closer, more affective and caring paternity have emerged, transforming childcare into an area of greater conjugal sharing (Marinho, 2011; Wall, Aboim and Cunha, 2010; Wall, 2015; Wall, Aboim and Marinho, 2007; Wall, Cunha and Marinho, 2013).

Ongoing changes in paternity and the lives of couples have been accompanied by policy measures promoting better work-family balance (Escobedo and Wall, 2015; Ferreira, 2010; Ferreira and Monteiro, 2013; Perista and Chagas Lopes, 1999; Santos *et al.*, 2016; Wall, 2010, 2011, 2014; Wall and Escobedo, 2013; Wall and Leitão, 2016). From this point of view, the development of leave policies has been exemplary (see Box: Developments in the father’s place in leave policies). The first measures to be implemented were aimed at women and at protecting mothers in the labour market, in particular the universal right of workers to 90 days’ maternity leave, introduced under Decree-law 112/76 of 7 February 1976. Less than decade later, the law on ‘maternity and paternity protection’ (Law 4/84, of 5 April 1984) – designed to match the changes made in the first revision of the Constitution (Constitutional Law 1/82 of 30 September 1982) to clause 2 of article 68, to include paternity (and not just maternity), as an “eminent societal value” – made new stipulations regarding working rights of mothers and fathers (leaves and absences to care for minors under 10). In addition to helping families with children to reconcile work and family life, the new law for the first time acknowledged that caring for children on an everyday basis and when they are ill is a task which falls to both parents, and not just to mothers. This

<sup>7</sup> Monitoring trends in family policies in Portugal, particularly leave policies, is carried out regularly through the annual reports of OFAP and the International Network on Leave Policies & Research. These reports are available online at their respective websites: [www.observatoriofamilias.ics.ul.pt](http://www.observatoriofamilias.ics.ul.pt); <http://www.leavenetwork.org>.

law brought in 'paternity leave', but only and exclusively in case of death or incapacity of the mother.

In the second half of the 1990s, there were significant legislative advances in the realm of paternity protection, in particular with the introduction of two days off work for the father on the occasion of the birth of a child and the option for the father to take part of the maternity leave by joint decision of the spouses (Law 17/95 of 9 June); as well as the enshrining of the right of all workers, regardless of gender, to "reconcile work and family life" (addendum to article 59 of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, as introduced by article 33 of Constitutional Law 1/97 of 20 September, which approved the fourth revision of the Constitution). At the end of that decade, paternity protection was reinforced by Law 142/99 of 31 August, with specific types of leave for the father being established: 'paternity leave' of 5 working days, as the exclusive right of the father on the occasion of the birth of a child

(initially optional, but compulsory since 2004) and optional 'parental leave' of 15 consecutive days. In addition, it became possible for fathers to take two hours per day off, in part or in whole, for feeding (previously an exclusive right of mothers, and only in the case of breastfeeding). Unpaid individual parental leave was also introduced, of three months for the father and three months for the mother, for parents with children under 6. Despite the changes in leave policies, the signal the State was sending to families and employers at the turn of the millennium was basically that a more participatory fatherhood was to be encouraged, whereby the father could take the mother's place in special circumstances, but he continued to be the family's main breadwinner; and the mother was still the main responsible for childcare, particularly for very young children, even though she might be economically active (Wall, 2011).

## BOX: TRENDS IN FATHERS' POSITION IN LEAVE POLICIES

### *Shared rights (1984-1995): from limited replacement to replacement by joint decision of the couple*

#### **Law 4/84 of 5 April and Decree-Law 136/85 of 3 May - 'maternity and paternity protection'**

- Introduction of 'paternity leave' in case of death or incapacity of the mother
- Introduction of 30 unpaid days off per year, to look after child under 10 (father or mother; benefit only for poorer lone-parent families)
- Introduction of special 6 months' to 2 years' unpaid leave, to assist child up to 3 years of age (father or mother)

#### **Decree-Law 497/88 of 30 December**

- Introduction of father's 2 days' leave of absence for birth (civil servants only)

#### **Law 17/95 of 9 June**

- Introduction of father's right to share maternity leave by joint decision of both father and mother (14 days' compulsory leave for the mother)
- Introduction of 2 days' leave of absence for the father
- 30 days off per year (paid at 65% of salary)

#### **Law 102/97 of 13 September**

- Introduction of a special subsidised leave (for father or mother) to assist handicapped or chronically ill child (leave of up to 6 months extendable up to 4 years during the first 12 years of life)

### *Father's exclusive right (1999-2004): from gain to consolidation*

#### **Law 142/99 of 31 August**

- Introduction of 'paternity leave' of 5 working days in the first month after birth (at 100%)
- Introduction of father's exclusive 'parental leave' of 15 days (at 100%)
- Introduction of unpaid parental leave of 3 months, or 6 months part time, up to age of 6 years (an individual right of the father or the mother)
- Introduction of leave for feeding – 2 hours per day (father or mother)
- Special unpaid leave of 6 months and up to 2 years following parental leave is maintained, if taken immediately following parental leave, but extended up to age 6 years (for father or mother)

#### **Law 99/2003 of 27 August and Law 35/2004 of 29 July**

- Compulsory 5 working days' 'paternity leave' in the first month after birth (at 100%)
- Part-time parental leave increased from 6 to 12 months
- Introduction of the right to miss up to 4 hours' work every 3 months to monitor child's education (father or mother, person responsible for child's education)

#### **Decree-Law 105/2008 of 25 June**

- Introduction of a welfare benefit for maternity and paternity – non-contributory scheme

**BOX: TRENDS IN FATHERS' POSITION IN LEAVE POLICIES (CONTINUED)****Equal rights (since 2009): promoting parity between the father and the mother****Law 7/2009 of 12 February and Decree-Law 91/2009 of 9 April - 'parenthood protection'**

- Maternity leave and paternity leave revoked
- Introduction of 'initial parental leave' of 120 days at 100% or 150 days at 80% (father and mother)
- Introduction of 'initial parental leave with bonus' of 1 month when parents share the leave (if father and mother take 30 days or 2 periods of consecutive 15 days alone). Two possible scenarios in case of sharing: 150 days paid at 100% or 180 days paid at 83%
- Introduction of 'mother's exclusive leave' (6 weeks after birth) and of 'father's exclusive leave' of 10 compulsory days during first month of life (5 of which consecutively after birth) + 10 optional days to be taken together with the mother (at 100%)
- 'Complementary parental leave' of 3 months for the father and 3 months for the mother, subsidised by 25% of relevant earnings, if taken immediately following 'initial parental leave'
- Introduction of 3 days off for the father to attend pre-natal consultations
- Introduction of 3 days off for adoption assessment
- Extension of age limit from 10 to 12 years in case of time off (30 days per year at 65%) to take care of sick child (father or mother)
- Introduction of 15 days of time off (father or mother, paid at 65%) to look after child aged 12 or over, provided that, if that child is of age, he or she is part of the household.

**Law 120/2015 of 1 September**

- 'Father's exclusive leave' increases to 15 compulsory days
- It becomes possible for both parents to take initial parental leave at the same time, for up to 15 days, to be taken between the fourth and fifth month.

Over the course of the 2000s new measures to reconcile work and family life for fathers and mothers were introduced or strengthened, including the right to miss work for 4 hours every three months to attend to children's school education needs. But the major change in leave policies took place in 2009 with the revision of the Labour Code (Law 7/2009 of 12 February). This revision explicitly brought together the fundamental right to reconcile work and family life and a policy of gender equality and, for the first time, set out ways of promoting childbearing and infants' well-being (see Box: Principles of Decree-Law 91/2009 of 9 April). Decree-Law 91/2009 of 9 April thus defined and regulated a new system of 'parenthood protection' rather than 'maternity and paternity protection', as previously. This was a significant change in terminology which went hand in hand with the spirit of the new law, to the effect that reconciling work and family is a basic right and duty of fathers and mothers in equal measure, and the law should therefore promote "harmonization of occupational and family responsibilities" of men and women by "strengthening fathers' rights and incentivising the sharing of leave". In effect, this law replaced maternal leave with initial parental leave lasting 120 or 150 days (a right of both mothers and fathers), adding a bonus period of 30 days for sharing (when each of the parents takes at least 30 consecutive days or two periods of 15 consecutive days). This bonus led to the use of the expression "parental leave with bonus" to define situations in which parents share the initial parental leave. The period of six weeks following birth, which the mother is required to take as leave, became 'mother's exclusive initial parental leave' and the former 'paternity leave' was replaced by 'father's exclusive initial parental leave' (which increased from 5 to 10 compulsory working days plus 10 optional days). Following this 'initial parental leave' the

mother and father would still be able to take additional leave – known as 'complementary parental leave', of up to three months, non-transferable, for each parent, and this was now subsidised at 25% of relevant earnings. Finally, it should be mentioned that this law brought in one further right for fathers: three days off to attend pre-natal consultations. In sum, the new legislation adopted in 2009 strengthened fathers' rights, established an incentive for father and mother to share initial parental leave and brought in a new subsidy related with the complementary parental leave. These changes to leave policies thus represented a "paradigm shift" (see Box: Views of experts and stakeholders representatives on Men, Family and Reconciliation), promoting the equivalence of fathers' and mothers' rights and rewarding the sharing of parental care, even though the new law retained non-transferable individual rights for both parents.

In 2015, under Law 120 of 1 September (which came into force after approval of the State Budget for 2016, Law 7-A/2016 of 30 March), there was a shift in the direction of leave policy. Even though this law increased the compulsory 'father's initial parental leave' to 15 days, it also made it possible for both parents to take up to 15 days of 'initial parental leave' simultaneously. This not only limited the maximum time the baby can stay at home with the parents, but was also a reversal of the gains made in the father's right to *be alone with the baby*.

**BOX: PRINCIPLES OF DECREE-LAW 91/2009 OF 9 APRIL**

In its manifesto, the 17th constitutional government recognizes the indispensable contribution of families to the cohesion, social equilibrium and sustainable development of the country.

Recognizing the importance and need to establish measures which provide favourable conditions for increasing the birth rate, on the one hand, and also improved reconciliation of work and family life and child care in the earliest stages of infancy, the government has drawn up a set of measures to change the system of protection in parenthood.

The Third National Plan for Equality - Citizenship and Gender (2007-2010) also provides for the adoption of measures and initiatives designed to combat gender inequalities, promote equality between men and women and to reconcile work, personal and family life, setting as a priority, in particular, the creation of conditions of parity in harmonizing work and family responsibilities.

(...)

The new system of protection sets birth incentives and gender equality as priorities by strengthening the father's rights and encouraging the sharing of leave, while at the same time promoting the reconciliation of work and family life and improving childcare in the earliest stages of infancy by granting monetary allowances where parents are prevented from carrying out their occupational duties.

(...)

Fathers' rights on the birth of a child are reinforced, in terms of both compulsory and optional leave, and the period of leave is increased when parental leave is shared between both parents, thus ensuring a longer period of time with the baby in the early days of life and making it possible for parents to share and be more flexible in reconciling family life with the management of their careers.

**1.3.3.2 Attitudes to father's take-up of parental leave**

As part of the project entitled 'Men's Roles in a Gender Equality Perspective (CITE/ICS-ULisboa) the Portuguese edition of the ISSP 'Family and Changing Gender Roles' survey included an ad hoc module which investigated attitudes of the resident adult population to the take-up of parental leave by men (taking into account the legislation in force at the time), and to the effects of this on fathers, mothers and children (Ramos, Atalaia and Cunha, 2016).

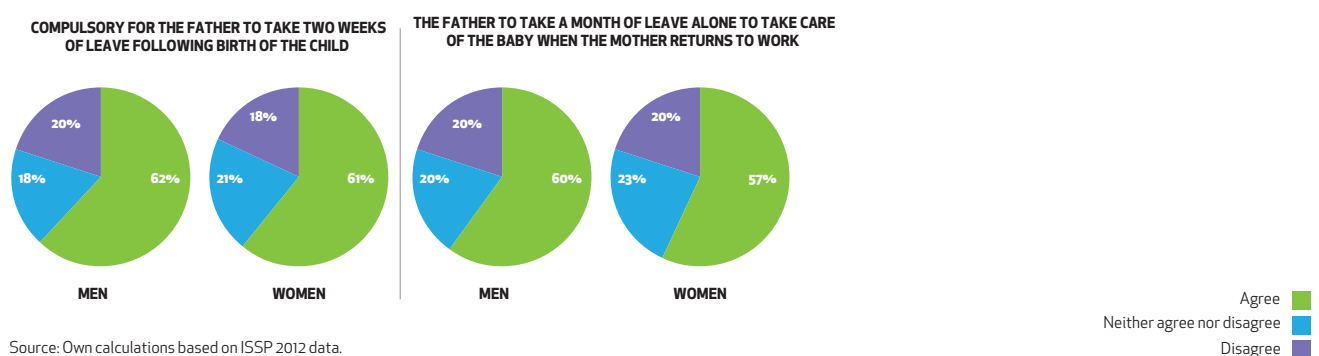
**Attitudes to father's exclusive leave and sharing of initial parental leave**

Five years after the entry into force of Decree-Law 91/2009 of 9 April, which was a major turning point in terms of parenthood protection, as it promoted similar rights for fathers and mothers (Wall, 2010), the results of the ISSP 2012 survey (applied in 2014) show that the main measures contained in that law were well received, namely the increase in the number of compulsory days to be taken by the father after childbirth; and the possibil-

ity of the father sharing initial parental leave with the mother. In effect, acceptance of these policy measures, which runs at around 60% (Figure 1.19), attests to the considerable support in Portuguese society for a leave policy model which encourages the father's involvement in looking after infant children. Not only in the first month of life, together with the mother, but also independently, by taking up at least one month of parental leave on his own, once the mother has returned to work.

Support for measures which encourage early involvement of the father in looking after the children is, however, stronger among men and women up to 44 years of age, who are precisely those who may have already taken advantage, or may yet take advantage, of this new system of benefits (figure 1.20). Less receptive are those aged 65 and over, who retain a more traditional view of the role of the father (and mother) in family life. While older men are those who least 'agree' with current measures, younger men support the strengthening of fathers' rights (some 30 percentage points separate them). This suggests a profound generational shift is taking place regarding the man's place in family life.

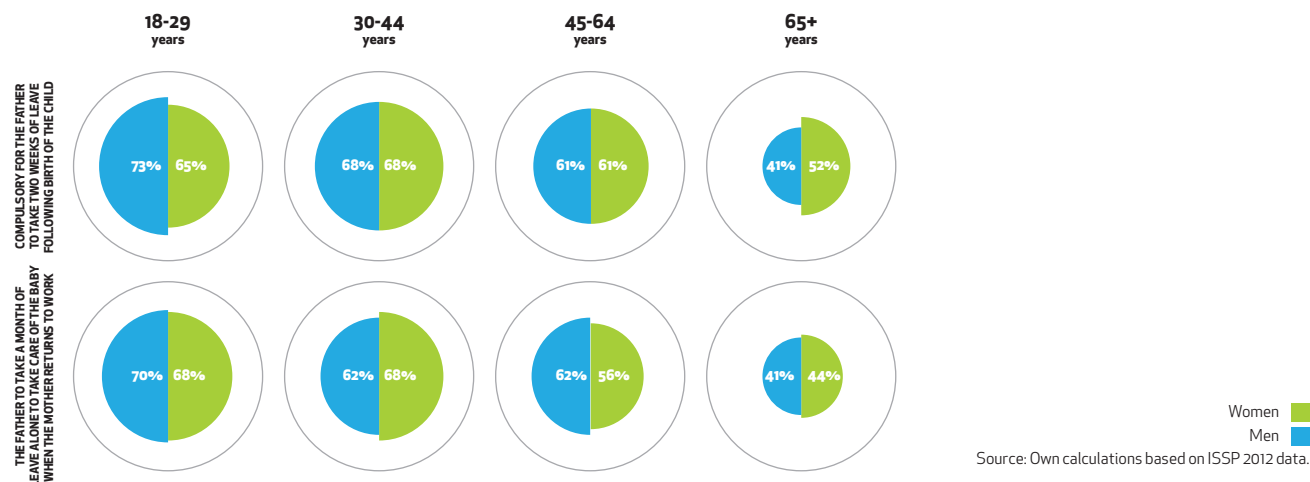
**Figure 1.19 - Attitudes to take-up of parental leaves by men (father's exclusive parental leave and initial parental leave), by sex (%) - Portugal, 2014**



Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2012 data.

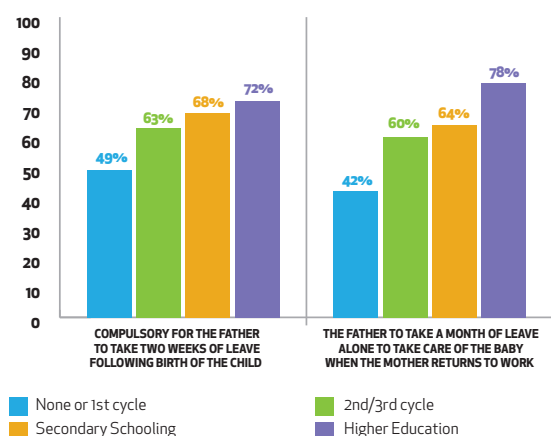


**Figure 1.20 – Individuals who ‘agree’ with men taking up parental leaves (father’s exclusive parental leave and initial parental leave), by sex and age group (%) – Portugal, 2014**



As with attitudes to gender roles in family life, levels of educational attainment also differentiate attitudes of the resident population to the father’s exclusive parental leave and to the sharing of initial parental leave (figure 1.21). The higher the educational capital, the greater the support for the idea of including the father in looking after the baby, whether compulsorily, right after birth, or by sharing parental leave with the mother. Only those individuals who have at most the first cycle of basic schooling – which certainly includes older respondents - are more in favour of gendered roles for the father and mother in parenthood and disagree with the high consensus on take-up of leave by men. Over 30 percentage points thus divide the favourable positions on shared leave of individuals with greater or lesser educational attainment.

**Figure 1.21 – Individuals who ‘agree’ with men taking up parental leaves (father’s exclusive parental leave and initial parental leave), by educational attainment level (%) – Portugal, 2014**



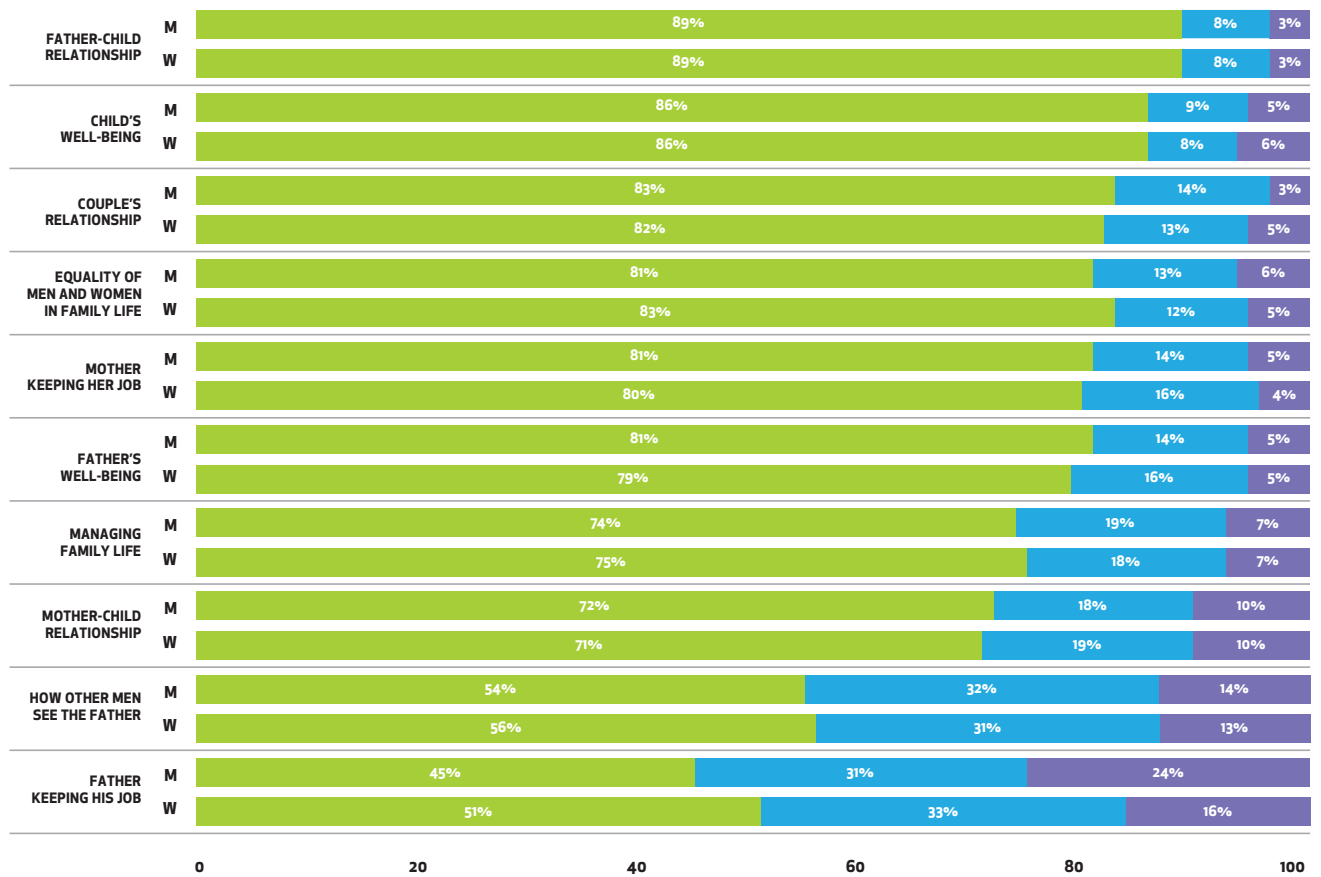
Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2012 data.

**Positive effects of father’s take-up of parental leave**

The favourable reception given to current parental leave policies goes hand in hand with the positive effects which the father’s take-up of it has on various domains of personal and family life (figure 1.22). Men and women in equal measure broadly agree that the father taking up parental leave brings benefits in terms of parental relations (‘the father and the child’ and ‘the mother and the child’); of conjugal dynamics and gender equality (‘the couple’s relationship’, ‘household management’ and ‘equality between men and women in family life’); of individual well-being (‘of the child’, ‘of the father’); and to the woman’s career (‘helping the mother to retain her job’). The widespread positive view of these beneficial effects meets the objectives outlined in the law governing the protection of parenthood, i.e. reconciling family and work on the basis of gender equality, the child’s well-being and the “harmonization of career and family responsibilities” between men and women (see above, Box: Principles of Decree-law 91/2009 of 9 April).

There is less of a consensus on the positive effects of ‘the way other men see the father’ and on ‘helping the father retain his job’. The percentage of those agreeing with these propositions in connection with men’s lives drops to between 45% and 56%. About one-third of men and women feel that uptake of leave has no effects at all (whether positive or negative) on the father’s personal image and job security, but 24% of men (and 16% of women) disagree with the statement that uptake of leave has positive effects in terms of ‘helping the father to keep his job’. This opinion is particularly strong among men aged 30 to 44, 34% (figure 1.23), those who are most often at a stage in life when it is necessary to reconcile work and family life because there are small children involved. This less positive impact on men’s job security is accompanied by a felt positive effect on ‘helping the mother to keep her job’, among women in the same age group in particular: 87% (figure 1.24). This indicates that men and women both recognize that redistribution of the career “costs” of parenthood is positive for women, though not necessarily for men.

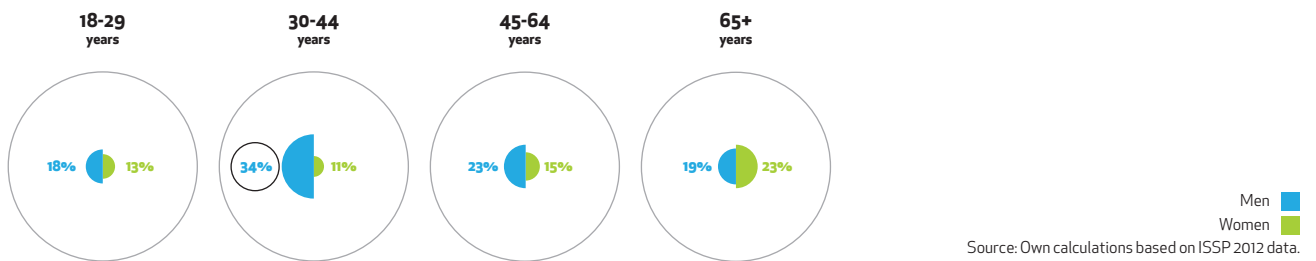
**Figure 1.22 – Attitudes to positive effects (in various domains) of take-up of parental leaves by men, by sex (%) – Portugal, 2014**



Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2012 data.

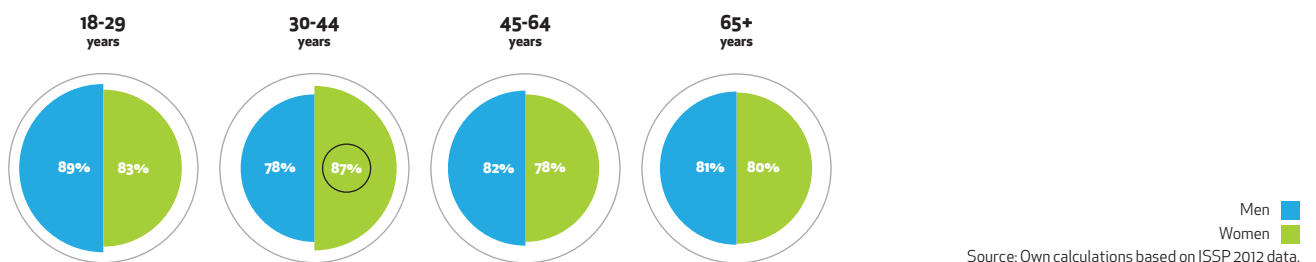
Agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Disagree ■

**Figure 1.23 – Individuals who DISAGREE that men's take-up of parental leaves has positive effects in helping the father to keep his job, by sex and age group (%) – Portugal, 2014**



Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2012 data.

**Figure 1.24 – Individuals who AGREE that men's take-up of parental leaves has positive effects in helping the mother to keep her job, by sex and age group (%) – Portugal, 2014**



Source: Own calculations based on ISSP 2012 data.

In sum, the results of ISSP 2012 show that there are a significant number of men who believe there is a conflict between good career performance and taking up parental leave when a child is born. Men have internalized the belief that employers do not readily accept that they should be entitled to take this leave, and this seems to be one of the main obstacles to greater male involvement in parenthood and to building a better balance between work and family life (Santos *et al.*, 2016; Wall, Aboim and Cunha, 2010).

### 1.3.3.3 Development of men’s take-up of parental leave (2000-2015)

Since the introduction of specific types of leave for fathers, take up of parental leave by men has progressed rapidly and consistently: the ‘paternity leave’ of 5 working days, initially optional; and the optional ‘parental leave’ of 15 days for fathers.

### Father’s exclusive leaves

By referencing the number of benefit applications approved and comparing them to the number of births (see Technical Box: Sources for calculating leave), it can be seen that over the period under study the uptake of this type of leaves increased by over 60 percentage points (figure 1.25). While in 2000 only 11% of fathers took up ‘paternity leave’, in the following year the percentage had already doubled. In 2005, one year after it became compulsory, it represented 39% of total births; in 2010, one year after it increased from 5 to 10 days’ compulsory leave, it represented 62%; and by 2015 it was already at 71%. The same trends are observable for the father’s optional ‘parental leave’, although the uptake here is lower. It can thus be concluded that the number of fathers who take up the exclusive parental leave to which the law entitles them is quite significant; and that although the compulsory nature of the leave is an incentive to use it, most fathers use more than the compulsory days and take up the optional days as well. In 2015, 63% of fathers took up the 10-day optional parental leave.

#### BOX: SOURCES OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION FOR CALCULATION OF LEAVE

Data on benefits were calculated by the Observatory on Families and Family Policies –(OFAP), based on numbers supplied by the Social Security Data Institute and by the Strategy and Planning Office of the Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security (GEP/MTSSS) (most recent update 18 March 2016).

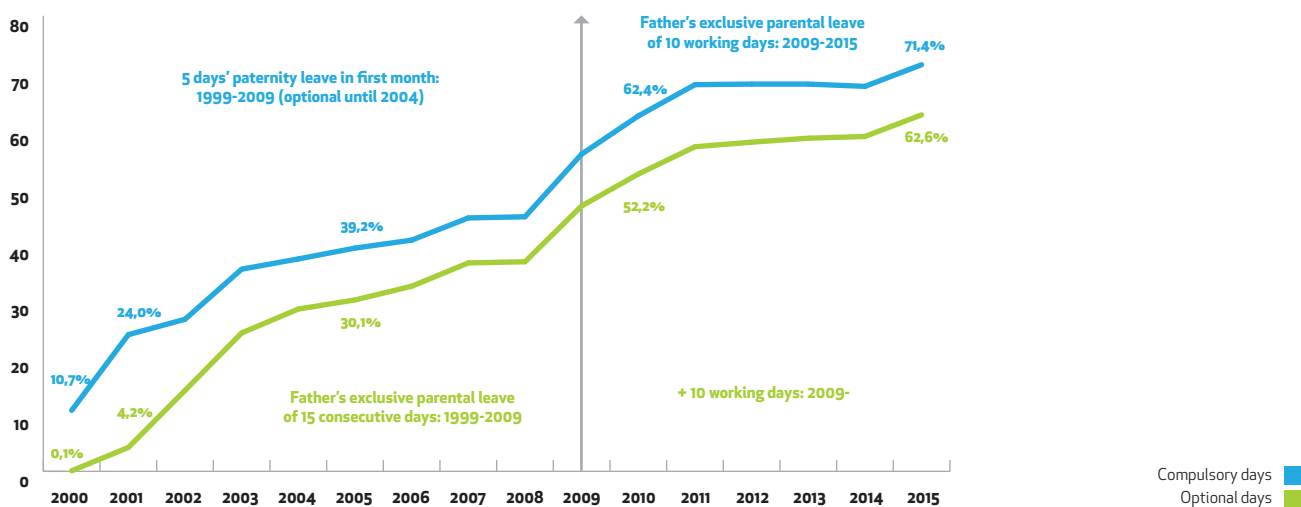
The available data refers only to individuals covered by the general Social Security system and therefore does not include benefits awarded to civil servants or to workers whose welfare system is not part of the general Social Security system, like some workers in the banking sector. In other words, the data underestimate the true numbers. This issue can only be resolved once there is definitive convergence of Social Security and other systems.

Data on live births are from the INE [Statistics Portugal] (most recent update 28 April 2016).

The information contained in this section is available in more detail in the most recent OFAP report:

Wall, K. et al. (2016). *Políticas de Família em 2014 e 2015 – Principais Desenvolvimentos*, Lisboa: OFAP/Observatórios do Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa.

**Figure 1.25 – Take-up of father’s exclusive parental leave (compulsory and optional days) compared to number of births (%) – Portugal, 2000-2015**



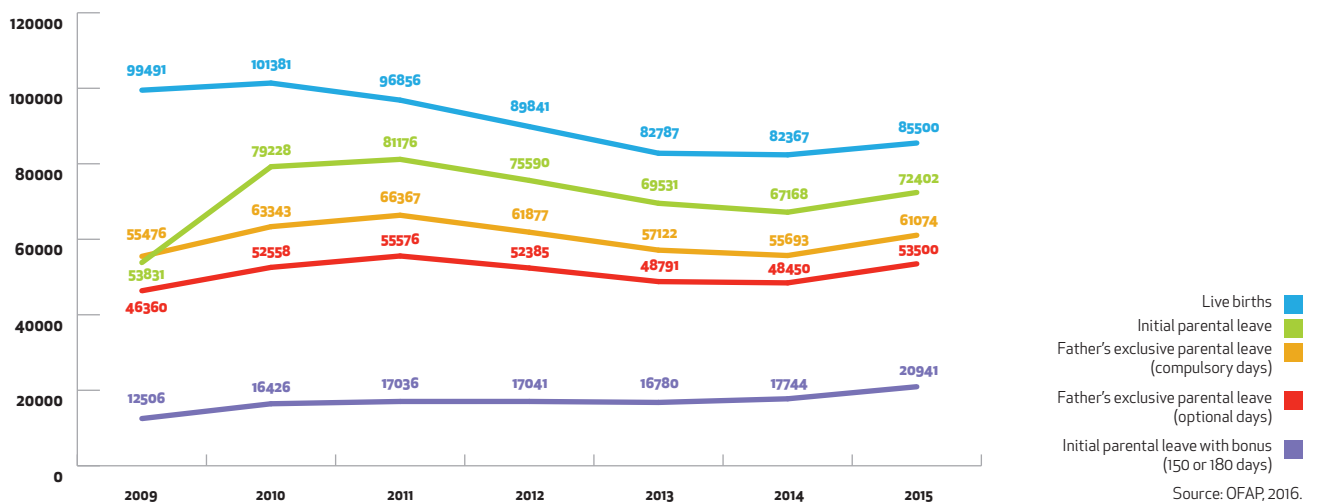
Source: OFAP, 2016.

### Sharing of initial parental leave between father and mother

In 2009, the new system of ‘parenthood protection’, in addition to maintaining the individual rights of the mother (42 compulsory days of leave following childbirth) and the father (10 compulsory days plus 10 optional days), brought in the possibility of parents’ sharing ‘initial parental leave’. This equalization of the rights of mothers and fathers, and the incentive to sharing through the 30-day bonus leave, produced notable results in the effective sharing by couples of ‘initial parental leave’. In effect, while the father had been able, since 1995, to take part of the ‘maternity leave’ by joint decision of the couple, the number of couples which had taken advantage of this up to 2008 was insignificant: in that year, 582 couples shared that mother’s leave

to some extent, according to OFAP estimates (Wall *et al.*, 2016). With the new legal framework from May 2009 onwards, sharing of the ‘initial parental leave with bonus’ rose to 12,506 between May and December (figure 1.26), confirming how receptive couples were to the legislative change which encouraged better work-family life balance in the first months of the child’s life. Since then the number of shared initial parental leave uptakes has increased, particularly in 2015, when 20,941 applications for the benefit were approved. It should also be noted that unlike fathers’ exclusive parental leave and ‘initial parental leave’ itself, which declined in line with the sharp crisis-induced decline in birth numbers in Portugal (Cunha, 2014) and recovered in more recent years, the uptake of leave with bonus continued to grow, only stalling with a slight fall in 2013.

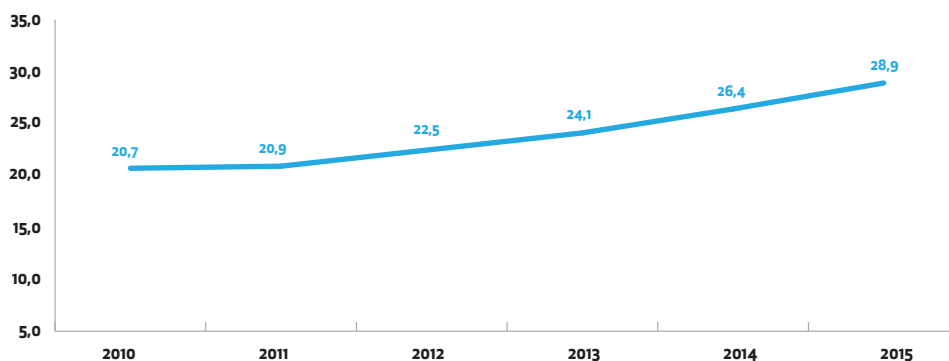
**Figure 1.26 – Births and number of benefits awarded (number) – Portugal, 2009-2015**



Compared to men’s uptake of father’s compulsory or optional exclusive leave (figure 1.25), uptake of the subsidized ‘initial parental leave’ continues to be well below its full potential (figure 1.27). Of the total of parental leave applications granted, couples who shared the subsidised version went from 21% in 2010 to 29% in 2015. It is thus important to understand the difficulties involved, because despite the openness of Portuguese society to implementation of this measure, and particularly that of the population of reproductive age, few take advantage of it. Recent

qualitative studies, based on in-depth interviews with fathers (Wall, Aboim and Cunha, 2010; Wall, 2014), identified some obstacles: difficulties in workplaces/companies, more so in the private sector but also in the public sector; contractual conditions (job insecurity), the nature of workers’ responsibilities and the priority personal investment in career; and more traditional male and female attitudes to gender roles, in which the mother has a central (and possibly irreplaceable) position in looking after the children.

**Figure 1.27 – Take-up of initial parental leave with bonus compared to all initial parental leaves granted (%) – Portugal, 2010-2015**



Source: OFAP, 2016.

Another important point needs to be mentioned in relation to parents sharing leave. While most couples who share 'initial parental leave' choose to take 180 days paid at 83% of relevant earnings (65% of couples in 2015), couples who receive initial parental social benefit tend to choose the shorter period of 150 days paid at 100% (Wall *et al.*, 2016). These results are clear evidence that there is a conjugal negotiation behind the decision to share the leave, in which the interest of the child in having more time in parental care is taken into account, provided that this does not affect the family budget. In effect, ensuring the financial well-being of the children is a vital aspect of modern parenthood, and men "continue to feel they are mainly responsible for supporting the family" (Wall, Aboim and Cunha, 2010: 469). As a result, only those subsidies which fully compensate for loss of earnings (from work or other sources) act as incentives to sharing leave and to involving men more in the child's early life.

Attention also needs to be drawn to the fact that there is a legal obstacle to the father taking 'initial parental leave'. This has to do with the mother's position in the labour market. If she is not eligible for the initial parental leave, whether on account of being inactive or for any other reason, the father loses the right to it even if he is working, and is only entitled to the father's exclusive initial parental leave (DPC/ISS, 2016). Even though one of the main objectives of the new system of 'parenthood protection'

is to promote "gender equality by strengthening fathers' rights and incentives to shared leave", its legal architecture retains the principle that the mother is the main beneficiary of leave policies, rather than the mother and father together.

#### 1.3.3.4 Sharing of initial parental leave: experiences and thoughts of fathers on leave

As part of the project entitled 'Men's Roles in a Gender Equality Perspective' (CITE/ICS-ULisboa) a case study was undertaken on men's views of shared initial parental leave in heterosexual couples where both were working full time. 20 in-depth interviews were conducted with men resident in the Lisbon metropolitan area and in the town of Covilhã, aged between 27 and 54, married or living together in a partnership and having a variety of educational and occupational qualifications. Although there were variations in the number of children per interviewee, all of them had at least one child born after the introduction of current legislation and had taken at least the minimum one month of initial parental leave. The men interviewed told of their experience of staying alone with a baby at home, making known the difficulties they felt and the benefits derived from the experience in various domains of their personal and family lives (see Box: "Fathers on Leave Alone").

#### BOX: "FATHERS ON LEAVE ALONE"

The following outcomes resulted from an exploratory study of the first interviews conducted as part of the project 'Men's Roles in a Gender Equality Perspective':

i) A presentation by Karin Wall and Mafalda Leitão, "Fathers on Leave Alone in Portugal", at the meeting entitled *International Workshop Fathers on Leave and Gender Equality: a comparative perspective*. This international meeting, which took place in May 2014, was organized by the ICS and by CITE as one of the activities of the project. It brought together national and international partners and experts in the field of public policy and parental leave. The presentations at this workshop are available on the CITE website at: [http://www.cite.gov.pt/pt/acite/projetos\\_eea\\_grants\\_002\\_01.html](http://www.cite.gov.pt/pt/acite/projetos_eea_grants_002_01.html).

ii) Publication of an international article on the experiences of Portuguese fathers on leave: Wall, Karin (2014). "Fathers on Leave Alone: Does It Make a Difference to Their Lives?", *Fathering*, 12 (2): 196-210.

These men described how they filled their days between looking after the baby and carrying out household tasks; and shared their doubts, and what they learned and gained personally in terms of parenting and housework skills as a result of their increased independence and responsibility. They also spoke of their emotional involvement and of building ties with the baby; but also of how the couple's relationship had been reshaped, and their understanding of the father's role as principal carer being as important as that of the mother; of the changes to the division of unpaid labour and of their greater recognition of how women tend to be overloaded.

The main processes involved in the experience of *staying alone with the baby* at home were mapped using an analysis of these narratives, and four types of sharing and experience of initial parental leave were identified.

In overall terms, the narratives of fathers who shared initial parental leave provide ample confirmation of the ISSP 2012 data on the more positive and less positive aspects of this experience. Here, however, the suggested focus is on only two aspects:

1) the motivation for sharing, which includes conjugal negotiation regarding the child's well-being and "parity in the harmonization of work and family responsibilities" (two of the explicit objectives of current leave policy, see above, Box: Principles of Decree-law 91/2009 of 9 April);

2) the assessment, by men who shared the leave, of how society sees the current system of 'parenthood protection'.

#### Motivation for sharing of initial parental leave: conjugal negotiation of baby's well-being and work-family reconciliation

The first result to highlight from analysis of the interviews is the fact that the ability to extend the leave for 6 months, with no financial penalty on family income, is clearly identified by couples as an opportunity for the baby to have more time with parental care at home. In effect, promotion of the baby's well-being – which combines delaying entry into a crèche with the possibility of a longer period of breastfeeding – is at the heart of the marital decision and is the major motivation for sharing:

*We decided to share at that time because my mother-in-law, at that time, she wasn't very well either (...) and I didn't have anyone to look after my little one. (...) So we did as much as we could to spend as much time at home with him as possible.*

**29 years, policeman, 2 children, 1 month of initial parental leave**

*We thought it was too early for him to go to a crèche, to be with children. Our paediatrician (...) had asked if there was a possibility of his staying with us, or with the grandparents, or someone else. Not to go to a kindergarten or a crèche (...). So I think that is a positive thing, it's not so... the baby is such a tiny being, so fragile, so... to let go of him so soon, that isn't right.*

**40 years, creative and advertising director, 1 son, 1 month of initial parental leave**

*We preferred that she, my wife, should take the maximum amount of leave and I would come in only later. Because she was breastfeeding, so there was an opportunity to do that (...). As we always thought in relation to the sisters – who were so tiny the first day they went to the crèche! – anything we could do to delay that moment ... so the [sharing of leave] emerged, more or less without even having to talk about it.*

**54 years, computer engineer, 3 children, 1 month of initial parental leave**

The breastfeeding question is particularly interesting, in that it can be seen as a hindrance to the father's taking more than the bonus month of leave, and there are couples which reconcile a longer period for the father with the mother breastfeeding exclusively, taking advantage of the reduced working hours when she returns to work, as well as the possibility of the mother extracting milk for the father to give. With a first child, this scenario may be impossible to anticipate and only become apparent with experience, but it may open the door to conjugal negotiation of a more balanced sharing arrangement in relation to a second child:

*Up to six months he breastfed normally (...). The mother would go home at lunchtime, to breastfeed. And she also extracted milk, and I would give it to him (...). It was not an impediment (...). She has a career as active as mine, with as many objectives as I have, so we chose to do it this way. And we believe the breastfeeding part, even though it was something we regarded as fundamental and important for us, as we were able to extract the milk and she was also able to breastfeed in the middle of the day... It's not quite the same, but this was a compromise solution we arrived at and which worked while it had to. Would he have breastfed for longer if the mother had stayed at home? Yes, probably. But we assessed things at the time, weighed up the two options, and it seemed to us that for us this was the most sensible course.*

**39 years, project manager, 1 son, 1 month of initial parental leave + 3 months of complementary parental leave**

*What probably caused me to take less leave time was lack of experience, or not being comfortable with the situation, giving up having the mother at home to breastfeed her daughter (...), in other words, we had to organize this because we didn't really know how things worked (...). With the second [child], most likely, I'll be able to negotiate 10 more days. (...)*

*have a job and work all day; she also has a job but works two hours less than I do. So even in terms of free time, or time for the family, the option of having the father at home, with the mother on shorter hours, is generally better, it's beneficial.*

**31 years, jurist, 1 daughter, 40 days' initial parental leave**

In addition to consideration of the baby's well-being, reconciliation of work and family life is a key element in negotiating how the mother's and the father's leave times are allocated. Couples assess the each other's situation in the labour market, seek to distribute the costs and minimize the negative effects which taking up leave will have on their careers, and in particular on family income.

It is not always the man's career which is the problem or which is likely to be compromised. Women with demanding careers or in insecure jobs may find it difficult to take the full period of leave to which they are entitled. Such situations may lead to conjugal negotiation of a larger share of initial parental leave and to a decision that the father will take more than the bonus month.

*My wife would have been penalized if she stayed away from the court for longer because, basically, things mount up and then demand an even greater effort when she goes back, don't they? So we didn't want to ... we had to find a halfway point between trying to keep the child at home for the longest possible time without work and career suffering too much.*

**54 years, computer engineer, 3 children, 1 month of initial parental leave**

*It was fundamentally a question of money, because my wife, being a lawyer, doesn't make Social Security contributions, she makes contributions to the Lawyers' Order welfare scheme, which doesn't provide for maternity leave. So, what does that mean? That for the time when she's not working she isn't earning, she can't, she doesn't invoice her clients and so she has no income. As my case is different, I make contributions to Social Security, I am entitled to take paid leave, right? So we found a balanced solution to minimize, so to speak, the fact she wasn't working during that time, and so wasn't invoicing.*

**37 years, mechanical engineer, 1 son, 2.5 months of initial parental leave**

*The mother took only 60 days, and I took the rest. You know, she was really missed there at work. In her workplace they can't have a lot of waitresses, it's a small restaurant. Things aren't very good anywhere right now. And if she took the whole time off it would be a problem, the bosses said so right away. So we discussed it and decided that the best thing would be for me to have some time with the kid and that way she wouldn't miss so many days at her work (...). It was my boss who actually didn't like this very much... but what the hell! So we split the task between us.*

**33 years, driver, 1 child, 1.5 months of initial parental leave**

*I only took the last month so as not to force her boss all the time (...). The boss was already very short-staffed and really wanted her to go to work (...). That's the way it is... I know the law doesn't allow them to fire her, but they could also make life difficult for her after she goes back, couldn't they? So I decided that she should go to work at least for that month, because actually it was a month when they really needed*



more people, and that calmed things down a bit (...). [On the other hand] if I stay at home we lose more money than if she stays at home, right? So I took the one month and she took the other five, (...) because I lose the allowances, shift bonuses and all that stuff. And that adds up to about two hundred and fifty euros out of my pay, and that's quite a bit.

**29 years, policeman, 2 children, 1 month of initial parental leave**

I would certainly have taken one month. The two months, that was more to do with the question of money (...). As a doctoral scholar [my wife] (...), financially it's more favourable (...). Someone who works, like me, gets the full salary. It represented almost another whole salary coming in. That's why we did it this way.

**36 years, public service safety inspector, 1 son, 2 months of initial parental leave**

### How open is society to the 'father on leave'? Reflections of fathers who shared initial parental leave

Society's attitudes to the current system of parenthood protection, which encourages parents to share parental responsibilities, is in large measure interpreted by interviewees in the light of their personal experience. The extent of openness and support they encountered in their workplaces, and the greater or lesser difficulty they had in negotiating with their bosses or line managers, were decisive for these reflections on 'the father on leave', and for their interpretation of public opinion and society in general, and of the labour market in particular. The things mentioned by these men range from the fact they were misinformed about the father's rights by their bosses and even by Social Security (see Box: "Father's Love"), to employers' lack of understanding of their decision to share leave and of the father's motivation for staying at home with the baby. They feel they are seen as transgressors for not putting their work and career interests ahead of family interests, questioning the image of the good worker (see Box: CITE – Legal Help and Complaints). There were even some who suffered reprisals such as a cut in salary or dismissal.

In my case, the department didn't even know that I could take two consecutive months of shared leave (...). When I asked for the two months, my personnel department only wanted to give me one month, and I was the one who had to explain things to them: "No, read the law, because the law says I am entitled. It's shared, I can do as I like" (...). On the admin side they only processed one salary, and I had to complain and say: "No, no! I asked for two and I am entitled to two, according to article such and such" (...) People think the father is only entitled to one month, but no. And that's what I explained to them.

**36 years, public service safety inspector, 1 son, 2 months of initial parental leave**

We thought of [the mother] taking five [months] and I one, or the mother four and I two. But my job didn't allow for two. One was already what it was ... I can't say that I had a big problem, we can't compare the work I do with work in industry, where repression and reprisals are more common. But I think there are different ways of doing it. Like, there aren't whips any more, but there are still psychological whippings. That's more

like what I felt, that psychological game. As soon as I knew, I told them (because one tries to give as much notice as possible with these things) that I intended to take a month and that it would be in July of that year. The first question they asked me was why I wanted to take a whole month, wouldn't a few days be enough.

**34 years, internet maintenance engineer, 1 son, 1 month of initial parental leave**

People think we go home to look after a baby and don't care so much about work, or that we don't want to work any more (...). It's not that I don't like working, or that I don't want to work, it's simply that at that precise moment it was 'being the father' that was my calling. And well, after that, I think it ends up ruining labour relations. Because, for both mothers and fathers, the bosses think we're no longer focused on the job, or don't want to work so much, and are thinking more of the children (...). I think it's clearly worse for men, and we in Portugal aren't at all well prepared for such leave arrangements. It's not really a question of the law. It's just that ... the law is real, but they don't allow us to take advantage of it. So in practice it's not worth a thing, because it exists, but if we take the leave we're fired ... [which happened to him 4 months after he went back to work]. That's it really, the bosses would have to lead by example and take the leave themselves, or else it should be compulsory for everyone to take it (...), everyone – because the priority is the children. Everybody has to go home.

**31 years, pharmacy employee, 1 daughter, 2.5 months' initial parental leave**

I got a very negative reaction from Social Security (...). You could have cut the atmosphere with a knife! The lady from Social Security (...) told me it wouldn't be possible, she couldn't find any information on it, that the father couldn't take two and a half months, that it had to be the mother. I could only take the last month.

**33 years, computer programmer, 1 daughter, 2.5 months of initial parental leave**

Society in general thinks this is very strange, the wife going back to work earlier so that I could stay with the baby (...). We were actually amused, because when I went to deal with the paperwork at the Social Security office, the woman even said to me: "Ah but you can't do that!" (...) The woman from Social Security! Actually I think she was even head of that section, because in her mind most of the leave was for the mother; and the father could take, at most, thirty days. But I had checked and knew that I could.

**31 years, pharmacy employee, 1 daughter, 2.5 months of initial parental leave.**

All these situations lead these men to conclude that there is still a very broad range of differing expectations regarding the role of men and women in society, and for this reason they feel there is a great deal of resistance from employers, who are reluctant to let go of their male workers in favour of family life and parental responsibilities. The men want to take on those responsibilities and would like to see them guaranteed, extended and given social recognition.

*I always wanted to take more than a month (...). I don't know, I think it's a matter of making a statement. Because I think the general idea is that it's always the mother who takes the leave and that the father takes the bonus days because, if he doesn't use them, no-one else will.*

**31 years, jurist, 1 daughter, 40 days of initial parental leave**

*In my case, the reason for taking up more leave was financial, but the reasons for taking up the leave generally aren't financial. I genuinely wanted the leave time, I wanted to be there (...). And if I could have taken more time, I would have taken more time - and regardless of work pressure or not, because hold on, family is more important to me.*

**36 years, public service safety inspector, 1 son, 2 months of initial parental leave**

## BOX: CITE – LEGAL HELP AND COMPLAINTS

CITE provides a freephone line for specialized legal help on matters relating to women's and men's rights at work, in their jobs and professional training, on maternity and paternity protection, and on reconciling working life with family life. Users can also submit written complaints and request information by email or in writing, and obtain personalized legal aid.

As part of the project 'Men's Roles in a Gender Equality Perspective', CITE analysed responses to freephone calls and in-person attendances between 2012 and 2014, with particular emphasis on legal aid requested by men\*. The total number of cases grew by 18.7% in the period under study (figure C1.7). Although women use CITE's services more often than men, representing between 77% and 79% of requests, the number of requests for help from men recorded the highest growth, at 47.1%.

**Figure C1.7 – Trends in legal assistance (freephone and in person) from CITE, by type of user (absolute values, percentages and rates of variation) – Portugal, 2012-2014**

	2012		2013		2014		2012-2014
	N	%	N	%	N	%	Var. Rate (%)
Women	1 557	79	1 658	77	1 827	78	17,3
Men	261	13	320	15	384	17	47,1
Companies	151	8	172	8	126	5	-16,6
Total	1 969	100	2 150	100	2 337	100	18,7

Source: CITE 2015.

In 2014, men applying to CITE for assistance did so for three main legal issues (figure C1.8): 'flexible working hours', 'parental leaves' and 'reconciling work and family life'.

**Figure C1.8 – Legal matters handled by CITE for men (absolute values and percentages) - Portugal, 2014**

Legal matters	N	%
Flexible working hours	77	19
Parental leave	69	17
Work-family reconciliation	56	14
Unfair dismissal	34	9
Feeding/Breastfeeding	28	7
Part-time working	16	4
Adoption	10	3
Time off to care for minors	7	2
Other	64	16
No Response	39	10
Total	400	100

Source: CITE 2015.

Complaints submitted to CITE more than doubled in the period under study, from 100 in 2012 to 210 in 2014. As with legal assistance, women make more complaints than men. But while in 2012 men accounted for only 10% of complainants, in 2014 that percentage was up to 26%.

Complaints by men and women which increased the most (figure C1.9) were those relating to work-family life reconciliation (rate of variation 320.0%), followed by those relating to parenthood (rate of variation 64.3%). In the lives of workers, these are the key issues they feel are not addressed by employers.

**BOX: CITE – LEGAL HELP AND COMPLAINTS (CONTINUED)****Figure C1.9 – Complaints submitted to CITE (absolute values, percentages and rates of variation) – Portugal, 2012-2014**

	2012		2013		2014		2012-2014
	N	%	N	%	N	%	Var. Rate (%)
Parenthood	14	14	11	6	23	11	64,3
Equality and non-discrimination on grounds of sex	34	34	27	16	33	16	-2,9
Work-family reconciliation	30	30	82	48	126	60	320,0
Other	22	22	50	29	28	13	27,3
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>110,0</b>

Source: CITE 2015.

In socio-demographic terms, the men between who most resort to CITE support services are those with higher educational attainment levels and better qualifications, aged between 29 and 39, with children, and resident in the districts of Lisbon, Porto, Setúbal and Coimbra. These data were consulted in the CITE report:

**\* Collection and Analysis of men's requests for information and complaints to CITE on work/family balance and gender issues – Relatório de Atividades 5 do Projeto Os Papéis dos Homens numa Perspetiva de Igualdade de Género (CITE, 2015)**

**BOX: "FATHER'S LOVE" ("AMOR DE PAI")**

SEIES - Society for Studies and Intervention in Social Engineering, a local action and development co-operative in the fields of citizenship and gender equality, sponsored the project *Public & Private*, one of the objectives of which was to enlighten the general public about parental leave legislation, and in particular fathers' rights, making fathers and mothers aware of parental leave sharing and its advantages.

Conscious of the lack of information on this topic, SEIES, in partnership with the Higher School for Health (Escola Superior de Saúde/IPS) (through student involvement), the Directorate-General of Health, the Order of Nurses and the Arrábida Health Centres Group, and with the support of the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality, produced information materials entitled «FATHER'S LOVE: share the love, share the parenthood. Defend your rights» (CDs, posters and leaflets), aimed at health professionals and Health Centre patients.

The strong message conveyed by this local action project is the argument in favour of a new role for the father in parenthood, from a gender equality and caring masculinity perspective:

*Being a man today also involves being a father. A father with more rights, and more space to assert himself as such. With no fear of losing his job, his income or his "masculinity". Doing more for himself and for his children, without shame.*

Leaflet «FATHER'S LOVE: share the love, share the parenthood. Defend your rights»

**For more information on the project, consult the SEIES website: [www.cooperativaseies.org](http://www.cooperativaseies.org)**

**1.3.3.5 Other aspects of work-family reconciliation policies**

In addition to leave policies, various measures, particularly in the form of facilities and support services for families, have been introduced to promote work-family reconciliation: regular increases in the numbers and coverage of crèches and services, from pre-school to ATLS (leisure time facilities) during the holidays; increased capacity of childcare facilities from the non-profit sector; schools in the first cycle open for 8 hours (as well as compulsory family support services before and after school hours); and curriculum enrichment activities (AECs). A number of problems are regularly highlighted by families, by parents' associations and other bodies like the National Education Council, for example: difficulties in registering children in crèches and cheaper kindergartens, uneven national coverage of support services, gaps or lack of investment in curriculum enrichment activities and family support services in the first cycle of ba-

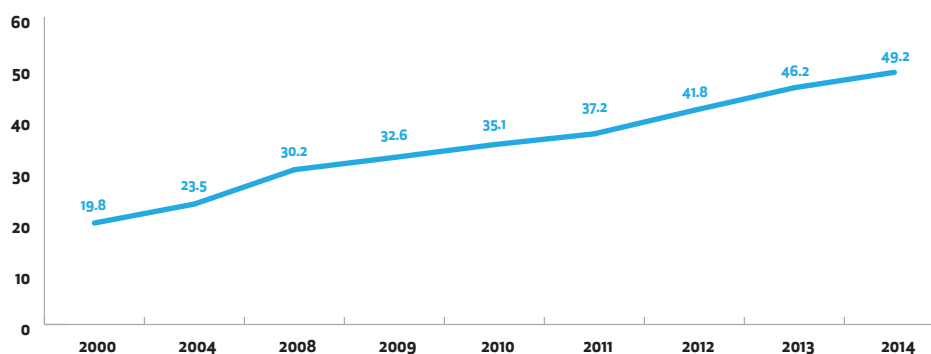
sic schooling; timetables in the second cycle of basic schooling not adjusted to family life (e.g. there are still classes which operate only in the mornings or in the afternoons); very long summer holidays (3 months).

In addition, in connection with shorter working hours or making them more flexible, the following measures should be highlighted: the possibility of reducing working hours by two hours during the child's first year of life (costs of this measure are borne by employers: the two hours may be taken by one of the parents or shared); and some changes to the Labour Code in connection with safeguarding the right to teleworking and flexible hours, to compensatory hours and adaptability schemes.

Given the acknowledged importance of support services in early childhood in promoting gender equality in work-life balance (see

Box: Social Facilities for early childhood and political consensus), what follows are the most recent data made available by the *Carta Social* (Social Charter) for the network of crèches and childminders (figure 1.28). These data include facilities in the for-profit and non-profit charitable sectors (IPSS) and point to a sustained growth in coverage, which more than doubled in the period under study, from 19.8% in 2000 to 49.2% in 2014.

**Figure 1.28 – Coverage of crèches and childminders (0-3 years) (%) – Portugal, 2000-2014**



Source: *Conselho Nacional de Educação* [National Education Council] (2010 and 2012); GEP/MSESS, *Carta Social - Folha Informativa* n° 8, May 2012; *Folha Informativa* n° 11, June 2013; *Folha Informativa* n° 14, June 2014; and *Folha Informativa* n° 19, October 2015.

Despite these positive trends, the most heavily populated areas of the country continued to record lower coverage than the overall average (see figure 1.29), in particular in the districts of Porto, Setúbal and Lisbon, according to 2013 data made available by the *Carta Social* (GEP/MSESS, 2014). And if only the non-profit charitable sector is taken into account, it being the most affordable for lower-income families (where the price per child depends on household income), coverage rates are particularly low (less than 30%) in those same districts (GEP/MSESS, 2014).

Consequently, although the main supply of crèches is through the non-profit charitable sector, particularly in the North and Centre of Portugal, where its coverage was over 90% in 2013, in the country's more populous districts it was well below demand there, thus creating opportunities for the private for-profit sector. In these districts it may still be difficult to find a place in more affordable crèches.

These variations in coverage of crèches and childminders reveal significant territorial inequalities. On the one hand, there is an imbalance in terms of access to affordable facilities (it should be mentioned that even in the charitable sector, where prices are more affordable and parents pay according to their family income, the average cost per child may still represent a large slice of the family budget<sup>8</sup>). On the other hand, there is a demographic imbalance related to very low fertility rates in the inland North and Centre of the country (Cruz, 2016), which clearly has a direct impact on coverage rates (Wall *et al.*, 2014).

**Figure 1.29 – Coverage of crèches and childminders (0-3 years), total, charitable network and percentage of charitable sector in total (%) – Mainland Portugal and Districts, 2013**

	Rate of Coverage of Crèches and Childminders		
	Total (%)	Charitable network (%)	Charitable network / Total (%)
Guarda	77	77	100
Castelo Branco	73	70	96
Portalegre	69	69	100
Bragança	65	60	92
Coimbra	62	56	90
Aveiro	58	54	93
Faro	56	42	75
Évora	55	52	95
Vila Real	53	44	83
Braga	51	49	96
Viseu	51	45	88
Leiria	51	38	75
Viana do Castelo	48	46	96
Beja	48	46	96
Santarém	45	41	91
Lisbon	43	28	65
Setúbal	41	28	68
Oporto	32	23	72
Mainland	46	-	-

Source: Own calculations based on GEP/MSESS, *Carta Social: Folha Informativa* n° 14, June 2014.

<sup>8</sup> According to a study carried out by DECO (the Portuguese Consumer Association) in 2010, which surveyed 2,900 parents, responses to questions on the price of crèches pointed to an average monthly cost of 150 euros, but it could be as high as 300 euros per month (DECO Proteste, issue 311, March 2010. Communiqué available online at: <https://www.deco.proteste.pt/institucionalmedia/imprensa/comunicados/2010/creches-e-jardins-de-infancia-caros-e-sem-vagas>).

In sum, the positive trend of coverage of crèches and childminders between 2000 and 2014 is a combination of the decline in the birth rate in Portuguese society in recent years, which affected Portugal unequally (Cunha, 2014), and two specific policy measures: investment in establishing more facilities with places in crèches, mainly through the PARES programme set up in 2006 but suspended in 2011 with the worsening of the financial crisis and the change in government; and the maximizing of installed capacity, by creating more crèche places in existing facilities, through a change in the legislation on crèches which increased the maximum permitted number of children per room (Regulation 262/2011 of 31 August), this latter measure possibly having adverse effects on quality.

## BOX: PUBLIC FACILITIES FOR INFANCY AND POLITICAL CONSENSUS

An international conference entitled “A(s) Problemáticas(s) da Natalidade: uma questão económica, social e política” (Questions of Childbearing: an economic, social and political issue) was held in Lisbon on 15 and 16 January 2015, under the auspices of the Families and Family Policies Observatory (OFAP), the Family Planning Association (APF) and the Thomas Jefferson – Correia da Serra Institute of Public Policy (IPP). The conference outputs are available online at: <http://www.observatoriofamilias.ics.ul.pt/index.php/eventos/eventos-realizados/conferencia-a-s-problematica-s-da-natalidade-em-portugal-uma-questao-social-economica-e-politica>; and in the recently published conference proceedings:

**Cunha, V., Vilar, D., Wall, K., Lavinha, J. e Pereira, P. T. (orgs.) 2016. A(s) Problemáticas(s) da Natalidade: uma questão social, económica e política. Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais/Associação para o Planeamento da Família.**

Over the course of two days, the conference discussed the current constraints on families having children, combining the views of academics, health professionals, stakeholders and political decision-makers. Two of the sessions addressed political approaches to childbearing: the first was devoted to presentation and discussion of the report entitled *Por um Portugal amigo das crianças, das famílias e da natalidade: remover os obstáculos à natalidade desejada* (For a child-, family- and fertility-friendly Portugal (2015-2035): removing the obstacles to desired number of children), drawn up by the *Comissão para a Política da Natalidade em Portugal*, set up in April 2014 by decision of the then prime-minister and president of the Social Democratic party, Dr. Pedro Passos Coelho. The second session was devoted to presentation of the views of the parties with seats in the National Parliament, on the measures required to “remove the obstacles to the desired number of children” (Azevedo, 2014).

In this connection, there was a set of measures which garnered ample political consensus on the need to strengthen social policy in the field of facilities for children, as the key element in work-family life balance and in aiding decisions on having children. This was precisely one of the recommendations of the Report (*Axis More Education and Social Solidarity* - Azevedo, 2014: 145-148) which garnered the greatest consensus among representatives of the parliamentary parties present at the session.

*A public network of crèches is of course necessary, because this is a question often raised by families – where to put their children. Because what we have at the moment is often not enough, and the prices are in fact exorbitant.*

**Paula Santos, Member of Parliament for the Portuguese Communist party**

*Work-life balance is one of the points on which there can be consensus, because on the issue of public facilities, I think there is reasonable agreement. There are a good number of public facilities for early childhood today. Before the Pares programme, they were below the Barcelona target, but now they are above it - that's the target which states that there should be one place for every three children [...]. What's the problem? It's the timetable [...] and the cost of public facilities [...] Childbearing cuts across the problem of young middle-class couples. Just to give you an idea, maybe some will and others won't, a family with an income of 1700 to 2000 euros gross per month pays around 250 for a crèche in the IPSS. With two children that family may get a discount, but it's never over 15%. So we are talking about a very high cost for families, because having a child at that stage of life is very expensive [...]. I think at this level of work-life balance there is room for agreement. Then there's the matter of school, which is very important. Education is very important and there are a whole lot of problems in education. Extra-curricular activities were an extremely positive measure in terms of work-life balance. Another statistic, just so you get an idea: when full-time schooling was implemented in the 2005-2006 school year, in the previous year there had been 400,000 children in the first cycle of the state school system in Portugal: 300,000 had no extra-curricular activity, only 100,000 were registered in the ATL (leisure time activities) of the IPSS. Which means that 300,000 children had no extra-curricular activities. Extra-curricular activities provided answers for these children, and that's a measure which is now being reversed.*

**Catarina Marcelino, Member of Parliament for the Socialist party**

*When people ask me what I think the priorities are, or what the CDS considers the priorities are – I feel – and this is what couples feel, quite a lot of insecurity – it is to focus policies on early childhood. Today we... a family...pays less for a child in university than for a crèche or kindergarten. That is common. And I think that, having succeeded in introducing pre-school support in the time of [prime minister] António Guterres, having given priority at that time to pre-school [...], I think now we have to move on to the next step, which is to make pre-school compulsory. In other words, from the age of 3, all families should know that they have a place where they can in fact leave their children. [...] There has been an increase in support for crèches. That's also fundamental, and it has been done [...], we have more children in crèches and that's good [...]. In any event, we need to make timetables more flexible, and when I say make timetables more flexible, I really mean making hours more flexible. We have many families, many people, many women and men working weekends, holidays and overtime, in all areas, public as well as private. And the more flexible hours there are, the better for families. I think in fact we have to focus on providing the support families need, it's fundamental for children between 0 and 6 years [...], I think it's in this age group of 0 to 6 that there has to be consensus between the parties, and consensus outside the legislature as well.*

**Inês Teotónio Pereira, Member of Parliament for the CDS-Partido Popular (centre-democrats)**

## BOX: VIEWS OF EXPERTS, STAKEHOLDERS AND POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS ON MEN, FAMILY AND RECONCILIATION

### A new place for the man in the private sphere

The notion is gaining ground, and it needs to sink in, that there is a set of responsibilities which have to be shared between the couple. And I'm talking about family responsibilities here, of course. Because we all know that when we leave our place of work, the day is not yet over, far from it.

**Luís Henriques, CIP – Confederation of Portuguese Entrepreneurs (Focus Stakeholders)**

In the union, I have fathers asking me more and more often: "My child is about to be born. What do I have to do to take up leave?" The union where I work is the Industry and Energy Union, so it's mostly male: it's the men of EDP and REN (the energy companies), it's the men of the car industry and the whole of the electrical industry. And they ask. They want to be more than the father who just gets home.

**Eduarda Castro, APMJ – Portuguese Association of Women Jurists (Focus Stakeholders)**

It's fundamental that men want, want to have a role. The family, private life, has a social value as important as the public sphere. But it's not just wanting, they have to revolutionize wanting! As we revolutionized by wishing for the public sphere. Nobody gave us the public sphere. Women fought for the public sphere, didn't they? And we're still fighting.

**Catarina Marcelino, Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality (Focus Experts)**

### Obstacles to 'caring masculinity'

This question of men thinking they should spend more time at home, but that they have to work and feel obliged to be breadwinners, that's also violence against men.

The fact is that a significant step has been taken, there's been a paradigm shift. In fact, leave is no longer just a woman's entitlement. It's no longer just for mothers, who could give part of it to the fathers, it now belongs to both parents. Men now have the right to [...]. But I think this hasn't sunk in very well, because society has a tendency to simplify and adjust, and so what sank in is that men now have the right to a month's leave. They think they have the right to a month, when in fact they have a right to more than a month.

**Catarina Marcelino, Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality (Focus Experts)**

As all the data show, despite a tendency for greater male participation in unpaid work, there is still a significant disparity in the division of household tasks and caregiving. How can you explain the dominant perception of fairness? Is it based on normalizing inequalities, or strategies of accommodation and minimising conjugal conflict, [bearing in mind] the various constraints on women's ability to negotiate, with men, in the family?

**Heloísa Perista, expert researcher in gender equality (Final Conference)**

Parenthood does not have to be related to biology, at least as far as we understand things. On the contrary, parenthood is a positive commitment, it's a perennial commitment to the child. Actually adoption

is the paradigm of parenthood for us, unlike the dominant framework, an inevitability which we know leads to particularly serious situations in certain circumstances.

**Paulo Côte-Real, ILGA-Portugal - Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Group (Focus Stakeholders)**

There are a number of prejudices in relation to male parenthood. We get many fathers in this area who want to be parents and have a lot of problems. In connection with work, we have an agreement with CITE, and we've had several cases where employers make it difficult for male employees to fulfil their role as parents... companies do not look favourably on men taking on those responsibilities. They also don't like women missing work to look after their children, but as that stereotype exists, it's the women who do the looking after.

[In the case of 'non-resident fathers'] I have to have a ruling which says that on those days I have to be with my children. And the company says: "Why doesn't the mother stay with your child?" So we suffer that discrimination as men, and we've had some specific cases. Actually, I remember one father thanking us a lot, because that [the ruling] meant that he was able to start staying with his child, because the company worked in shifts and had prevented him from changing his shift.

**Ricardo Simões, APIPDF – Portuguese Association for Parental Equality and the Rights of Children (Focus Stakeholders)**

### 'Caring masculinity': the catalysing role of public policies

Any effective public policy does not attack the cause, except, for me, leave for men when they are fathers. That attacks the cause, because it strikes at the heart of the stereotype.

**Maria do Céu Cunha Rêgo, expert consultant on gender equality (Focus Experts)**

Equality policies in the beginning were conceived on the assumption that women were at a disadvantage compared to men and that it was necessary for women to become more equal [to men]. And I think it's time to show that now men need to be more equal to women. We need them to be carers more than they are, to share family and caregiving responsibilities... well, all the social and family responsibilities which women have, so that they too can be more equal in other fields.

[Current leave policies] are fundamental. Because even if men themselves are not very receptive [...], I think it's important to get them away from the workplace. Employers when they recruit someone, man or woman, need to think that he or she may be off work for a time. That's fundamental [...]. I've felt like this for a long time: we have to get men, as much as women, away from the workplace for reasons connected with caregiving in the family.

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Interview)**

Despite continuous investment, in particular through public policy, this will be a condition for making those who seem to be the emerging models of a caring masculinity more visible, making childcare an area of effective sharing between mothers and fathers, and thus contributing to resolving the persistent inequality between men and women, in the public and the private spheres.

**Heloísa Perista, expert researcher in gender equality (Final Conference)**



## BOX: VIEWS OF EXPERTS, STAKEHOLDERS AND POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS ON MEN, FAMILY AND RECONCILIATION (CONTINUED)

*And we are lucky in that we have a position, a legislative and factual position, because it's long past time to see that this is viable proposition. And we mustn't forget one thing: there was a unanimous vote in the National Parliament when autonomous rights for men were recognized in 1999. Unanimous! The measure that's missing is equality of time spent, equality in the time allocated to compulsory and optional leave, and not having sharing.*

**Maria do Céu Cunha Rêgo, expert consultant on gender equality (Focus Experts)**

*We are a country in the front line, and that's very important [in connection with leave policies].*

**Catarina Marcelino, Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality (Focus Experts)**

*I thank research and political participation for reinforcing my understanding that that there will not be equality between women and men until we go much further in defining more coherently and consistently the legal status of men when they are fathers.*

**Maria do Céu Cunha Rêgo, expert consultant on gender equality (Final Conference)**

### Men and the right/duty to care

*The fundamental right to care, associated with the fundamental duty to care [...] would have at least 5 advantages: 1) of bringing into the field of human rights, with all the added symbolic, social and economic value that entails, that which has been a large part of women's world, history and identity, as well as a kind of invisible labour which is unpaid but indispensable to economic and social life; 2) of making clear that the right and duty to care are the same for men and women as individuals, and that there is no main obligation on women, in particular in the family context. This will necessarily have an impact on balancing the indicators, especially those relating to the uses of time in unpaid work; 3) of improving the conditions for men providing care to the family, because doing work which is no longer "specific" to women will avoid the normative social criticism inherent in codes of traditional masculinity; 4) of creating the conditions for individual autonomy and for education and training to endow each individual with skills in this area; 5) of distributing equally among women, men, the State and the economy the costs of reproduction, and of the support and care for human beings, which have been borne by women practically on their own, at the cost of adversely affecting their own development and relegating them to the background as individuals.*

**Maria do Céu Cunha Rêgo, expert consultant in gender equality (Final Conference)**

## 1.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations of the White Paper emerge from the analysis presented in this chapter on men, family and reconciliation of work and family life and the contributions to the project of gender equality experts and stakeholders representatives (see Box: Views and Box: Recommendations):

**To promote gender equality, parental equality and the right of the child to live with both parents after a divorce, encouraging shared physical custody. To suggest a public debate on the legal presumption of shared physical custody.** Divorce and separation are increasingly common events in men's and women's emotional lives. Despite legal reforms to post-divorce parenthood regulation, which began in the 1990s and culminated, in 2008, in the widespread "shared legal custody" (i.e. shared exercise of parental responsibilities in relation to the most important issues for the children), the practice of children continuing to live with their mother persists, and she takes on "exclusive duties regarding day-to-day life actions". This frequent practice, often uncontested by fathers and mothers or decreed by a court, is based on the conviction that men and women have specific and complementary skills and responsibilities in parenthood, based on 'natural' gender roles, and that in the final analysis it is the mother who should provide care and the father who should provide sustenance. This view of the family and of the father's and mother's role in the life of children is not only out of step with the realities of modern families, but also aggravates and even amplifies inequalities in the public and private spheres after divorce. An added "exclusive" responsibility falls on women in day-to-day life, with a strong impact on their position in the labour market, in work-family reconciliation,

in managing timetables and the economic well-being of their household. Men find that access to their children is severely constrained, through a system of visits which makes it impossible to share their day-to-day lives and to maintain the relational proximity which that sharing produces, and at the same time, as "non-resident fathers" they lose responsibility "for the acts of day-to-day living" of their children;

**Focus on training and the dissemination of information to employers,** making them aware of the potential conflicts to which couples with small children are subject in reconciling their work and family lives. Attitudes of the resident population to take-up of parental leave and interviews with parents who share the initial parental leave have shown that there is still a corporate culture resistant to freeing men up for family life and recognizing their right to reconcile work and family, thereby condoning the persistence of inequality for women in the labour market and their overload in family life. Reconciliation of work and family life is a constitutional right of fathers and mothers. And a shared, balanced reconciliation, not based on a gender division of paid and unpaid work, has positive effects on parents' and children's well-being, as it does on the well-being of workers in performing their jobs. Special attention needs to be given to the situation of lone-parent families with small children – whether lone mothers or lone fathers – for whom reconciling work and family life may be particularly difficult;

**Promote in-depth training initiatives in entities responsible for communicating information and applying it, and effectively check situations of obstruction of fathers' and mother's rights.** There is a degree of ignorance, and even disinformation, among employers and in-person attendance staff of Social Se-

curity in relation to the rights enshrined in current leave policies, particularly the rights of fathers. This ignorance on the part of the competent authorities, and the hostility and reprisals in the workplace which fathers face in connection with taking up leave, should be corrected, given that they may discourage men from exercising their constitutional right to reconciliation of work and family life. Auditing bodies have an important role to play in monitoring hindrances to the enjoyment of rights and non-compliance with the law, in relation to both fathers and mothers;

**Promote institutional publicity on parental leave, to be aimed at the public in general**, so as to provide information on established rights and give social visibility to the take-up of leave by fathers. Involve employers in these measures, in particular those who are receptive and proactive, and companies with egalitarian and best practice management models in terms of reconciling work and family life and promoting the take-up of exclusive optional leave and sharing of initial parental leave between parents;

**To plug the gaps in existing information on effective take-up by civil service workers and those in contribution schemes which are not part of the general system of Social Security.** Available data only cover individuals covered by the general Social Security system. This means that the picture is incomplete, and that it is not possible to monitor general trends in the take-up of leave and possibly the different impact of various business sectors on workers' practices;

**Assess the effectiveness and impact of leave policies by building and implementing management tools to produce and disseminate statistics on the take-up of leave**, as part of the official reports by Social Security and corresponding statistics. Produce the elements required for gathering information (socio-demographic, business sector and work situation variables), which will make it possible to know which fathers have taken up leave, in particular the optional and shared forms, and in which economic sectors;

**Develop leave policies with a view to consolidating their fundamental principles - children's well-being, the harmonization of family and work responsibilities between parents and gender equality, removing the legal barriers to the father's take-up of initial parental leave.** In the current formulation, the principle that the mother is the main beneficiary of the measure persists, and the mother's eligibility determines whether the father can take up the leave or not. This obstacle to men taking up initial parental leave needs to be removed. It is also necessary to make the basic principles of leave policies effective by abolishing progressively, and without prejudice to acquired rights, the gap between the mother's and the father's periods of leave, whether of compulsory or optional days. These leave policies should also be inclusive, recognizing the diversity of the family contexts into which children are born and in which they grow up, not discriminating against same-sex couples;

**Continue to promote reconciliation of work and family life by supporting families through services and facilities and also by full-time schooling for children under 12.** Increase the coverage of crèches in the non-profit charitable sector, with a view to combating territorial and social inequalities, committing in particular

to districts which have poor coverage, particularly in the charitable network. Since disadvantaged families are more dependent on this type of childcare facilities, shortage of supply may aggravate work-family reconciliation conflicts. Re-examine some aspects of how services are operated at the basic schooling level in public schools: extend curriculum enrichment activities to the second cycle; provide support services to families (CAF, ATL) in all schools; reorganize second cycle timetables; and re-examine the school year calendar, so as to shorten the summer holiday period (which will also make it possible to make the year's curricular activities less compact);

**Socialize and educate early for gender equality and for the value of male caregiving.** Inequality is built in, is reproduced and legitimized through gender stereotypes in all sorts of places, from family to school, from the labour market to public policies and the legal framework. This is a consequence of generations-long socialization, having been naturalized and passed down through everyday attitudes and practices of men and women. One of the most powerful stereotypes, in that it legitimizes gender inequality in various aspects of the lives of individuals and grants prerogatives to those who are dominated - women - is the conception that caring is a female attribute, because it is built in to a female nature which finds its material form in motherhood. For several decades this linear association of maternity and parental skills has kept women captive to their role as caregivers (to small children, but also, by virtue of the role itself, to other sick or dependent family members) and has kept men removed from these tasks regarded as 'female'. From generation to generation, sons and daughters, male and female, and boys and girls are socialized to perform highly differentiated social roles. But just as careers and educational attainment opened up to women - a process accompanied by a radical change in how girls and young women were socialized to performing those new roles, so too the domestic universe has opened up to men by way of caring paternity and the sharing of unpaid work, although the revolution in which boys and young males are to be socialized to caregiving and household work is yet to be carried out in the family, in school and in other socializing institutions;

**Enshrine the right to care in the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, together with the duty to care**, in the light of the basic rights to reconcile work and family life and not to be discriminated against on grounds of gender, and in the light of the State's responsibility to promote equality between men and women, and bearing mind the reasoning identified in the previous recommendation;

**Study in greater depth the attitudes and practices of Portuguese men and women regarding the former's leading role in family life**, with a view to ascertaining how values and behaviours have evolved, listening out for the persistence of gendered constructs and interpreting changes and their meanings. More in-depth research will help to perfect the strategies, at the State level, which have been outlined with a view to reconciling paid and unpaid work. The unbinding of such strategies from gender inequality mechanisms should produce a combination of positive effects on children's well-being, relationships between fathers, mothers and children and, finally, the conjugal dynamic itself.

## BOX: RECOMMENDATIONS OF EXPERTS ON MEN, FAMILY AND RECONCILIATION

### Strengthen parental leave policy

*It is recommended that a legislative change be implemented whereby periods of both compulsory and optional leave for the mother and the father are equal in time. And also that leave for both mothers and fathers be exclusive, non-transferable and compulsory. Benefit payments for these periods of leave should be 100% of reference remuneration. And parents should have the right to take leave regardless of the nature of their contractual work ties.*

*Precisely because we are dealing here with mothers and fathers, and because language may, as we know, hide as well as reveal and acknowledge certain things, would it not be better, in terms of strengthening the policy, to go back to talking of paternity and maternity leave, rather than using the neutral expression 'parental leave'? I offer the suggestion.*

**Heloísa Perista, expert researcher in gender equality (Final Conference)**

*In terms of the path we have travelled – the establishment of compulsory and optional fathers' leave 100% paid for by Social Security – I think it's necessary to reinforce what has been achieved so far. [...] Currently there is a movement to increase maternity leave to 6 months, exclusively for the mother [The people's petition "6 months' maternity leave, for the health of our babies", debated in the National Parliament on 22 April 2016]. I agree with this entirely, provided that it is followed by another compulsory period of leave of 6 months, for the father [...]. I think we need to take men away from work for exactly the same period of time as women.*

*Recently a new law was passed in Iceland ... Even in the middle of the financial crisis they produced a leave policy which seems to me to be right: three months of compulsory leave for the mother, three months of compulsory leave for the father and then three months which are optional. I think that's how it was mapped out.*

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Interview)**

*Achieving equality between men and women requires a break with stereotypes as far as the social roles attributed to them are concerned. It is those stereotypes which underlie the asymmetrical results in terms of participation in both public and private spheres. Hence the urgency of this recommendation. I recommend that:*

**1.** *The total number of days allocated or to be allocated to mother's and father's leave should be paid at 100% of the reference remuneration. Reasoning: to avoid the situation whereby those who cannot afford to lose remuneration stay with the child for a shorter time than those who are able to forego part of their salary;*

**2.** *The total period mentioned above should be divided into two equal parts, and each of the periods thus obtained should be a personal and non-transferable right of the mother and the father respectively. Reasoning: to put a stop to (and I quote the White Paper) "the attitude of resistance to caring masculinity" with its inherent (and I quote here too) "penalties in terms of the father's career";*

**3.** *That each of those periods of leave include a compulsory segment of equal duration for each person entitled to them. Since current Portuguese law provides 6 weeks (42 days) of compulsory leave for the mother (Article 41 of the Labour Code), in accordance with the ILO Maternity Protection Convention (Article 4 of Convention 183, 2000, ILO – Maternity leave), so too the period of compulsory leave for the father should be 6 weeks. Reasoning: to contribute to (and I quote this White Paper) the "dismantling of gendered cultural norms, which continue to be enshrined in male and female roles in the form of social expectations of performance which shape, condition and define attitudes and practices of men and women in the different contexts of Portuguese society";*

**4.** *In addition (and based on the same reasoning), because female employees should be entitled to be off work for 14 weeks (98 days) when they become mothers, in accordance with EU law (Council Directive 92/85/CEE of 19 October 1992), the revised European Charter (Article 8) and the above-mentioned ILO Convention, in addition to the compulsory period of 6 weeks, the law should provide for a minimum optional period of another 8 weeks (56 days). Consequently the optional period of leave for the father should also be of 8 weeks. All of this implies, in connection with the personal, non-transferable periods of father's and mother's leave, that member-states of the European Union and the countries which have ratified the above-mentioned ILO Convention, and who seek to achieve equality between men and women, should provide in their legislation for at least 28 weeks (196 days, approximately 6 and a half months), which the Portuguese law does not yet provide, despite the fact the Constitution defines as a basic responsibility of the State the promotion of equality between men and women (article 9, paragraph h);*

**5.** *If, however, it should be decided that an exclusive leave of 6 months should be granted to the mother, as has already been proposed in the National Parliament, it should then be borne in mind that compliance with the Constitution requires that the father also benefit from 6 months' leave. The advantage of this, in addition to reinforcing equality between men and women in the private and public spheres, is that the child benefits from a year - or almost a year, if leave is taken simultaneously – in the exclusive care of its mother or father. Which is something I consider to be of priceless value. And I further recommend that this objective be phased in over a period of time.*

**Maria do Céu Cunha Rêgo, expert consultant in gender equality (Final Conference)**

**BOX: RECOMMENDATIONS OF EXPERTS ON MEN, FAMILY AND RECONCILIATION (CONTINUED)****Train and educate for gender equality**

*I recommend that people involved in legislative processes and in applying the laws be targeted for training in gender equality; that the acquiring of basic skills – individual autonomy, including feeding; care of children and other dependents; care of the spaces inherent in family life – be widely promoted in the private sphere, and the ability to organize and communicate ideas, as well as to be active and take part in public discussion, in the public sphere.*

**Maria do Céu Cunha Rêgo, expert consultant in gender equality (Final Conference)**

**Enshrine new fundamental rights**

*In all matters relating to the division of paid and unpaid work between men and women, I recommend a fundamental rights-based approach (in the terms of the Constitution, in the light of the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of gender and the State's fundamental responsibility to promote equality between men and women) which means, in particular, that legislative options on these matters are not subject to the agreement of the social partners.*

*I recommend action in international and regional Fundamental Rights systems, recognizing\*, in particular, the following new rights:*

- i.** Fundamental right to non-discrimination on grounds of gender, and equality between men and women in the various domains of life;
- ii.** Fundamental right to paternity protection on the same terms as for maternity, to be set out, in particular, in a new ILO Paternity Protection Convention; and, in the European Union context, by means of a new or revised Directive;
- iii.** Fundamental right to care, associated with the fundamental duty of care incumbent equally on men and women; so that recognition of the economic and social value of unpaid care work for familiar life – which includes care of dependents and household work – implies the equal division of that work between men and women. Creating the conditions for eliminating the persistent and widespread objective unfairness regarding men, which the work of social reproduction demands of women **\*\***. Just because they are [women].

**Maria do Céu Cunha Rêgo, expert consultant in gender equality (Final Conference)**

\* Through Additional Protocols to the Covenants of the United Nations, like the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and to relevant regional Conventions and Treaties – for example: for the European region, the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the revised European Social Charter, including the European Union: Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union in connection with Article 6 of the European Union Treaty.

\*\* Following in particular the Beijing Platform for Action and subsequent international agreements, as well as international and EU studies on men and gender equality.





**CHAPTER 2**  
MEN AND  
THE LABOUR  
MARKET



# CHAPTER 2

## MEN AND THE LABOUR MARKET

### 2.1 Introduction

In recent decades, the role of men in the Portuguese labour market has undergone significant changes, deriving from historical and political upheavals and the macro-economic situation. The transition to democracy in 1974 was crucial for the development of public policies promoting equality between men and women, especially as far as the labour market and work-family reconciliation are concerned. This change, which was considerably more pronounced than in other countries of Southern Europe, where the male breadwinner model was still preponderant, fostered the introduction of gender equality policies aimed at combatting the prevailing model, which prescribed the 'provider' role for men and the 'carer' role for women, a model which had been strongly prescribed in Portuguese society by the patriarchal ideology of the *Estado Novo* dictatorship (Torres, 2004; Aboim and Marinho 2006; Wall, 2011). Actual practice, however, was in strong contrast with the ideology, in so far as female work was a reality in family agriculture, but also in salaried work, as a result of the colonial war, large-scale male emigration and the emergence of a heavily feminized services sector.

As far as the division of paid work is concerned, those changes favoured a model of greater equality between men and women: it became common for women to enter the labour market and the dominant model of family organization became the dual-earner model, even among couples with small children. Equality policies achieved some success, in this sense, but inequalities persist, in terms of the number of women in management positions, remuneration, and time and hours spent in paid and unpaid work. In effect, men continue to occupy the dominant positions in the labour market. In 2015, management positions in both public and private sectors were still mainly occupied by men, although the disparity has declined markedly in the public sector. In addition, even in the case of unskilled jobs, men are often in more stable and better paid situations than most women in similar circumstances. Finally, public policy's concern to encourage female participation in the public sphere and to promote work-family reconciliation contrasts with the very modest increase in male participation in the private sphere (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012; Wall and Amâncio, 2007). Men tend to be more present in the labour market and to devote more hours to paid work than women do. Although this has clear financial advantages for those concerned, that greater presence of men in the labour market reveals the persistence of the traditional idea of the man as family provider and limits their opportunities for taking greater part in the family sphere, as most men claim (Wall, Aboim and Cunha, 2010) (see Chapter 1).

Apart from the specificities of the Portuguese case, the labour market in Portugal has patterns similar to those in other European countries, particularly in terms of the horizontal segregation of occupations, i. e. the segmentation of occupational activities into strongly male and strongly female sectors. This crystallized notion that there are "feminine" and "masculine" occupations

collides with the right of both sexes to free choice in their type of work; and affects the management of time allocated to paid work, unpaid work, family life and leisure, and even financial independence. These are therefore choices which are limited at the outset, based on an inequality which derives from stereotypes of male and female roles, and are not choices in the true meaning of the term, based on equal rights and opportunities. Horizontal segregation of occupations is a particularly good example of how traditional gender roles corroborate male and female stereotypes in day-to-day practices, and end up limiting boys' and girls' access to certain areas of specialization and even affect their vocational choices (see Chapter 3).

This chapter is organized as follows. An initial summary highlights the most significant results. This is followed by a presentation of change and continuity in the Portuguese labour market, focusing on eight topics: activity, employment and unemployment rates; working times and hours; working conditions; duration of working life; horizontal segregation; vertical segregation; Portugal's situation in the European context; and attitudes of the Portuguese to the introduction of legislative measures incentivising gender equality in paid work. The final section contains recommendations which take into account the trends described in the chapter and the contributions of experts and stakeholders in the focus group and final project conference.

### 2.2 Highlights

***The labour market in Portugal has high activity and employment rates for both men and women, and the disparity between them has tended to decline, particularly among young adults.*** Even though the presence of men and women in the labour market has tended towards being equal, in 2015 the male employment rate was higher than the female rate in all age groups, except those aged 25 to 34, where employment rates are practically the same. On the other hand, the existing disparity is due above all to the fact that there are fewer women over 55 in the labour market, especially those with low educational attainment levels (up to basic schooling). The disparity is less marked between younger men and women and those with intermediate and higher levels of education. This explains how in 2014, the duration of working life for men continues to be on average some 3 years longer than for women, even though that disparity has been gradually diminishing in recent years.

***In 2015, the activity rate for men was 56% and for women 47%***, reflecting the ageing of the Portuguese population as a whole, and the imbalance in the demographic make-up of the non-working population, as there are far more women over 65 than men in the population structure.

**The employment rate for men, in the 24 to 49 age group, is higher when they have small children (up to 6 years old), but the same is not true for women, for whom the values are practically unchanged.** This data confirms that maternity has no impact on Portuguese women's participation in the labour market when they have small children, unlike other European countries. But it also reflects the persistence of a male provider ethic, in other words that men take on additional financial responsibility when they become parents. The fact that **it is primarily men who have a second paid job, and who work the most hours in the labour market** (2.1 hours per week more), is also a reflection of that financial responsibility and the identitarian investment in paid work which continues to fall on the modern male.

Despite the fact that some of the disparities between men and women in the labour market have faded, job opportunities in it are still differentiated and disadvantageous for women. **Women's careers continue to be more marked than men's are by casual labour, vulnerability to unemployment and low pay. These inequalities reflect a highly gendered and androcentric labour market, which is complicit with the persistence of vertical and horizontal segregation.**

**Vertical segregation contributes to the disparity between men and women in terms of pay and unequal access to positions of power and leadership.** In 2013, income (average monthly earnings) of men was higher than that of women by 26 percentage points, above all on account of the difference in supplementary income (benefits, bonuses, overtime pay). Between 2005 and 2015 little has changed in top decision-making jobs: women only gained ground in middle management positions in the public sector.

Alongside vertical segregation, **horizontal segregation helps to explain inequalities between men and women, particularly disparity of incomes.** The problem of discrimination in pay is effectively the outcome not only of men occupying the top positions, but also of the differentiated gender structure in less skilled jobs in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. Women continue to be over-represented in the services sector, where jobs (above all the less skilled jobs in health, education and personal and cleaning services) are generally speaking less well paid than jobs in industry and construction, where men predominate. In addition, the two sectors in which occupational segmentation is most persistent – education and human health/social services, which in one way or another include activities connected with caregiving to others, are traditionally female sectors.

Curiously, **horizontal segregation of the labour market also has negative effects for men, as the financial crisis of recent years has shown.** In effect, unemployment affected above all

sectors of traditionally male employment, like construction and industry, to such an extent that in 2012 the unemployment rate for men overtook that of women. Despite the fact that the labour market continues to absorb less skilled male manpower, younger men, and those with lower educational attainment levels are those most vulnerable to unemployment in a recession.

While the situation of men and women in paid work continues to be characterised by significant disparities, particularly in terms of income and segregation, **the attitudes of the Portuguese to legislative measures incentivising gender equality in the labour market are overwhelmingly (91%)** in favour of measures which ensure equal pay. But when it comes to implementing equality for women in top management positions and for men in traditionally female occupations, there is less consensus, with men being more conservative regarding measures to combat horizontal segregation.

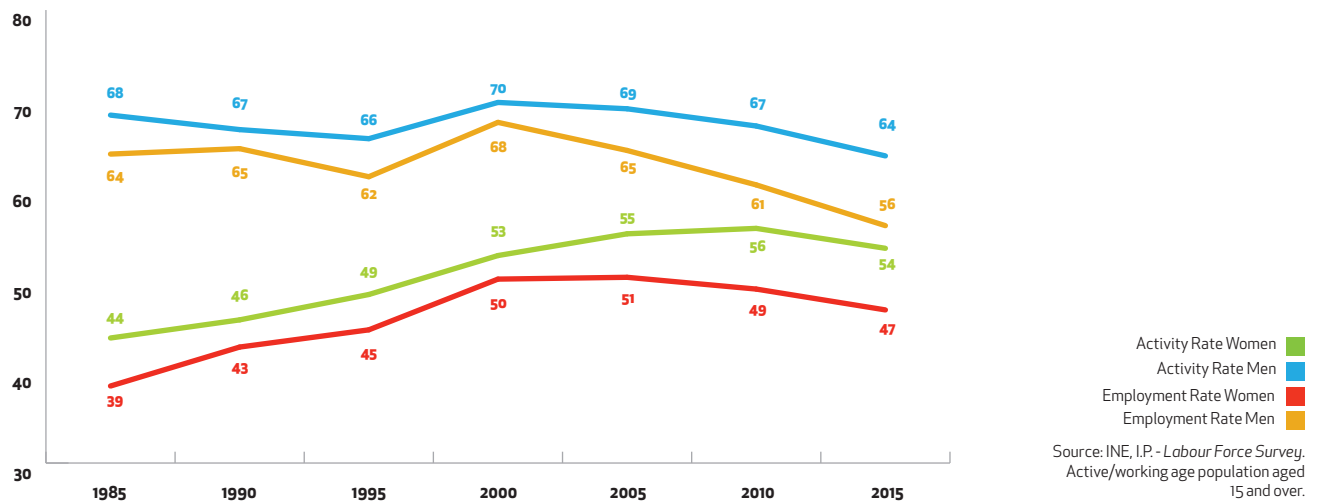
## 2.3 Developments and trends: what changes have there been in the situation of men and the disparity between men and women?

### 2.3.1 Employment, unemployment and activity rates in Portugal

In 2015, over half the population of Portugal aged 15 and over (58.5%) was employed in the labour market, with the activity rate for men being 64% and for women 54% (figure 2.1). Although these numbers still show a disparity of 10 percentage points (p.p.) between men and women, the difference in the presence of men and women in the labour market has attenuated considerably over the last three decades, as a result of the increase in the female activity rate (which went from 44% in 1985 to 55% in 2005 and 54% in 2015), and a decline in the male activity rate, which fell by 5 p.p. (from 69% to 64%) between 2005 and 2015. But it is important to note that the difference in the activity rate of men and women also reflects the reality of an ageing population, in which the main factor is the inactive female population. According to the data from Census 2011, the resident population aged 65 and over already then accounted for 20% of the total resident population, of which 41% were men and 58% were women INE [Statistics Portugal] (Censos 2011, *Quadros da População* [Population Tables]).

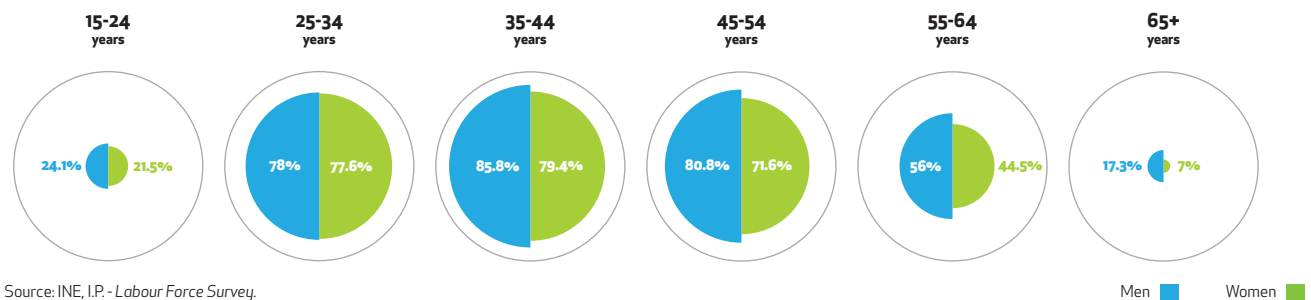
Trends in the employment rates for men and women over the last thirty years have also gone in opposite directions, with an increase in female employment and a reduction in the numbers of men employed, from 64.1% in 1985 to 56.2% in 2015 (figure 2.1). These factors in combination have been crucial in reducing the disparity between men and women in the employment rate during that period (from 25.6 p.p. in 1985 to 9.3 p.p. in 2015).

**Figure 2.1 - Activity rate and employment rate, by sex (%) - Portugal, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015**



Analysis of the distribution of the male employment rate by age group (figure 2.2) shows that the 35 to 44 years age group has the largest presence in the labour market (85.8%). In contrast, the 65 and over age group has the lowest employment rate (17.3%). Even so, this is still quite a high employment rate, bearing in mind that the age of retirement in Portugal, in 2015, was 66 (taking into account the introduction of the sustainability factor in pension calculations in 2013, with effects from 2015 onwards<sup>1</sup>). On the other hand, the disparity between men and women in this age group is considerable (10.3 p.p.), given that only 7% of women over 65 were employed in that year. The disparity is lower in the 35 to 44 years age group (6.4 p.p.) and highest for those aged 55 to 64 (11.5 p.p.), corresponding to the age of transition to retirement, which tends to occur earlier in the case of women.

**Figure 2.2 - Employment rate in the population aged 15 and over, by sex and age group (%) - Portugal, 2015**

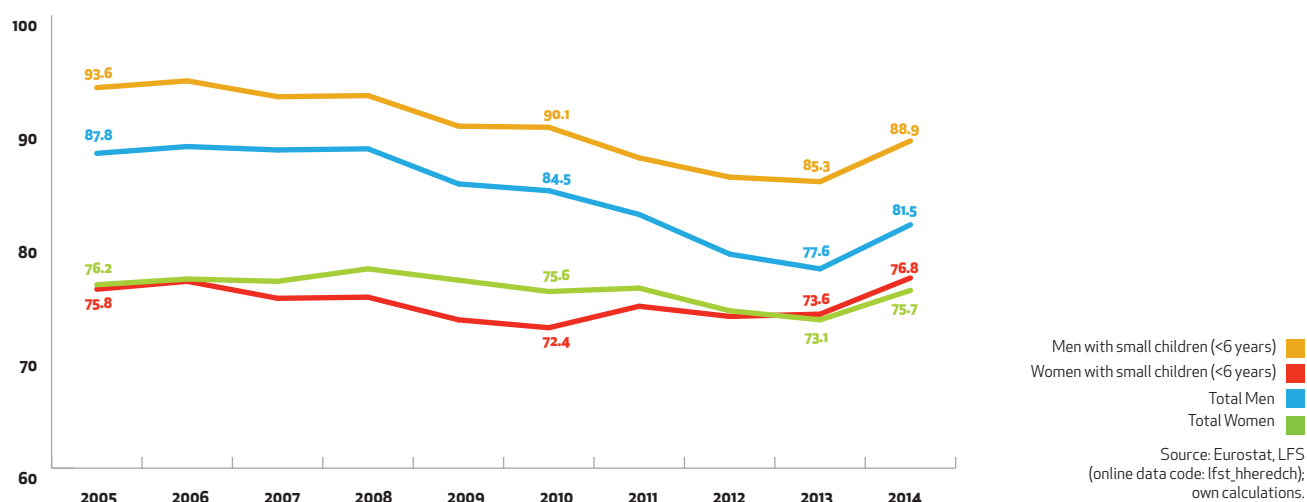


In younger age groups, only 24.1% of men up to age 24 were employed in 2015, a percentage consistent with the fact that many young males in this age group are in the education system (that percentage is even lower for women in this age group, 21.5%). Despite this, according to Eurostat<sup>2</sup>, in 2015, the percentage of young males not working, studying or undergoing training (young NEETs - Not in Education, Employment, or Training), in this age group, was 10.4%, an increase of 3.3 p.p. in relation to 2000. In the next age group, 25 to 34 years, the NEET percentage rises to 14.5% and the increase was even higher, at around 7.5 p.p.

In 2015, the lowest disparity between men's and women's employment rates (just 0.4 p.p.) was found in the 25 to 34 years age group. The fact that the disparity increases by 6 p.p. in the next age group (35 to 44 years) is essentially due to an increase in male employment, since it is the male employment rate which rises (to 85.8%), with the female rate remaining broadly static. These figures point to the persistence of the stereotypical male role as family provider and corroborate the employment rate data for men and women with children under 6. In effect, contrary to what happens with women, the employment rate of Portuguese men with small children is even higher than that for men as a whole. In 2014, in the 25 to 49 years age group, the difference in the employment rate of men with children under 6 and men in general was 7.4 p.p., while the difference among women was only 1.1 p.p. (figure 2.3). These figures seem to show that for men with young dependent children, the need to provide financial resources for the family is pressing. While this is not the only explanatory factor, it is a factor which is reflected in their greater employability. The fact that, for women, the difference between having and not having small children is not reflected in the employability rate shows that, unlike in other European countries, Portuguese women do not reduce their participation in the labour market when they are mothers.

<sup>1</sup>Decree-Law 167-E/2013, of 31 December.

<sup>2</sup>Eurostat NEET Rates (online data code edat\_ifse\_20).

**Figure 2.3 - Employment rate in the population aged 24 to 49 and employment rate of individuals in the same age group with children under 6, by sex (%) – Portugal, 2005-2014**


When trends in activity rates by age group and educational attainment levels<sup>3</sup> are analysed, some specific characteristics emerge (figure 2.4). There are four main tendencies. First, there are fewer men with low educational attainment levels currently in the labour market than men with intermediate and higher levels of education. This trend is more marked in the 15 to 24 years age group, is lower in the 35 to 44 years group and increases again from age 45 onwards. Secondly, before the onset of the financial crisis in 2008, activity rates for men with low levels of educational attainment were close to, or even slightly higher, than those for men with intermediate levels. Thirdly, activity rates for men with higher education in the younger age groups (15 to 24 and 25 to 34) are today lower than those for women with same level of education. This tendency is attenuated, or even inverted, in the other age groups (35 to 44 and 45 and over). Finally, among those with basic schooling, activity rates for women are even lower than those for men, a tendency which can be observed for all age groups: in 2013, in the 35 to 44 age group, which has the highest activity rate in Portugal, 81.5% of women with low levels of educational attainment and 96.5% of women with higher education were active. However, at the end of the 1990s the difference was even more marked (in 1998, 73.4% of women with basic schooling and 96.3% of women with higher education were active).

**Figure 2.4 - Activity rate\*, by sex, age group and educational attainment level\*\* (%) – Portugal, 1998, 2003, 2008, 2013**

	1998			2003			2008			2013			Variation rate 2008-2013		
	MW	M	W	MW	M	W	MW	M	W	MW	M	W	MW	M	W
<b>Total</b>	60,3	69,7	51,8	61,9	69,9	54,6	62,0	68,9	55,8	50,6	54,8	46,7	-18,4	-20,5	-16,3
<b>0-2</b>	58,0	68,9	47,9	58,8	68,8	49,4	57,5	66,5	49,1	50,3	59,8	41,4	-12,5	-10,1	-15,6
<b>3-4</b>	63,8	67,6	60,3	65,8	68,1	63,7	68,6	71,0	66,3	74,1	74,3	73,9	8,0	4,6	11,4
<b>5-8</b>	86,1	86,8	85,6	86,5	87,5	85,9	85,6	86,6	85,1	80,9	80,7	81,1	-5,5	-6,9	-4,7
<b>15-24 years</b>	47,1	50,3	43,9	44,9	48,3	41,4	40,9	43,6	38,1	35,0	36,2	33,8	-14,4	-17,0	-11,3
<b>0-2</b>	48,8	52,9	44,1	46,7	51,5	40,9	39,5	44,2	34,0	26,1	30,0	21,4	-33,9	-32,1	-37,1
<b>3-4</b>	37,4	37,5	37,3	35,8	36,2	35,5	38,1	40,2	36,3	43,0	45,1	41,0	12,9	12,2	12,9
<b>5-8</b>	79,0	72,0	81,8	83,3	80,2	84,2	75,9	62,8	81,2	57,7	47,2	63,3	-24,0	-24,8	-22,0
<b>25-34 years</b>	86,7	92,8	80,7	88,8	92,0	85,6	89,9	93,0	86,9	89,9	90,6	89,3	0,0	-2,6	2,8
<b>0-2</b>	86,2	94,1	77,5	88,0	93,3	81,9	88,9	94,4	82,0	86,8	90,2	82,0	-2,4	-4,4	0,0
<b>3-4</b>	83,5	85,5	81,6	86,2	86,0	86,4	87,0	86,9	87,0	90,7	90,3	91,0	4,3	3,9	4,6
<b>5-8</b>	94,7	95,0	94,6	94,9	95,2	94,7	95,1	96,2	94,5	93,2	91,9	94,0	-2,0	-4,5	-0,5
<b>35-44 years</b>	86,1	95,1	77,4	88,0	94,8	81,5	89,9	94,9	85,1	90,2	92,2	88,3	0,3	-2,8	3,8
<b>0-2</b>	84,0	94,7	73,4	85,9	94,2	77,2	87,7	94,0	81,0	86,1	89,9	81,5	-1,8	-4,4	0,6
<b>3-4</b>	92,8	96,0	89,8	94,2	96,6	92,1	94,1	97,8	90,6	93,1	94,6	92,0	-1,1	-3,3	1,5
<b>5-8</b>	97,6	99,5	96,3	96,5	98,0	95,6	96,7	97,8	96,1	96,6	96,8	96,5	-0,1	-1,0	0,4
<b>45+ years</b>	46,0	58,6	35,8	47,8	58,8	38,7	48,6	57,8	41,0	46,6	55,6	39,2	-4,1	-3,8	-4,4
<b>0-2</b>	44,3	57,1	34,0	45,8	57,3	36,5	46,1	55,8	38,1	41,8	52,6	33,1	-9,3	-5,7	-13,1
<b>3-4</b>	62,1	70,7	51,5	62,9	68,4	55,8	63,4	66,7	59,7	69,4	68,7	70,2	9,5	3,0	17,6
<b>5-8</b>	71,2	75,8	66,6	69,5	74,4	65,2	68,1	73,4	63,8	65,1	68,1	62,9	-4,4	-7,2	-1,4

Source: INE, I.P. - Labour Force Survey.

\*The activity rate represents the number of people of working age for every 100 persons aged 15 and over.

\*\*Levels of educational attainment according to ISCED (International Standard Classification of Education), with levels 0-2 corresponding to the first three cycles of basic schooling, levels 3-4 corresponding to secondary and professional education and levels 5-8 to higher education.

Trends in the employment rate are not very different to those in the activity rate (figure 2.5). As has been seen in the previous indicator, the reduction in the male employment rate took place, above all from 2008 onwards, among younger men with lower educational attainment levels (from 38.1% in 2008 to 17.8% in 2013). For men in the 25 to 24 and 35 to 44 age groups, the decrease over the same period was, respectively, 14.7 p.p. and 12.9 p.p.. This trend was particularly marked among men in these age groups with low educational attainment levels (respectively, 20.3 p.p. and 17.1 p.p. for the same period).

**Figure 2.5 – Employment rate\*, by sex, age group and educational attainment level\*\* (%) – Portugal, 1998, 2003, 2008, 2013**

	1998			2003			2008			2013			Variation rate 2008-2013		
	MW	M	W	MW	M	W	MW	M	W	MW	M	W	MW	M	W
<b>Total</b>	57.4	67.0	48.6	58.0	66.1	50.6	57.4	64.5	50.9	49.7	54.7	45.3	-13.4	-15.2	-11.0
<b>0-2</b>	55.2	66.3	45.0	55.2	65.0	45.9	53.1	62.1	44.7	41.8	49.3	34.7	-21.3	-20.5	-22.4
<b>3-4</b>	59.4	64.0	55.2	61.2	64.1	58.5	63.3	66.5	60.2	61.2	62.8	59.7	-3.3	-5.6	-0.8
<b>5-8</b>	83.2	84.5	82.3	81.4	83.2	80.2	79.8	82.4	78.2	70.7	72.1	69.9	-11.4	-12.5	-10.6
<b>15-24 years</b>	42.2	46.2	38.2	38.4	42.2	34.4	34.1	37.7	30.3	21.7	22.9	20.4	-36.4	-39.3	-32.7
<b>0-2</b>	44.1	48.9	38.6	40.2	45.3	34.0	33.1	38.1	27.2	15.5	17.8	12.7	-53.2	-53.3	-53.3
<b>3-4</b>	32.4	33.5	31.6	30.7	31.3	30.3	32.6	35.8	29.9	27.5	30.7	24.6	-15.6	-14.2	-17.7
<b>5-8</b>	69.9	63.5	72.5	63.5	61.8	64.0	55.5	46.0	59.4	36.1	29.4	39.6	-35.0	-36.1	-33.3
<b>25-34 years</b>	81.9	89.0	74.8	82.1	86.2	78.0	82.1	86.7	77.5	72.9	74.3	71.5	-11.2	-14.3	-7.7
<b>0-2</b>	81.7	90.6	71.9	81.3	87.4	74.2	80.8	87.8	71.9	67.6	70.3	63.8	-16.3	-19.9	-11.3
<b>3-4</b>	77.9	81.2	74.7	80.3	80.8	79.8	80.6	81.4	79.8	75.8	77.0	74.6	-6.0	-5.4	-6.5
<b>5-8</b>	89.3	90.0	89.0	87.3	88.4	86.6	86.5	90.1	84.4	76.6	78.7	75.4	-11.4	-12.7	-10.7
<b>35-44 years</b>	82.8	92.4	73.5	83.5	91.0	76.3	83.9	89.3	78.7	77.2	79.5	75.2	-8.0	-11.0	-4.4
<b>0-2</b>	80.3	91.8	69.0	80.9	89.8	71.6	81.2	87.8	74.2	71.7	74.7	67.9	-11.7	-14.9	-8.5
<b>3-4</b>	90.4	93.3	87.5	90.8	95.3	86.9	88.6	93.9	83.8	80.9	84.8	77.9	-8.7	-9.7	-7.0
<b>5-8</b>	96.5	98.7	95.0	94.5	97.2	92.8	92.6	93.9	91.7	86.4	88.7	85.0	-6.7	-5.5	-7.3
<b>45+ years</b>	44.7	56.8	34.7	46.1	56.7	37.3	46.0	54.8	38.6	40.9	48.5	34.8	-11.1	-11.5	-9.8
<b>0-2</b>	42.9	55.3	32.9	44.1	55.2	35.1	43.4	52.8	35.8	36.2	45.2	28.8	-16.6	-14.4	-19.6
<b>3-4</b>	59.3	68.0	48.6	60.7	65.8	54.2	59.8	63.0	56.1	60.1	59.8	60.5	0.5	-5.1	7.8
<b>5-8</b>	71.1	75.6	66.5	67.8	72.0	64.3	67.1	72.1	63.0	62.0	63.9	60.7	-7.6	-11.4	-3.7

Source: INE, I.P. - Labour Force Survey.

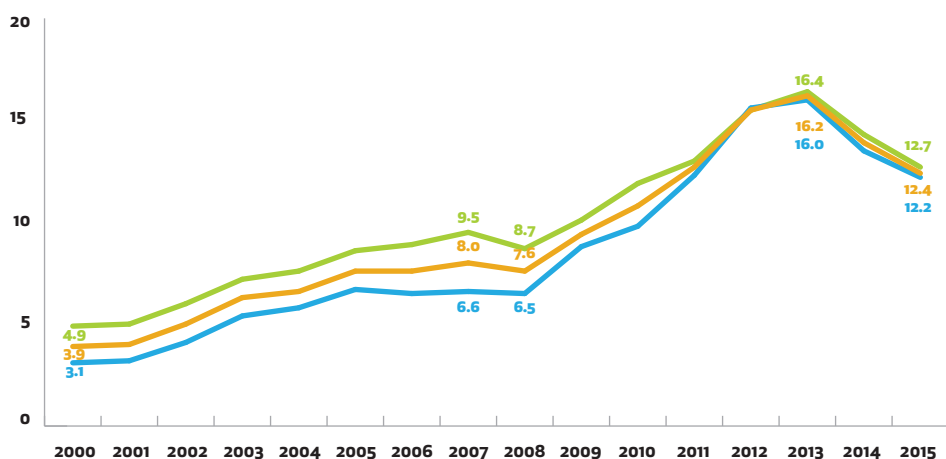
\*The employment rate represents the number of employed persons for every 100 persons aged 15 and over.

\*\* Levels of educational attainment according to ISCED, with levels 0-2 corresponding to the first three cycles of basic schooling, levels 3-4 corresponding to secondary and professional education and levels 5-8 to higher education.

### 2.3.2 Unemployment

According to data from the INE [Statistics Portugal] the male unemployment rate in 2014 (13.5%) and 2015 (12.2%), was close to but lower than the average rate of unemployment (13.9% and 12.4%, respectively), while female unemployment rates were slightly higher (14.3% and 12.7%, respectively) (figure 2.6). For both men and women, unemployment in Portugal fell from 2013 onwards, after several years of significant growth in the context of the crisis. In the years when the financial crisis was intensifying, the increase in unemployment affected men above all, creating a disparity between men and women quite different to that which had been observed until 2008. Until then, the disparity in unemployment among men and women was in favour of men, i. e. unemployment rates for men were lower than those for women. In 2012 and 2013, however, male unemployment exceeded female unemployment by a small margin.

**Figure 2.6 – Trends in the unemployment rate, by sex (%) – Portugal, 2000-2015**

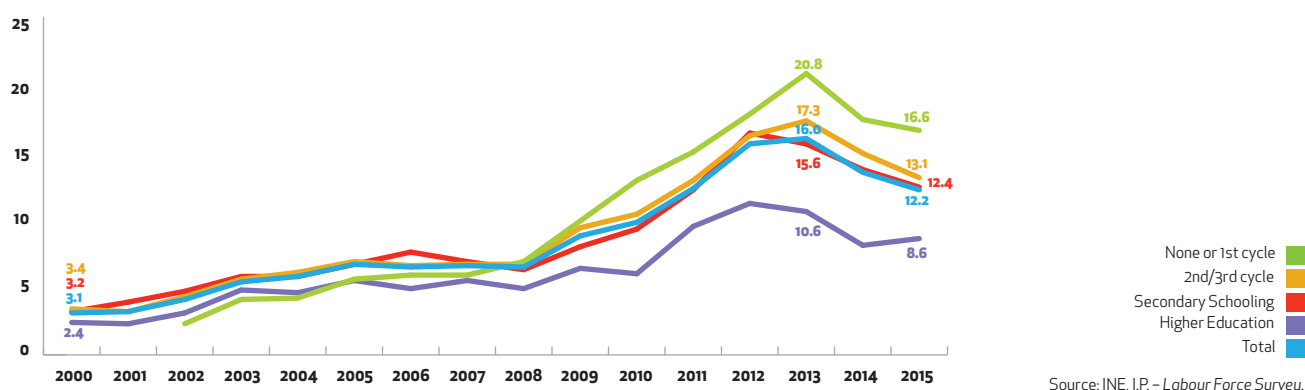


Source: INE, I.P. - Labour Force Survey - Unemployment rate: percentage of unemployed persons aged 15 to 74 years as a percentage of total working population.

Nevertheless, according to statistics from the *Instituto de Informática e Estatística da Segurança Social - I.P.* [Institute of Data Processing and Social Security Statistics] on the total numbers of unemployment benefit claimants, with the worsening of the financial crisis of 2008 the majority of unemployment benefit claimants were men: in 2013, men accounted for 51.9% of unemployment benefit claimants; in 2014 and 2015, the difference fell slightly with men accounting for 50.2% of claimants in 2015 and women for 49.8%<sup>4</sup>.

Less well qualified men suffered most from the financial crisis which until 2013 affected those sectors made up mostly of male workers without basic schooling, like construction and industry (figure 2.7). The distribution of male unemployment varies significantly, with the effect of educational attainment level being remarkable. In 2013, unemployment among working age men without basic schooling reached 20.3%. Although this number fell to 16.6% in 2015, it remains much higher than the corresponding figure among men of working age with higher educational attainment levels (8.6%).

**Figure 2.7 – Trends in the unemployment rate for men, in total and by educational attainment level (%) – Portugal, 2000-2015**



Source: INE, I.P. – Labour Force Survey.

Although the increase in unemployment as a result of the financial crisis affected all age groups, its effects were particularly acute for younger people, especially young adult males (figure 2.8). Between 2008 and 2013, the unemployment rate in the 25 to 34 age group went from 6.7% to 18.0% for men and from 10.8% to 19.9% for women. For the 15 to 24 age group, the situation was of even greater concern, with an increase from 13.6% to 36.7% for men and from 20.3% to 39.6% for women.

As far as the relationship between unemployment and schooling is concerned, between 2008 and 2013, there was a marked increase in unemployment for men of all age groups and across all levels of schooling, with rates of variation above 100% for all of them. Here too it is clear that men with less schooling, especially younger men, were those who suffered most from the crisis, with rates of variation close to 200%.

**Figure 2.8 – Unemployment rate, by sex, age group and educational attainment level (%) – Portugal, 1998, 2003, 2008, 2013**

	1998			2003			2008			2013			Variation rate 2008-2013		
	MW	M	W	MW	M	W	MW	M	W	MW	M	W	MW	M	W
<b>Total</b>	4.9	3.9	6.2	6.3	5.4	7.2	7.6	6.5	8.8	16.2	16.0	16.4	113.2	146.2	86.4
<b>0-2</b>	4.8	3.9	6.1	6.2	5.5	7.2	7.7	6.7	8.8	17.0	17.5	16.3	120.8	161.2	85.2
<b>3-4</b>	6.9	5.4	8.5	6.9	5.8	8.0	7.8	6.3	9.2	17.4	15.6	19.1	123.1	147.6	107.6
<b>5-8</b>	3.4	2.6	3.9	5.9	4.8	6.7	6.8	4.9	8.1	12.6	10.6	13.9	85.3	116.3	71.6
<b>15-24 years</b>	10.4	8.2	13.0	14.6	12.5	17.0	16.7	13.6	20.3	38.1	36.7	39.6	128.1	169.9	95.1
<b>0-2</b>	9.7	7.7	12.5	13.9	12.0	16.9	16.2	13.8	20.0	40.6	40.7	40.5	150.6	194.9	102.5
<b>3-4</b>	13.3	10.7	15.3	14.2	13.4	14.8	14.4	11.0	17.6	36.0	32.0	40.0	150.0	190.9	127.3
<b>5-8</b>	§	§	§	23.7	§	24.0	26.9	§	27.0	37.5	37.8	37.4	39.4	-	38.5
<b>25-34 years</b>	5.6	4.1	7.3	7.6	6.4	8.8	8.7	6.7	10.8	19.0	18.0	19.9	118.4	168.7	84.3
<b>0-2</b>	5.3	3.7	7.3	7.6	6.3	9.4	9.2	7.0	12.4	22.1	22.1	22.1	140.2	215.7	78.2
<b>3-4</b>	6.8	5.0	8.5	6.9	6.0	7.7	7.3	6.3	8.3	16.4	14.8	18.1	124.7	134.9	118.1
<b>5-8</b>	5.7	§	5.9	8.0	7.2	8.5	9.1	6.3	10.6	17.8	14.3	19.8	95.6	127.0	86.8
<b>35-44 years</b>	3.9	2.8	5.1	5.1	4.0	6.4	6.7	5.9	7.5	14.4	13.8	14.9	114.9	133.9	98.7
<b>0-2</b>	4.4	3.0	6.1	5.8	4.7	7.3	7.4	6.6	8.4	16.8	16.9	16.6	127.0	156.1	97.6
<b>3-4</b>	§	§	§	§	§	5.7	5.8	§	7.5	13.1	10.3	15.3	125.9	147.6	104.0
<b>5-8</b>	§	§	§	§	§	§	4.3	§	4.5	10.6	8.4	12.0	146.5	-	166.7
<b>45+ years</b>	3.0	2.9	3.1	3.6	3.7	3.6	5.4	5.1	5.7	12.2	12.9	11.3	125.9	152.9	98.2
<b>0-2</b>	3.2	3.1	3.3	3.8	3.7	3.9	5.8	5.4	6.2	13.4	13.9	12.8	131.0	157.4	106.5
<b>3-4</b>	§	§	§	§	§	§	5.7	5.5	6.0	13.4	12.9	13.8	135.1	134.5	130.0
<b>5-8</b>	§	§	§	§	§	§	§	§	§	4.6	6.1	3.5	§	-	§



The increases in unemployment which affected women as a result of the country's current economic situation, and affected men even more, produced a disparity between men and women very different to that observed up to 2008. Until then the disparity in unemployment rates favoured men, i. e. unemployment levels for men were lower than those for women. According to INE [Statistics Portugal] data for 2008, the highest values were found among those aged 15 to 24 and with levels of educational attainment 0-2 (6.2 p.p.) and 3-4 (6.6 p.p.), and among those aged 25 to 34 with low educational attainment levels (5.4 p.p.).

Among those with the lowest educational attainment levels (0-2) there was an across-the-board tendency, between 2008 and 2013, for the disparity in unemployment to diminish, with no disparity in the 25 to 34 age group (unemployment rate 22.1%); or, for the first time in at least 15 years, for there to be a disparity in favour of women (i.e. 13.9% for men and 12.8% for women in the 45 and over age group). This low disparity scenario is the outcome, as already mentioned, of the differential impact of the financial crisis on male and female unemployment rates. Nevertheless, the data shown demonstrate that even though the differences between male and female unemployment rates have declined overall, they persist and tend to be greater the younger the individuals concerned, particularly for those with low levels of educational attainment. It was these, effectively, who emerged as the most vulnerable to the recession which affected Portugal in recent years.

It is not possible to do a longitudinal analysis for the different age groups using INE [Statistics Portugal] data for those with higher educational attainment levels (5-8). Even so, it should be noted that in 2013, while the disparity between men and women in the youngest (15-24) and older age groups (45 and older) favoured women, among those aged 25 to 44 with higher levels of educational attainment that disparity was more marked and favoured men i. e. the unemployment rate was lower for men than for women in that group.

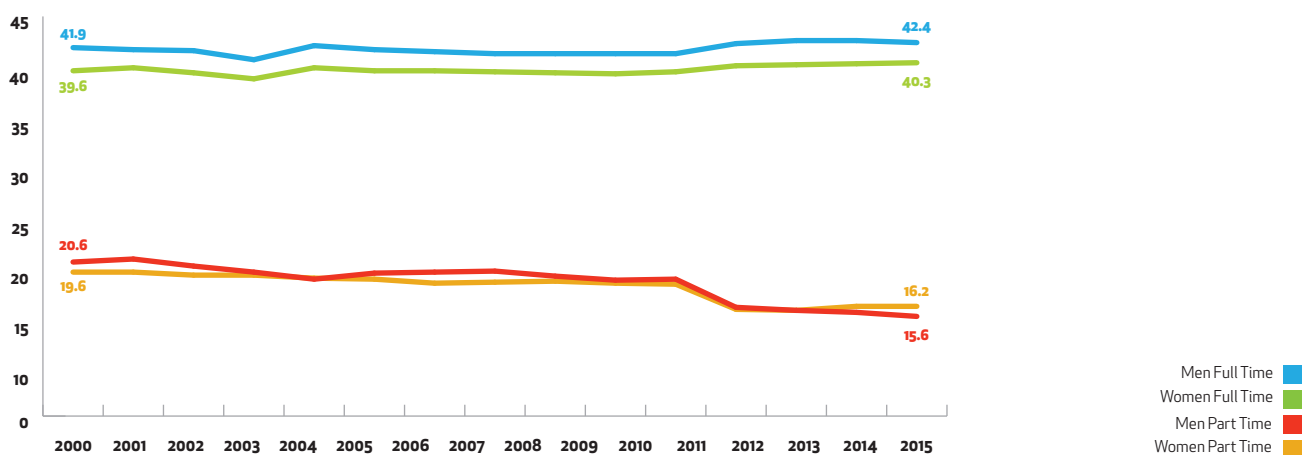
### 2.3.3 Working times and hours

A marked feature of the way the Portuguese labour market is organized is the predominance of full-time work, for both men and women. Unlike other European countries, where part-time work by women is significant, particularly when they have small children, in Portugal part-time working has been the exception rather than the rule. In 2000, 16.5% of women and 6.5% of men worked part time, and in 2014, 14.8% of women and 11.5% of men<sup>5</sup>. In the period under study, the most significant development took place among male workers, where the numbers in part-time work practically doubled, thereby reducing significantly the disparity between men and women (from 10.0 p.p. in 2000 to 3.3 p.p. in 2014). Alongside the increase in unemployment, this trend is undoubtedly another consequence of the crisis which reduced employment opportunities for the Portuguese population, particularly for men. In effect, the trend accelerated from 2009 onwards, reaching its peak in 2013, when 12.3% of men were working part time. In fact, this type of work reflects the constraints arising from lack of full-time work opportunities, in the context of the financial crisis and the consequent deterioration of the labour market (Ramos, 2015).

In connection with the number of weekly hours spent in paid work, in 2015 Portuguese men working full time worked on average 2.1 hours more per week than women in full-time work, and those working part time worked 0.6 hours per week less than women in the same situation. The disparity in the number of full-time hours has remained constant over the last 15 years, with men devoting on average some 2 hours more to it than women (see Box: Weekly Hours of Paid Work for Men and Women: Portugal in the European Context).

As far as part-time working is concerned, the disparity in men's and women's weekly hours is even lower. It should be noted, however, that the average number of hours of work has fallen, for both sexes, since 2000 (by 5 hours per week for men and 3.4 hours for women); and that, from 2013 on, men were working slightly fewer hours than women in part-time work (figure 2.9).

**Figure 2.9 – Average effective weekly hours in main job, by sex and full/part time – Portugal, 2000-2015**



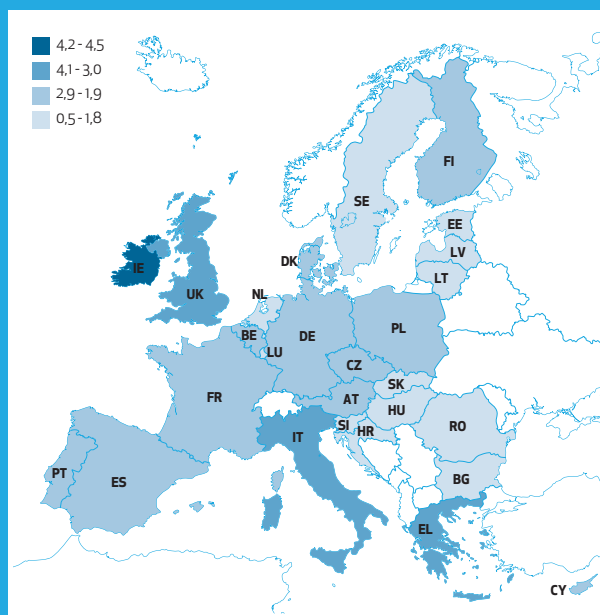
Source: Eurostat (online data code: ewhais).

<sup>5</sup> INE, I.P. - Labour Force Survey.

### BOX EUROPE: WEEKLY HOURS OF PAID WORK OF MEN AND WOMEN

Despite there being no signs of convergence in the time men and women spend in paid work, "Portugal, in the context of the European Union, has a relatively low disparity between men and women as far as the average weekly hours in full-time paid work is concerned. It is identical to that of Spain, France and Finland, as well as to most of the countries of central Europe such as Germany, Belgium, Austria, Poland and the Czech Republic. The countries in which this indicator shows the greatest disparities in favour of men are the United Kingdom, Italy and Greece (between 3.0 and 4.2 hours), as well as Ireland, where men work on average about a half-day more per week than women (4.4 hours). By contrast, the countries with the lowest disparities in this indicator (between 0.5 and 1.7 hours) are those of Eastern Europe (e.g. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary), as well as Holland and Sweden." (Wall et al., 2015: 40) (figure C2.1).

Figure C2.1 – Disparity between men and women in number of weekly hours in full-time paid work\* (hours) – UE28, 2014

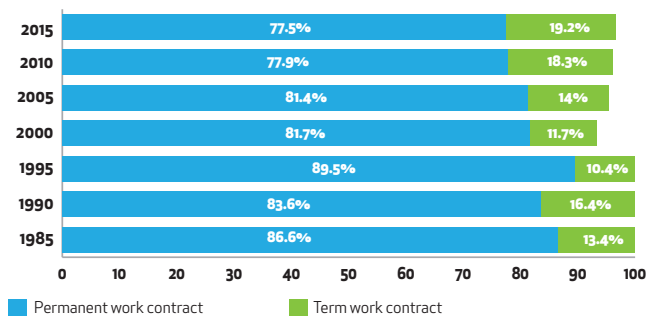


Source: EU-LFS, Eurostat.  
\* Calculation based on the difference between the average number of hours of men and women (Wall et al., 2015).

### 2.3.4 Men in temporary and precarious work

For men in paid jobs, there has been an increase in the last 30 years in the number of workers with temporary or term work contracts (figure 2.10), with a tendency to increase from the mid-1990s onwards. In 1998, when the INE *Labour Force Survey* began to include salaried workers without permanent or temporary work contracts, it became possible to identify the increasing numbers of people employed in vulnerable or insecure jobs. Thus while in the mid-1990s some 90% of men had permanent work contracts, at the end of that decade and at the beginning of the 2000s that figure was already closer to 80%. The situation worsened with the financial crisis, and that indicator reached 78%. At the same time, there has been an increase in temporary work contracts, and other insecure employment situations. The highest percentage ever, over 19%, was reached in 2015, representing more than 347,000 men in that situation.

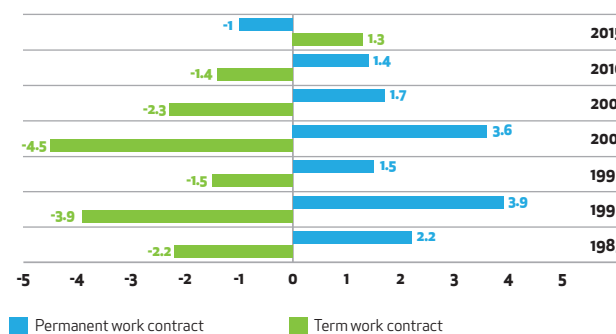
Figure 2.10 - Men employed in salaried jobs, by type of contract \* (%) – Portugal, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015



Source: INE, I.P. - *Labour Force Survey*; Pordata, last updated 10 February 2015.  
\*From the 1998 Series onwards other situations which go beyond the distinction between permanent and temporary contracts also began to be included in this data (e.g. "green receipts" (self-employed professionals)).

Trends in the numbers of women in salaried jobs on a permanent or temporary basis do not differ much from those of men (figure 2.11). However, the number of women with permanent work contracts has consistently been lower than that of men, while the number with temporary work contracts has been higher. However, the disparity between men and women in these two types of contract has been falling, and was very low in 2015. It should be emphasised that more men than women in 2015 had term/fixed term contracts, by a factor of 1.3 p.p. (a situation which dates back to 2012).

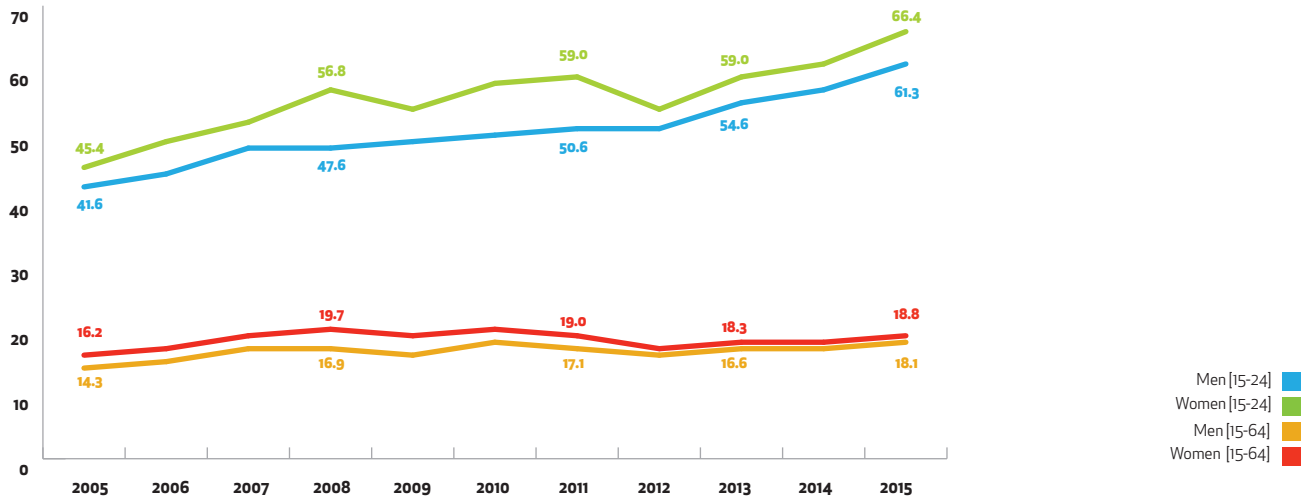
Figure 2.11 - Disparity between men and women employed and working for others, by type of contract (percentage points) – Portugal, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015



Source: INE, I.P. - *Labour Force Survey*; Pordata, last updated 11 February 2016.  
Positive values indicate higher values for men than women in this type of contract. Negative values indicate lower values for men than for women.

If we take into account only temporary (term/fixed term) contracts, levels of job insecurity for women between 2000 and 2015 were always higher than those for men, but with very large differences between the working age population (15 to 64 years), in which there have been some fluctuations, and the youngest individuals, aged between 15 and 24 (figure 2.12), for whom job insecurity has increased dramatically. In 2015, over 60% of young people employed, of both sexes, had temporary work contracts.

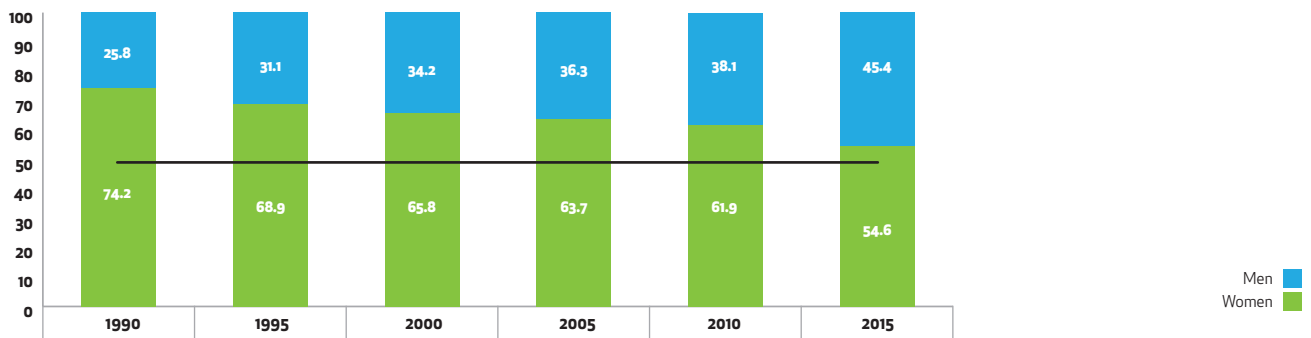
**Figure 2.12 – Trends in temporary contracts (term/fixed term) for working population aged 15 to 64 and 15 to 24, by sex (%) – Portugal, 2000-2015**



Source: Eurostat (online data code: ewhais).

The number of employed persons who have a second paying job is another indicator of job insecurity. Traditionally it was men who had a second job, mainly to supplement the income from their main job, but over the last 25 years the prevalence of men with a second job has tended to decline. While in 1990 men accounted for 74% of employed persons with a second paying job, by 2015 that figure was down to 55%, narrowing the gap which separated them from women (figure 2.13). This change in the ratio of men and women with a second paying job can be explained, above all, by the sharper decrease in the number of men in that situation (rate of variation 2005/2015: -48% for men, -24% for women).

**Figure 2.13 – Employed population with a second paying job, by sex (%) – Portugal, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015**

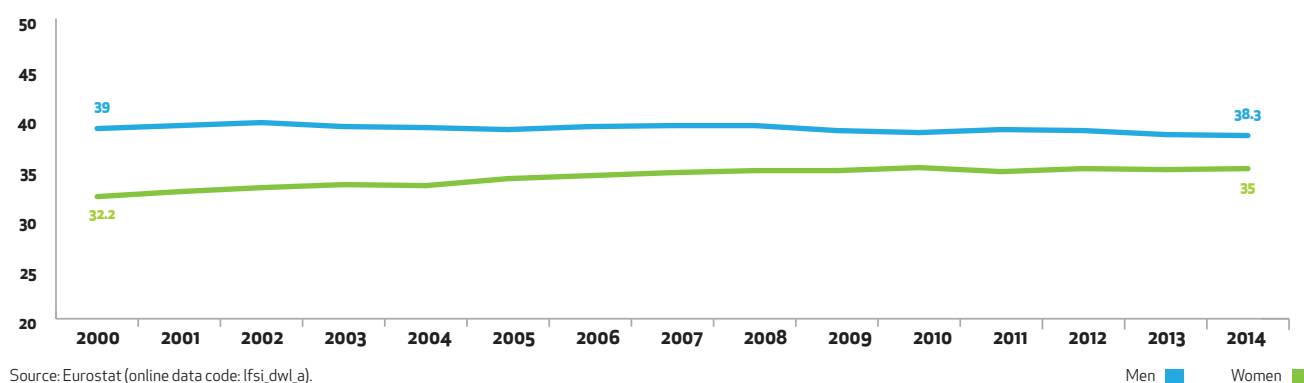


Source: Eurostat (online data code: ifsa\_e2ged).

### 2.3.5 Duration of working life

The data show that Portuguese men devote more years of their lives to their jobs, on average, than women do. However, the difference between men and women has declined over the last decade, above all since the deepening of the financial crisis (figure 2.14). The disparity between men and women fell by half in the last 15 years (from 6.8 p.p. in 2000 to 3.3 p.p. in 2014), due to a gradual increase in the number of years women work (2.8 years in the same period), and also to a slight fall, since 2008, in the number of years men work (39.3 years in 2008, and 38.3 in 2014).

**Figure 2.14 – Duration of working life (in years), by sex – Portugal, 2000-2014**

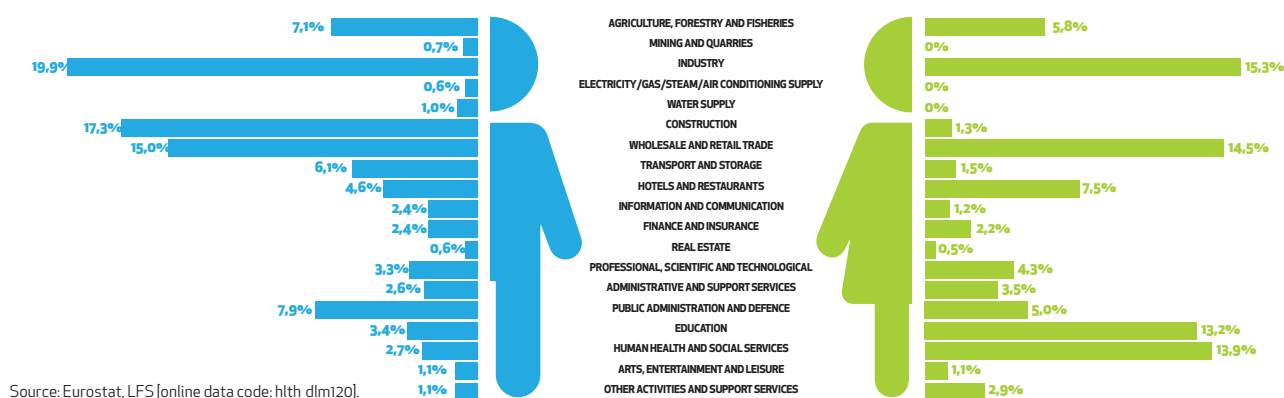


### 2.3.6 Horizontal segregation of the labour market

According to the Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) 2011, the industry, construction and retail trade sectors accounted for most of the employed men in Portugal, together with public administration, agriculture, fisheries and transport/storage (figure 2.15). Most women on the other hand worked in industry, the retail trade, health and social services and education, the remainder being employed in the hotel and restaurant trade. Thus, although both men and women work in the significant business sectors of industry and the retail trade, the data show that there continues to be occupational segmentation in Portugal, as is the case, moreover, in the rest of Europe. In fact the difference in the numbers of men and women is visible in sectors like health and social services, education and construction. In 2011, 6% of active male workers, as against 27% of active female workers were working in health and social services and education. Likewise, only 1.3% of women worked in construction, as against 17.3% of men.

This horizontal occupational segregation suggests that a gender-based definition of work persists, attributing to (less skilled) men those types of work which demand physical strength, technological mastery and leadership functions (for those best qualified), and to women the types of work related to caregiving, reflecting the essentialist stereotype of the role of the woman as a “natural” carer.

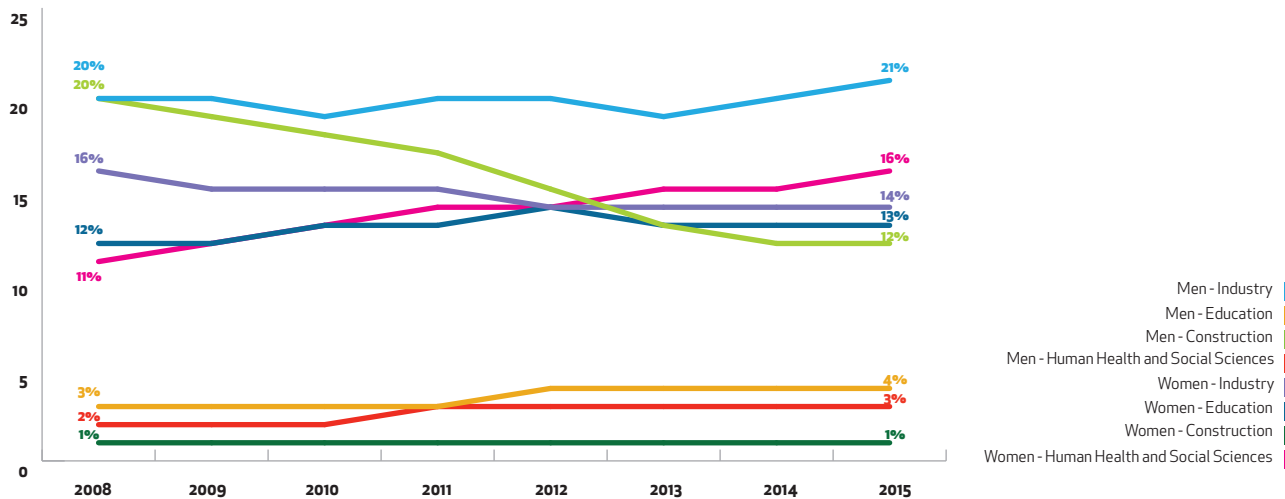
**Figure 2.15 – Employed population, by sector and by sex (%) – Portugal, 2011**



An analysis of this indicator over time in traditionally more segregated sectors shows that between 2008 and 2015, Portuguese men failed to gain ground in traditionally female occupations (education, human health and social services) the change being minimal, from 1 to 2 p.p. (figure 2.16). In effect, in 2015, in all levels of education up to but excluding higher education women accounted for over 70% of teaching staff, and even reached 86.2% in the first cycle of basic schooling and 99.1% in pre-school teaching<sup>6</sup>, confirming the clear predominance of women in these sectors.

<sup>6</sup>Data from Pordata: DGEEC/Med-MCTES [Last updated 2016-09-05].

**Figure 2.16 - Population employed in Industry, Construction, Education and Human Health and Social Services, by sex (%) – Portugal, 2008-2015**



Source: Eurostat, LFS (online data code:lfesa\_egan2).

Women's incursions into some traditionally male occupations have been more noteworthy, as Eurostat data following the ISCO-08<sup>7</sup> classification shows. Between 2000 and 2015, the percentage of women in management and planning positions increased by 6 p.p., while in technical work (plant and machine operators and assembly workers) the increase was 11 p.p.<sup>8</sup> The reduction in the disparity between men and women in terms of higher education qualifications also contributed to reinforcing the female presence in some highly qualified professions, even if the increase is more significant in the field of care (education and human health and social services sectors). Even within those sectors, differentiation between areas of specialisation is organized along segregated lines: for example, in 2014, women accounted for 53.6%<sup>9</sup> of all doctors in Portugal, but according to 2009 data from the Ordem do Médicos [National Order of Physician Doctors], only 21% of general surgeons and 8% of cardio-thoracic surgeons were female with some specialist fields having no women at all (e. g. male sexuality). Women doctors did predominate, however, in child and adolescent psychology (74%), anaesthesiology (66%), paediatrics (63%) and gynaecology (58%) – in other words, in specialist fields connected to care of women and children (Santos and Amâncio, 2016).

This horizontal segregation has significant implications for men and women in the labour market, whether because it perpetuates salary inequality (because the roles in which women are over-represented are less valued, because they are seen as being less demanding in terms of qualifications they require and responsibility), or because it means that women have worse working conditions than men, or because it increases the risks to men's health in work (see Chapter 4). In addition to these factors there is discrimination in the skills to which men and women are subject when they choose atypical careers, i.e. those where the opposite sex is over-represented (Amâncio, 1995, 1997; Casaca, 2010; Cerdeira, 2009; Ferreira, 2010; Kergoat, 2000; Hirata and Kergoat, 2005; Teiger and Vouillot, 2013).

Nevertheless, the fact that research on horizontal segregation has basically focused on women and their efforts to break through existing gender patterns, norms and barriers makes it more difficult for men to gain ground in "traditionally female" work, given that that male aim has generally been absent from the public agenda (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012).

### 2.3.7 Vertical segregation of the labour market

Although women are in general terms better qualified than men (see Chapter 3) and mostly work full time, there is still evident vertical segregation in the Portuguese labour market. That segregation can be observed in the relative differences in male and female salaries and in the unequal numbers of men and women in decision-making positions.

In 2013, monthly earnings (see Box: Metainformation) of men in salaried jobs represented 26 p.p. more than those of women (figure 2.17). However, the trend in average monthly earnings over recent decades shows a reduction in the disparity between men and women: in 1985, men had average monthly earnings 37.2 p.p. higher than those of women, a disparity which was still at 38 p.p. in 1995, but which has declined since 2000, reaching 27 p.p. in 2010.

<sup>7</sup>Source: <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/isco88/major.htm>.

<sup>8</sup>Source: Eurostat (online data code: lfse\_eegais).

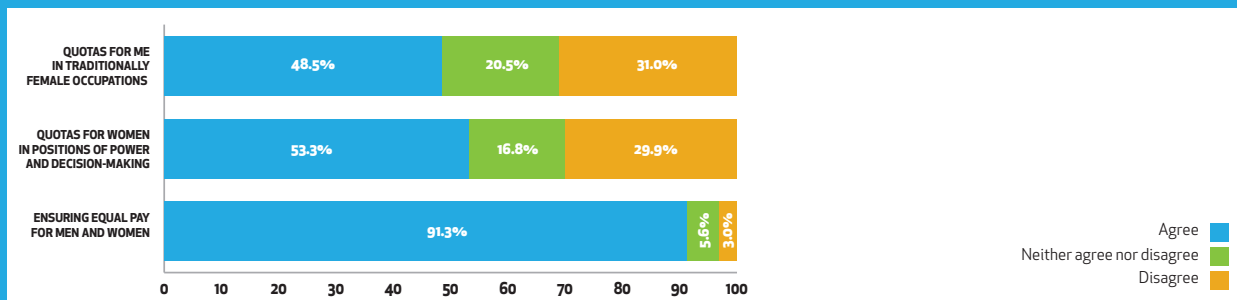
<sup>9</sup>Sources: INE, I.P. – *Health Personnel Statistic*; PORDATA (last updated 2016-07-08).

### BOX: ATTITUDES OF THE PORTUGUESE TO LEGISLATIVE MEASURES INCENTIVISING EQUALITY BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN IN THE LABOUR MARKET

The International Social Survey Programme (ISSP 2012, applied in Portugal in 2014) provided insight into the attitudes of men and women resident in Portugal to a set of questions related to the division of labour and gender roles, as well as to measures incentivising equality between men and women in the labour market. In particular, participants aged 18 and over were consulted about some legislative measures and changes discussed and/or approved in Portugal in recent years.

The introduction of measures to promote equal pay for men and women received the highest consensus, being strongly supported by men and women of all ages (91.3%) (Figure C2.2). The introduction of quotas for women in positions of power and decision-making was positively welcomed by over half of those interviewed (53.3%), regardless of age. Men were slightly less positive towards this measure than women. However, it was mainly women who agreed most with the possible introduction of quotas for men in occupations where men are under-represented – for example, kindergarten teachers, basic school teachers, health professionals. In this connection there is a marked difference between the various age groups, with the younger interviewees being more favourable to the introduction of quotas for men (figure C2.3).

**Figure C2.2 – Attitudes of the Portuguese to legislative measures incentivising equality between men and women in the labour market (%) – Portugal, 2014**



Source: ISSP 2012 – Family and Changing Gender Roles survey (Ramos, Atalaia and Cunha, 2016).

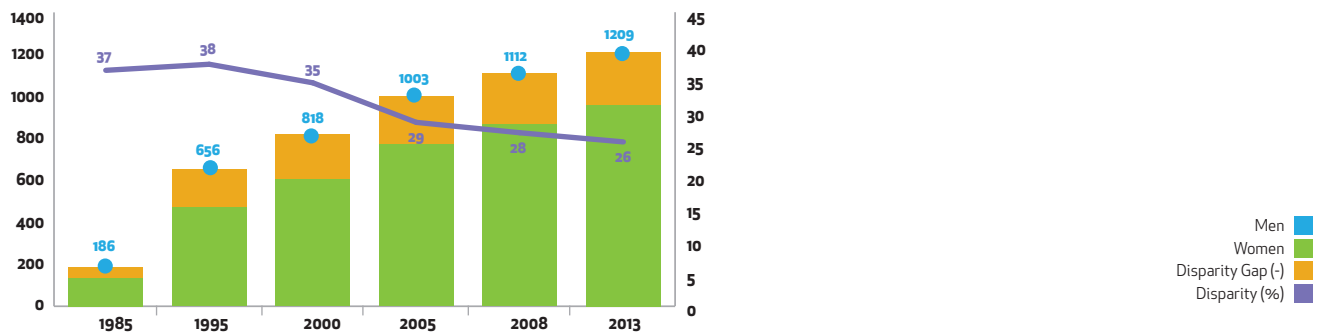
**Figure C2.3 – Attitudes of the Portuguese to legislative measures incentivising equality between men and women in the labour market, by sex and age group (%) – Portugal, 2014**



Source: ISSP 2012 – Family and Changing Gender Roles survey (Ramos, Atalaia and Cunha, 2016).



**Figure 2.17 - Average monthly earnings\*, by sex and disparity between men and women (euros) – Portugal, 1985-2013**



Source: GEP/MSESS (up to 2009) | GEE/ME (from 2010 on) – *Quadros de Pessoal [Staff establishment plan]*, consulted on Pordata on 3 February 2015, last updated on June 26th 2015.  
 \*Of full-time salaried workers, earning full pay in the period in question (includes basic pay and supplementary income).

**BOX: META- INFORMATION**

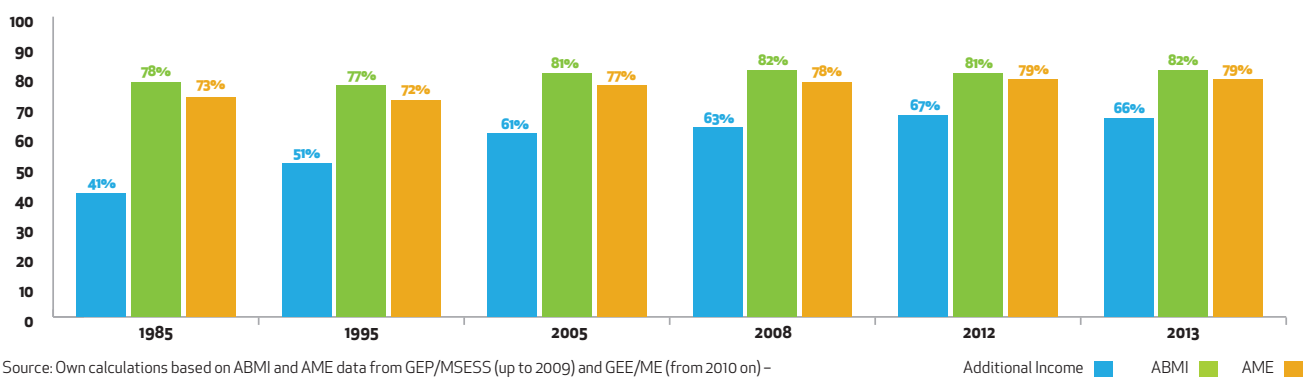
Average Basic Monthly Income (ABMI): net amount (before any deductions) paid to the employee in cash and/or kind on a regular and guaranteed basis in the period in question, for normal hours of work (meta-information – GEE/ME).

Average Monthly Earnings (AME): Net amount (before any deductions) paid to the employee in cash and/or kind on a regular and guaranteed basis for hours of work performed, and hours paid for but not effectively performed. In addition to basic pay, includes additional income – i. e., regular payments of bonuses and benefits (seniority, special job allowances, lunches, accommodation, transport, length of service, productivity, performance, shift work, flexible hours, arduous, dangerous or dirty work, etc.), as well as payment for extra hours or overtime (meta-information – GEE/ME).

An analysis of the breakdown of average monthly earnings (AME) into average basic monthly income (ABMI) and additional income gives a better understanding of how the disparity between men and women over the last three decades has evolved, and helps to identify the indicators in which that disparity is greatest. Figure 2.18 shows the positive trend in women’s incomes in relation to men’s, thus representing a decline in income disparity even though it continues to exist, in favour of men. The most noteworthy trend is in supplementary income, precisely the indicator for which the disparity between men and women has been the greatest: even

though that disparity fell by over 20 p.p. between 1985 and 2013, in 2013 women still received 66% less than men in bonuses, benefits and overtime. For basic monthly average income, despite the disparity between men and women being less marked, the change over recent decades has been slight (4 p.p. between 1985 and 2013), so women in 2013 continued to earn 82% of men’s ABMI. The indicator which totals these two (AME) behaved similarly to ABMI. In 2013, ABMI and AME for men were, respectively, 18 p.p. and 21 p.p. higher than women’s ABMI and AME.

**Figure 2.18 - Women’s pay as a percentage of men’s pay, breakdown by type of income \* (%) – Portugal, 1985, 1995, 2005, 2008, 2012, 2013**



Source: Own calculations based on ABMI and AME data from GEP/MSESS (up to 2009) and GEE/ME (from 2010 on) – *Quadros de Pessoal [Staff establishment plan]*, consulted on Pordata on February 3rd 2015, last updated on May 5th 2014.  
 \*Of full-time salaried workers, earning full pay in the period in question (includes basic pay and supplementary income).

Analysis by age group shows that men’s income tends to increase with age (figure 2.19). In 2012, the average pay for younger and older men was around 643 euros and 1387 euros, respectively. This trend was, however, not so clear between 1988 and 2003, when men aged between 35 and 64 had the highest incomes. The positive association between income and greater age also applies to women since 1993.

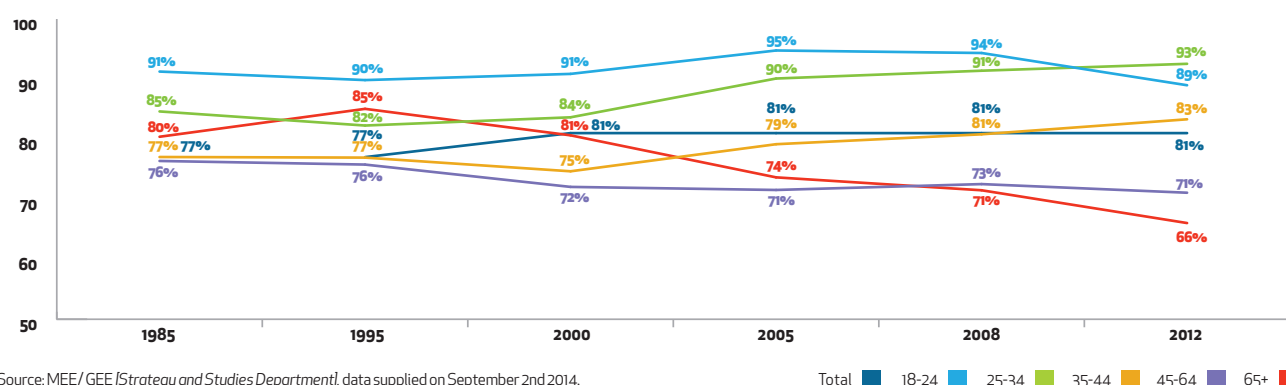
**Figure 2.19 – Average monthly earnings, by sex and age group (euros) – Portugal, 1988, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2008, 2012**

	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008	2012
<b>Total</b>	225,24	444,61	567,34	714,29	846,13	915,01
<b>M</b>	243,89	488,94	627,94	779,65	920,05	999,85
<b>W</b>	189,28	372,25	480,24	622,14	749,73	814,54
<b>18-24 years</b>	161,34	317,68	388,81	466,56	551,69	611,69
<b>M</b>	166,96	334,10	409,22	481,37	565,56	642,96
<b>W</b>	153,96	299,00	364,97	447,64	533,54	572,05
<b>25-34 years</b>	219,08	437,56	543,22	679,88	778,55	793,96
<b>M</b>	233,51	474,08	589,65	717,14	810,84	823,35
<b>W</b>	196,17	385,67	486,22	633,12	741,01	761,92
<b>35-44 years</b>	266,13	505,41	622,67	763,15	904,83	973,37
<b>M</b>	285,36	552,46	696,82	841,30	989,04	1.055,81
<b>W</b>	224,00	425,09	519,53	656,49	799,10	879,45
<b>45-64 years</b>	267,35	519,40	657,18	823,11	949,90	1.030,71
<b>M</b>	281,16	549,79	711,68	912,03	1.058,54	1.172,29
<b>W</b>	212,51	418,47	523,69	645,29	767,59	833,10
<b>65 + years</b>	248,83	485,91	649,94	831,61	1.042,98	1.228,02
<b>M</b>	258,48	501,67	682,75	884,27	1.137,98	1.387,14
<b>W</b>	206,82	427,02	542,67	690,45	813,39	915,76

Source: MEE/GEE [Strategy and Studies Department], data supplied on September 2nd 2014.

Until recently, it was young women, in the 18 to 24 age group, who had income closest to that of men. In other words, it is in this age range that there is a systematically lower disparity in the monthly incomes of men and women (figure 2.20). In 2012, however, the lowest disparity was found in the 25 to 34 age group, with women earning 92.5% of men’s income. The exception to this pattern of positive association between the disparity and age is found in the age group of those aged 65 and over. Moreover, the disparity has increased, and since 2008 this age group has had the greatest disparity between men and women. In 2012, women earned only 66% of the income earned by men.

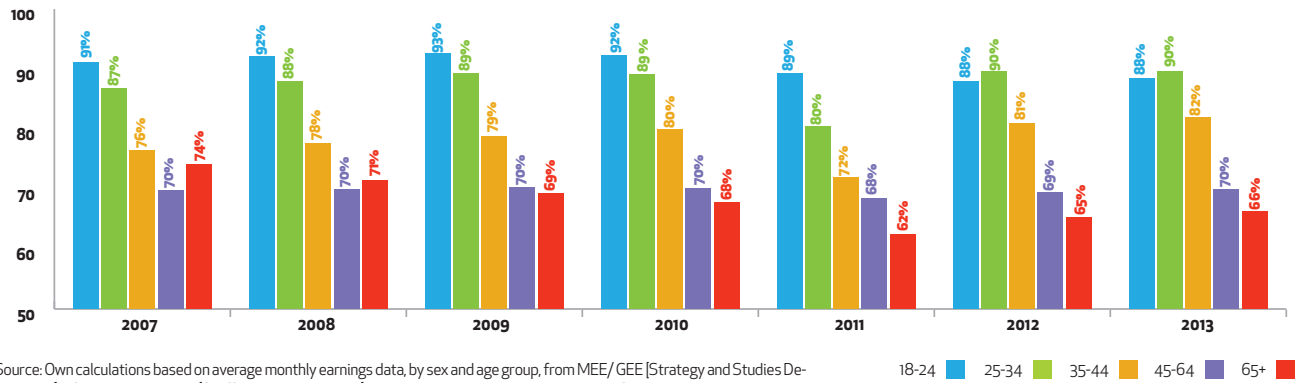
**Figure 2.20 – Average basic monthly income (ABMI) of women as percentage of men’s ABMI, by age group (%) – Portugal, 1985, 1995, 2005, 2008, 2012**



Source: MEE/ GEE [Strategy and Studies Department], data supplied on September 2nd 2014.

Likewise, the disparity between men and women in monthly income from paid work tends generally to increase with age. In 2013, in the 65 and over age group, women earned on average, a gross income representing just 66% of the amount earned by men, while for younger women, that percentage was between 88% and 90%. From 2012 onwards there was a reversal of the trend among younger women, with the closest approximation of women’s to men’s incomes (90%) occurring in the 25 to 34 age group (figure 2.21).

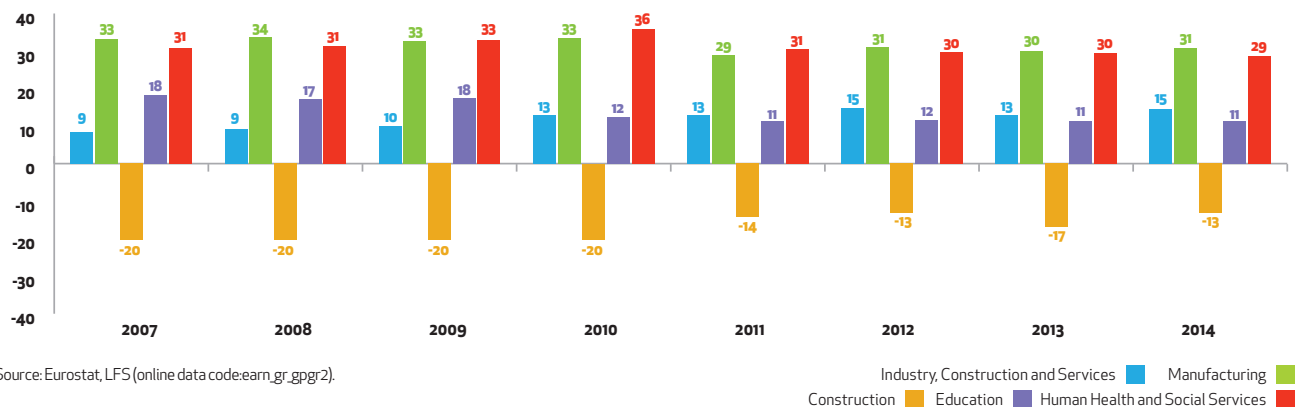
**Figure 2.21 - Average monthly earnings (AME) of women as a percentage of men's AME, by age group (%) - Portugal, 2007-2013**



Source: Own calculations based on average monthly earnings data, by sex and age group, from MEE/GEE [Strategy and Studies Department] - *Quadros de Pessoal* [Staff Establishment Plan]. For 2010 and subsequent years the total for Portugal does not include the autonomous regions of Madeira and the Azores, but only mainland Portugal. Data consulted at INE [Statistics Portugal] on February 3rd 2015, last updated on December 15th 2014.

A specific analysis of those sectors in which the discrepancy between men and women is sharpest reveals, curiously, that despite men being under-represented in the health and education sectors, they continue to be better paid in those sectors than women, largely on account of their differential rate of progression in these careers (Rosa, 2008, 2013): 11.2% more in the education sector, and 28.6% no more in the health sector. In the construction sector, women earn on average 13 p.p. more than men, because they are in more highly qualified technical roles (figure 2.22).

**Figure 2.22 - Salary differences between men and women (unadjusted values), by sectors and male and female segregation (percentage of average salary) - Portugal, 2007-2014**

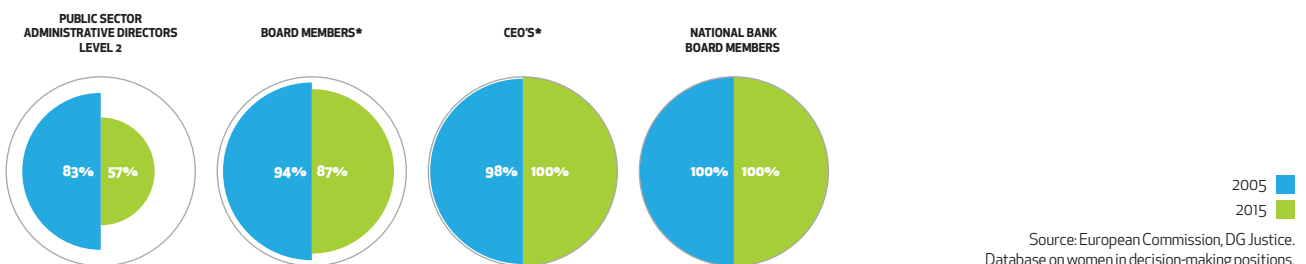


Source: Eurostat, LFS (online data code:earn\_gr\_gpgr2).

**Decision-making positions and positions of power**

In 2015, in both public and private sectors, there was still a large numerical discrepancy between men and women in positions of power, responsibility and management (see Box: Portugal in the Gender Gap Index 2015). Eurostat data confirm that the number of women in positions of responsibility in large firms have not grown, nor on the boards of central banks (Banco de Portugal). Nevertheless, there has been a change of 7 p.p. in female participation as board members in private companies, and of 26 p.p. in middle management positions (level 2) in the public sector. It is effectively the public sector which has most moved towards parity in terms of decision-making positions: in 2015, women occupied 43% of middle management positions (figure 2.23).

**Figure 2.23 - Men in decision-making positions (%) - Portugal, 2005, 2015**



\*Quoted companies.

Source: European Commission, DG Justice. Database on women in decision-making positions.

### BOX: PORTUGAL IN THE GENDER GAP INDEX 2015

According to the World Economic Forum 2015 Global Gender GAP Report, Portuguese women's ability to attain leadership positions in 2015 was 4.1 on a scale of 1 to 7. This indicator, together with employment, unemployment and salary disparity indicators, placed Portugal in 46th place in the table of 140 countries analysed, in terms of equality of opportunity and participation in economic life, far below countries like Norway, which tops the rankings in this sub-index, Iceland or Finland (which are in 4th and 8th place in these rankings, respectively). Even so, Portugal was above countries with similar economies and greater cultural proximity, like Spain, Greece and Italy.

Gender Gap Index 2015 Sub-index Employment, unemployment and salary disparities	
Norway	1º
Iceland	
Finland	8º
Portugal	46º
Spain	67º
Greece	87º
Italy	111º

Source: Own calculations based on data from the World Economic Forum, 2015.

### BOX: VIEWS OF EXPERTS, STAKEHOLDERS AND POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS ON MEN AND THE LABOUR MARKET

#### Gendered organizational culture with little flexibility in terms of reconciling work and family life

Among the main organizational constraints on work-family reconciliation the following factors stand out: (1) There is a "hard" approach to human resource management, in that there is a "context of flexible rationalization" which encourages job insecurity and precariousness, rigid (non-negotiable) or variable and irregular working hours, unilaterally decided by companies; (2) Work practices are oriented towards maximization of productivity and performance, and meeting predefined objectives in these areas involves high levels of pressure and overwork; (3) (Formal and informal) work routines value maximum commitment to the organization (culture of long working hours); (4) A traditional company/organizational culture prevails, in which dominant values and attitudes tend to sustain practices in the fields of recruitment, work organization, performance assessment and rewards which favour the traditional worker profile and a pattern of behaviour based on rigid separation of the occupational and family/personal spheres; (5) predominant stereotypes in top and middle management which reproduce work segregation and discrimination practices (stereotypes which see people with family responsibilities as being less involved and committed workers, and gender stereotypes, which assume women are less committed professionally); (6) Lack of awareness of public policies on paternity, maternity, parenthood and work-family reconciliation; social dialogue and participatory mechanisms pushed to the margins (or non-existent by tradition or institution); (7) Individual commitment seen as being synonymous with total availability, a representation of the "ideal" worker as not having family responsibilities. **Sara Falcão Casaca, expert researcher in gender equality (Final Conference)**

Reconciliation and the world of work have to be [...] seen from a perspective in which they cannot be disconnected, some things can't be disconnected from others.  
**Helena Carrilho, CGTP-IN - General Confederation of Portuguese Workers (Focus Stakeholders)**

#### Unequal pay, unequal time

[...] when you see how occupations have become feminized, you also see the result in terms of pay and salaries. The more feminized occupations are those which have the lowest pay and salaries.

**Ana Sofia Fernandes, PpDM - Portuguese Platform for the Rights of Women (Focus Stakeholders)**

On the effective number of days off work [data for 2009], the difference is 5 million days per year! 5 million days place women in the labour market in an unequal position! Now what I see as crucial, even if it can be achieved only gradually, is to assume the principle of equality of time off work, something which is already in the Resolution of 2000 [on the balanced participation of women and men in work and family activities (2000/C 218/02)]. Because that is the system of communicating vessels, the assumption that there is a target.

**Maria do Céu Cunha Rêgo, expert consultant in gender equality (Focus Experts)**

It is women who have the highest figures for days off to look after family. They are the carers. It is they who don't make it to certain key positions, when they have children.

**Maria Josefina Leitão, expert consultant in gender equality (Focus Experts)**

[Men] would have to stay home with the children [...] because that is the only way we could deal with the rest, with matters of unequal pay.

**Catarina Marcelino, Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality (Focus Experts)**

#### Horizontal segregation, gender stereotypes and employment policy measures

There are other aspects which are difficult to deal with in companies, and this [segregation] is in fact one of them [...]. Sometimes our micro and SME companies (which are the majority, aren't they?) don't want to listen on these matters because they are still too much concerned with other things, like surviving, or how they are going to pay salaries.

**Ana Carmo, CCP - Portugal Retail Trade and Services Confederation (Focus Stakeholders)**

## BOX: VIEWS OF EXPERTS, STAKEHOLDERS AND POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS ON MEN AND THE LABOUR MARKET (CONTINUED)

The employer wants one or the other [man or woman], depending on the position involved. So this gender typification of occupations is still related to stereotypes, identities.

These rules for increasing, or compensating for, the numbers of women, to somehow create jobs for the less well represented gender, have been in existence for 30 years [...]. And it's very slow [...] That [...] was a voluntarist measure, but what were its results afterwards? Were there any studies on that [...]?

Many women will tend to be restricted in their choice, to do work which is socially male. The same will happen for men. So from the point of view of self-induced restrictions, there is gender equality here, because both genders are hostage to these social conventions.

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Interview)**

There is social pressure: it is no longer the pressure we apply to ourselves, but which others exert on us. And on that I think women suffer from that external restriction far more than men. Of course men suffer from it too. A man who wants to be a kindergarten teacher will be subjected to a kind of social disapproval. But the number of occupations in which there is that disapproval in relation to women seems to us to be greater than in relation to men. There's also an interpretation here, an interiorization of the idea that the woman's choice is more subjected to disapproval than the man's - if only because of the number of occupations in question.

**Maria do Céu Cunha Rêgo, expert consultant in gender equality (Focus Experts)**

### Vertical segregation

Women join those companies at the bottom, more or less on equal terms (we are dealing with multinationals). At the next level, things also [...] go well. When they reach the third level, which is the key to getting into decision-making positions, which involves [...] what they call 'critical experiences' - the career moments they go through which are later taken into account for the decision-making role (men and women between 30 and 40), women do not have those critical experiences, because they come at a stage when the pyramid begins... the women's side begins to narrow and the men's to widen. [...] When it comes to decision-making roles, companies may even want a woman, and there are companies today, especially north-American companies, asking for women, [...] but when they look for them, they want women with a set of career characteristics which doesn't exist, so there aren't any. And this is a problem and a difficulty. The Norwegians are coming up against this, even with the Law [of Parity in board membership of quoted companies]. Many of the positions are not being filled.

**Catarina Marcelino, Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality (Focus Experts)**

## 2.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations of this White Paper emerge from the analysis carried out and presented in this chapter on men and the labour market and the contributions to this project of gender equality experts, stakeholders representatives and political decision-makers (see Box: Views and Box: Recommendations):

**Incentivise change in organizational culture and management models**, by introducing communication programmes to deconstruct perceptions and stereotypes of roles associated with men and women for both employers and employees, as well as awareness programmes for a more equitable distribution of care tasks, given that these responsibilities often do not allow women to have career "critical experiences", on which access to management positions depends. To this end it is recommended that innovative projects should be devised in the private sector, and that new gender equality regulations should be implemented, introducing the notion of "workplaces friendly to caring parents" and finally the design of human resource management tools to assist professionals in this area. All these measures to promote a more gender equal workplace better oriented to the lives of workers as a whole should be encouraged in the public sector, to serve as examples for the private sector;

**Make universities aware of their responsibility for promoting gender equality as bodies training future managers**, by devising curricula which include the promotion of gender equality and reconciliation of work and family life;

**Incentivize employers to spread good practices in the balance between men and women in positions of responsibility**, supporting women's access to such roles by improving their individual skills, but also acting at the recruitment and career development stages to avoid any anti-female bias. The European Commission suggests that Portugal, like most European countries, could benefit from a combined system of quotas and awareness initiatives which would help to reduce vertical segregation at management level and for workers of both sexes, encouraging discussion on the advantages for men in benefiting from such quota systems (less pressure, greater diversity, better balance between work and family life, etc.). It is also important that social partners adopt and implement these measures, so as to ensure parity in terms of representation, since they too are key actors in the promotion of these good practices;

**Develop positive discrimination measures to encourage parity in sectors which are traditionally male or female**, adopting strategies co-ordinated with social partners, so as to avoid typification and uniformity of pay increases, since recurrent attribution of the same salary terms leads to the maintenance of pay differentials;

**Develop initiatives to encourage male participation in traditionally female sectors**. It is recommended that men should be recruited into occupations dominated by women, in co-operation with employers, completing projects which encourage men to choose certain occupations by means of special scholarships and internships, for example, or devising campaigns to improve the status of teachers and, in particular, health workers, by promoting the notion of "care" as a fundamental skill for organizations, without the necessarily feminine or masculine nature, or, in other words, as a key skill for the effective operation of businesses, which should therefore be part of quality systems (such as, for example, the ISO system);

**Ensure the exercise of men's fundamental right to reconciliation and involve the *Autoridade para as Condições no Trabalho [Authority for Working Conditions - ACT]* in pursuit of this objective.** Since there is already ample recognition of discrimination against women in the enjoyment of their right to reconciliation, it is also important to generate awareness of the situation of male caregivers, protecting them from workplace reprisals when they choose to take up compulsory or optional leaves, take time off to assist their families (children and other dependents), reduce the number of working hours or work part time. Some European countries, namely the Nordic countries, have already adopted pioneering labour market development models which incentivise men to work fewer hours, thus promoting reconciliation between work and family life;

**Provide support to businesses in connection with costs of employees' reconciling work and family life by introducing measures such as the setting up of a common compensation fund for businesses which have difficulty in covering these costs.** Portuguese businesses are essentially small and medium-sized, with some of them belonging to highly segmented sectors. Companies with a traditionally female labour force are currently those which are most penalized by the costs of reconciliation, not only on account of the loss of productivity arising from the worker's absence on parental leave, breastfeeding or family care, but also because the costs of these last two situations are borne by the employer. The redistribution of these costs involves not only incentives for mother and father to share family responsibilities, but also the setting up of a common fund;

**Involve men, in particular employers and political decision-makers, as active participants and agents of change,** because the promotion of gender equality would benefit from the example of male public figures, in politics and business, arguing publicly for the rights of men to be caregivers (of children, ill partners, dependent parents) and to organize their working hours taking into account their family responsibilities and reconciliation. These measures might have a strong impact on public opinion, as well as on the attitudes of other employers and employees;

**Combat the effects of the crisis which affected less well qualified and younger men in particular,** committing to social projects directed at the more marginalized men in the labour market;

**Implement Europe-wide programmes to encourage interchange between companies in order to spread and extend good practices already successfully implemented.** In the final analysis it is important to develop international programmes, given that conservative attitudes among employers cut across all the countries of Europe;

**Promote the development of research and support materials based on the results of this research, in particular action guides and textbooks which promote awareness of parity and respect for the worker.** These measures could help companies become aware of the costs of gender inequality and of prevailing policies which favour the male, of the benefits of gender equality for workers of both sexes, and of the added value in terms of financial returns from their investment in gender equality policies.

## BOX: RECOMMENDATIONS OF EXPERTS, STAKEHOLDERS AND POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS ON MEN AND THE LABOUR MARKET

### Changes in organizational culture

*Businesses, in addition to directing their practices to maximum efficiency, productivity, quality and competitiveness, must adopt inclusive models of organization, compatible with private life, equal opportunities and equal treatment, the dignity of labour, and social dialogue [...]. An alternative, qualifying and inclusive model presupposes that work is organized in such a way as to favour inclusion and professional development of men and women, enabling them to realize their full potential. In addition, as this is a model which is inspired by quality of life, participation and democracy at work, it also embodies the principle of equitable participation of men and women in decision-making positions.*

*Revising the organizational culture [is] important, i. e. the values which sustain the interpretation of involvement and commitment in connection with organizational and business objectives and which underlie individual assessment, career progression and the remuneration associated with them. [...]*

*[It will be] necessary to attend to work organization models, including time management, the distribution of tasks and objectives, so as to safeguard the personal and family sphere.*

**Sara Falcão Casaca, expert researcher in gender equality (Final Conference)**

*[...] It's necessary to invest [...] in policies for labour legislation, and in terms of leave. And it's also necessary to work a lot with businesses, with employers.*

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Interview)**

*Allow me to recall that in 1999 already, a study undertaken by a team I and my colleague Margarida Chagas Lopes led on that new right for promoting gender equality, which at the time was paternal leave (5 days), showed that 26% of men interviewed believed that a future extension of the paternity leave period would create problems for their image and career progression, given the prevailing attitudes of those who employed them. So it is of the utmost importance, [...] that there be an ongoing work with employers to transform the workplace organization agenda.*

**Heloísa Perista, expert researcher in gender equality (Final Conference)**

### Combating horizontal segregation

*[...] what we see mostly in wholesale is men, and in retail [...] services it's mostly women. This has to do with that foundational issue and that stereotype, which is basic and an issue which does indeed have to be addressed. There are certain occupations (as was also mentioned, the question of children's education), in our sector there are of course certain tasks which are not allocated to women, but only to men. And vice-versa. That has to be combatted in terms of jobs and work, the professions, segregation... That also has to be worked on within companies.*

**Ana Carmo, CCP - Confederation of Commerce and Services of Portugal (Focus Stakeholders)**



## BOX: RECOMMENDATIONS OF EXPERTS, STAKEHOLDERS AND POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS ON MEN AND THE LABOUR MARKET (CONTINUED)

### The involvement of universities in changing organizational culture

It's important to make not only companies aware, but to train those with management responsibilities (in the context of the universities), so that they may devise and implement corporate policies and practices based on respect for the dignity of the workers, on recognition of the right to success in their careers and family lives and to the quality of life. It's necessary to work more closely with the universities, remind them of their responsibility for devising curricula, of the enormous responsibility they have to train those who manage companies and organizations, those who have management and board responsibilities; of their responsibility in the sphere of collective bargaining and social negotiation, in modernizing their content, in adapting it to the purposes of gender equality promotion, and for issues relating to the reconciling of work and family life.

**Sara Falcão Casaca, expert researcher in gender equality (Final Conference)**

### The role of unions in deconstructing gender stereotypes and combating employer offenses

[In the] unions we have a lot of work to do in the field of collective bargaining, because our negotiators are men. If there are only men, there's a problem right there, [...]. It was so interesting to have a training exercise with both men and women, because they have an approach which we don't have. And vice-versa.

**Lina Lopes, UGT - General Union of Workers (Focus Stakeholders)**

While not excluding the idea of rewarding companies for good practices, [...] that should not be the case if they are merely encouraged to comply with the law. In this connection, we believe it is essential to have effective monitoring by the Autoridade das Condições de Trabalho (ACT - Authority for Working Conditions). That monitoring should be not only educational, but punitive as well, for companies and departments which place difficulties or obstacles in the way of employees taking up leaves to which they are entitled, often by way of abusive recourse to temporary work contract terms.

We naturally believe that measures to encourage parity in union representation are a positive thing. But it is not on account of any lack of parity at that level that we should let up in the fight against unequal pay or discrimination between men and women. Nor does that measure justify not discussing gender equality in collective bargaining. In order to fight pay inequalities or discrimination between men and women, it is important basically to unblock collective bargaining, which is a constitutional right accorded to the unions. However, the 2003 Labour Code weakened organizational aspects of the right to collective bargaining, above all because it introduced expiry dates for collective work agreements and the possibility of agreeing arrangements which are less favourable than those provided for in the law. This situation has been aggravated by successive amendments to the law, particularly those of 2009 and 2014.

There has to be simultaneous intervention on both pay and promotion, which are set unilaterally without negotiation with the unions, and which encourage and make possible those indirect forms of discrimination which are behind many other types of discrimination.

On the other hand, the collective bargaining agenda is normally set by the government, and not by the unions.

The unions' concrete actions, proposals and claims in defence of equality between women and men, at all levels, including collective bargaining, are the true measure of the unions' commitment, even if parity is not yet a reality, due to multiple factors.

**CGTP-IN - General Confederation of Portuguese Workers (written communication, 21 October 2016, submitted in support of the attendance of Fátima Messias in the Final Conference)**

Statistical data point to the reality of the situation that the tables where collective bargaining takes place are today still mainly made up of men, and the same is true for union management and workers' committees. In this connection, I put forward the following recommendations: i) a tripartite agreement in the Comissão Permanente de Concertação Social [Permanent Committee on Collective Bargaining] on promotion of gender equality in work; ii) introduction of gender quotas at the negotiating table, so that men and women are equally represented there; iii) training for collective negotiators on matters of gender equality in the workplace to be made available by the Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security.

**Sandra Ribeiro, Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security (Final Conference)**

### Legislative advances

[Need to] change the Labour Code so as to include compulsory clauses governing gender equality promotion, combating workplace harassment and reconciliation of work and family life, in collective work regulation instruments (IRCTs), without which they cannot be accepted. To give companies which win the Equality and Quality Award - companies which are rewarded for their good practices in promoting gender equality - public recognition which in addition to the Award will give them priority in public tenders.

**Sandra Ribeiro, Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security (Final Conference)**

In connection with any other measures to support work-family reconciliation which involve absence from the workplace, I recommend that legislation should stipulate alternate take-up of leave of absence, for equal periods of time, for the father and the mother, starting always with the father, as positive action. Reason: it is women who most take advantage of these measures, as is shown by:

i) An indicator recently submitted by the President of CITE, the Committee for Equality in Work and Employment, Joana Gíria, at the launch of the book 'Os Usos do Tempo de Homens e Mulheres em Portugal' [The Uses of Time by Men and Women in Portugal], in the following terms: "During the year 2015, in CITE's total of technical opinions under article 57 of the Labour Code, 90% of all who applied for flexible hours were women and 67% of all who applied for part-time working were women."

ii) Other indicators, also supplied by CITE\*, enable us to conclude that from 2012 to 2014, only 15.6% of all who applied to CITE were men, through the free phone line or in person, in connection with work-family reconciliation matters; and in the total number of actual complaints to CITE in the same years, only 11.4% were submitted by men (own calculations).

**Maria do Céu Cunha Rêgo, expert consultant in gender equality (Final Conference)**

**BOX: RECOMMENDATIONS OF EXPERTS, STAKEHOLDERS AND POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS ON MEN AND THE LABOUR MARKET (CONTINUED)**

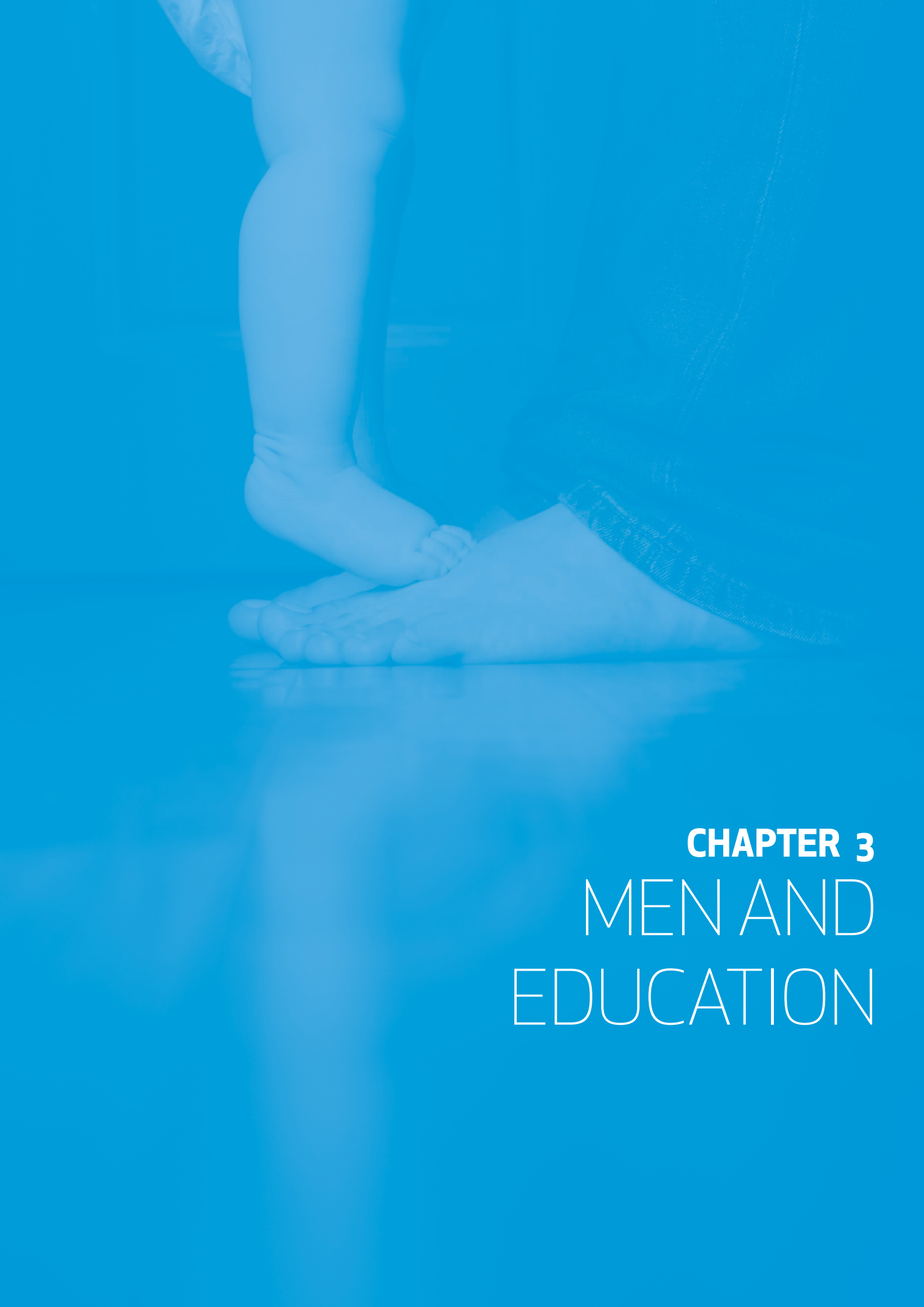
*[...] I think, in fact, that businesses, employers of female labour, really are penalized by maternity [...] there are other types of leave, to which fathers and mothers are entitled, which are not covered by Social Security, but are covered by the employer. Such as, for example, the 15 days' or 30 days' leave, to which people are entitled to help their families, the reduction in working time of two hours per day for feeding in the first year of life, or for the duration of breastfeeding. All this is paid for...[...] It is a cost for the employer [...] There are some practices in other countries which [...] are of interest, in that they spread these costs somewhat, in other words, employers set up a common fund [...] And so businesses which need that fund use it.*

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Interview)**

**Mechanisms which perpetuate discrimination against women in the labour market**

*We're living in a time, right now, in which basically people believe that all the conditions for equality have been fulfilled, and we're just waiting for women to make good choices. Why aren't there more women in politics? "Because women do not put themselves forward". There aren't more women in top management positions because: "women are not pursuing those jobs", "they don't want to exercise power", "they hold back", "they always think they're not capable", "they rule themselves out", basically... I think we have to let go of that discourse and place the emphasis precisely on mechanisms which prevent them from making the right choices, because those mechanisms continue in place and have even been reinforced, so they will last quite a bit longer.*

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Interview)**

A blue-tinted photograph showing the lower legs and feet of a child and an adult. The child's foot is resting on the adult's foot, which is placed on a highly reflective surface. The background is a solid blue color.

**CHAPTER 3**  
MEN AND  
EDUCATION

# CHAPTER 3

## MEN AND EDUCATION

### 3.1 Introduction

In recent decades, education policies in Portugal were designed to raise basic skills levels and levels of training and qualification of the Portuguese (Technical Advice 4/2011 of 7 January, *Conselho Nacional de Educação* – CNE [National Education Council]). Among the changes worth highlighting are the extension of compulsory schooling up to the age of 18, greater choice of educational and training courses, both vocational and professional (e.g., the *Iniciativa Novas Oportunidades* [New Opportunities Initiative]), the increase in the number of higher education courses in polytechnics, and the implementation of a number of programmes aimed at countering school dropout and failure<sup>1</sup> (e.g., *Programa Educação 2015* [Education 2015 Programme], *Projeto Metas de Aprendizagem* [Learning Targets Programme], *Programa Mais Sucesso Escolar* [Greater School Success Programme]).

More recently, direct indicators for school failure, dropout and qualifications were defined as specific targets, in the light of commitments taken on under the EU Strategic Framework for Cooperation in Education and Training (ET2020) and the *Projeto Metas Educativas 2021* [Education Targets Plan 2021]. The defined targets, which are part of ET2020, relate to: 1) improving reading, mathematics and science skills levels of young Portuguese – the percentage of pupils aged 15 with weak PISA outcomes in reading, mathematics and science should be below 15%; 2) reduction in early dropout – the percentage of pupils who drop out of school and training should be lower than 10%; and 3) increase the number of graduates from higher education – the percentage of the resident population aged 30 to 34 with higher education qualifications should be at least 40%.

Even so, and despite the positive effect of successive educational measures in achieving an overall increase in educational attainment levels, most of the Portuguese in 2015 had basic schooling, a little over one-third had completed compulsory schooling and less than one-fifth had completed higher education. In addition to the still long way to go in the schooling of the Portuguese as a whole, this is a process which has brought about changes in respect of gender equality and the education of men.

Based on data from Portuguese sources – INE, I.P., DGEEC, MCTES, DIMAS/RAIDES and PORDATA – and international sources – Eurostat, European Commission and OECD, the analysis contained in this chapter addresses developments and factors which affect male school trajectories, while at the same time paying attention to changes which have occurred in the disparity between men and women in this domain. Success and failure, retentions and performance are analysed first, together with trends in dropout rates and

qualifications. The second part of this chapter describes family and school characteristics and contexts in as much as they affect school trajectories.

As in OECD countries as a whole, Portugal has seen considerable changes, which have added complexity to the gender inequality situation in education: in rough terms, men and women have inverted their positions, with men now standing out for being at a disadvantage as far as retentions, performance and dropout rates are concerned, as well as on account of their “low” qualifications and early entry into the labour market. In addition, specialization in school subjects and vocational and professional choices of boys and girls persists, with the former favouring areas related to mathematics, the natural sciences, engineering and technologies. This analysis also shows how family and school generate inequalities between boys and girls and how they are a vehicle for reproducing the gender stereotypes which are deeply rooted in Portuguese society.

Thus, beyond the question of equitable access and resources (Lemos, 2013), Portugal now faces a new challenge: equitable outcomes. Equality in education is understood as a fundamental tool of social equality, and inequality in school outcomes has personal, social and economic costs. School failure and dropout increase the risk of unemployment, juvenile delinquency and criminality, with their corresponding impact on society (e.g., The Prince’s Trust, 2007). Portugal has already acknowledged the negative economic effects of failure in school: costs per pupil double with each year of retention (Barata *et al.*, 2012).

From what has been outlined above it follows that, both nationally and internationally, education is a key sector, particularly as far as promoting equality between men and women is concerned. In effect, the fact that in 2010 this sector was granted the highest amount of the considerable financial support provided by the OECD’s Development Assistance Committee (DAC/OECD) for promoting gender equality clearly demonstrates education’s fundamental importance for gender equality (OECD, 2012).

### 3.2 Highlights

**Men in Portugal have lower educational attainment levels than women.** In a population where most people have low attainment levels (basic schooling), most men have basic and secondary schooling, and there is a lower percentage of male graduates.

<sup>1</sup> See description in *Educação e Formação 2020 – Relatório Nacional de Progresso*, 2011, available at [http://www.dges.mctes.pt/NR/rdonlyres/AF1FD821-0DF0-4AE8-8F60-FA77A05BB726/7800/Relatorio\\_Nacional\\_Progresso2011.pdf](http://www.dges.mctes.pt/NR/rdonlyres/AF1FD821-0DF0-4AE8-8F60-FA77A05BB726/7800/Relatorio_Nacional_Progresso2011.pdf).

**Boys' failure rates in school increase as the educational level gets higher.** Boys have higher retention rates and are less likely to complete basic and secondary schooling. In 2014/2015, most (58.3%) of boys aged 18 had not completed secondary school.

**Early school leavers rates have declined over time, but are still significant, especially among boys.** In 2015, the percentage of boys (aged 18-24) who dropped out of school early, giving up studying before completing secondary education, was 16% (five percentage points more than girls). Even so, despite the extension of compulsory schooling, the percentage of young males who were not attending any school and were unemployed in 2015 (NEET) was around 5%.

**The influence of gender on student performance persists.** In Portugal, as in the rest of the OECD countries, school performance varies by sex in maths and reading tests: boys are better in the former and girls in the latter. But this disparity has tended to evolve to the disadvantage of boys, whose reading/Portuguese language test performance has deteriorated compared to girls, whose performance in maths test keeps improving. In addition, 15% of boys, as against 10% of girls, failed to reach the minimum skill level (up to level 2) in any of the main PISA tests. On the other hand, boys and girls are equally likely to succeed academically at the same time, in the different disciplines: disparities tend to cancel out when comparing high-performing boys and girls (level 5 or 6) in the PISA2012/OECD maths, reading and science tests.

**The influence of gender stereotypes in students' vocational/professional choices persists.** In secondary school, boys tend to prefer courses featuring rationality and objectivity, and are under-represented in languages, humanities and visual arts. In higher education, men tend to prefer Engineering, Manufacturing and Construction Industries, and Services (Personal, Transport, Security and Environmental Protection). They are less inclined to choose areas such as Education, Health and Social Welfare, and Social Science, Commerce and Law.

**Adult and occupational forms of education in basic and secondary school are mainly male choices.** Almost half of all secondary school students in 2014/2015 opted for these, the percentage of boys being 13.4 percentage points higher than girls. In adult education, men are in the majority in the third cycle of basic schooling and on equal terms in secondary education.

**Early entry into the labour market, and insecure labour, is often the result of early dropout and low qualifications.** Even though dropout rates and early entry into the labour market are declining as a result of the extension of compulsory schooling up to 18 and the increase in unemployment following the financial crisis of 2008, there is still a significant percentage of boys in that situation.

**The numbers of male students in higher education or graduates have been consistently lower than the corresponding numbers of females, in both polytechnic and university courses.** As far as higher education is concerned, the distribution of university students by sex is the reverse of what it was about 40 years ago. In 1978, men accounted for 58% of the student population in higher education, while in 2015 they were less than half (46%). But the disparity between men and women is aggravated when looking at finishing a given level of higher education. In effect, despite the remarkable growth in the numbers of those having a higher degree in the last decade (from 17.5% in 2005 to 31.9% in 2015), in 2015 only 23.3% of men (as against 40.1% of women) aged between 30 and 34 had higher education qualifications. Moreover, between 2000 and 2015, men consistently accounted for just over a third of new higher education degree-holders.

**Parents have stereotyped expectations of career choices of boys and girls.** In PISA2012, one in two parents of boys and only one in five parents of girls asserted they expected their children to work in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics.

**Boys' performance is more likely to be adversely affected by the socio-economic status of the family and the school than girls'.** In PISA 2012 tests, the difference in grades of boys from socio-economically higher and lower level families is always slightly higher than the corresponding difference among girls. The same is true when comparing children in schools where the majority come from socio-economically advantaged and disadvantaged environments. For example, in a reading test in which boys scored an average of 468 points and girls 508 points, the difference between the better-off and less well-off boys was 104 points and between the girls 95 points. For the same reading test, and looking at the socio-economic level of the school, the difference was 110 points for boys and 93 for girls.

**School is still a strongly feminized environment.** The teaching body and non-teaching staff at all educational levels in schools are still mostly female. In the same way, the skills, attributes and behaviours associated with 'good pupils' match the gender stereotypes attributed to women: dependency, imitation and conforming to expectations. The feminization of the school environment produces in boys a clash between previously acquired attributes and those demanded on entering school, requiring them to make a greater effort to adjust in order to succeed.

**School, in addition to reproducing stereotypes, also produces gender inequalities.** School textbooks use written and visual language which reinforces gender stereotypes by a process of masculinization of the generic. The recourse to a single teaching strategy and the image of the good pupil constrain children with different personalities, attributes, interests and motivations.



### 3.3 Developments and trends: what changes have there been in the situation of men and in the disparity between men and women?

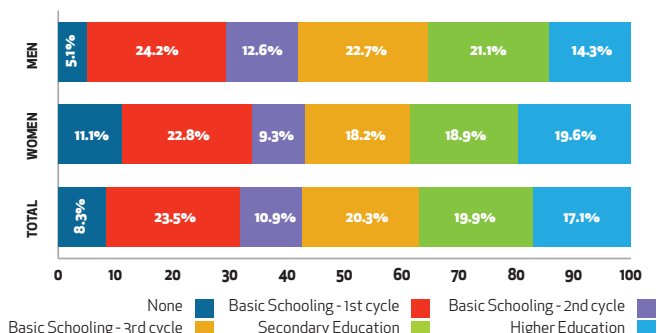
The current educational attainment scenario in Portugal is marked by low levels of education and significant differences in men’s and women’s educational attainments. Men mostly have basic and secondary schooling, while women are more prominent in at the top (higher education) and bottom levels of attainment (no schooling). One woman in five, but only one in seven men in Portugal has a higher degree.

In 2015, the main educational attainment level of the Portuguese resident population was basic schooling (54.7%), with the majority having completed only the first or second cycles of that level (34.4%) (figure 3.1). Even though 37% of the population have at least secondary education (and 17% have higher education), there is still a large percentage (8%) of the population with no schooling at all – that is to say, some 858,330 persons resident in Portugal.

Comparing men’s and women’s educational attainment levels, 65% of men, as compared to 61% of women, have the current level of basic schooling or lower; and only 14% of men as compared to 20% of women have higher degrees.

It is also important to note the fact that 11% of women, as compared to just 5% of men, have no education at all (figure 3.1). These are mainly people over 65, but more women than men (figure 3.2).

**Figure 3.1 – Resident population, total and by sex and educational attainment level (%) – Portugal, 2015**



Source: Pordata, INE, I.P. – Annual Estimates of the Resident Population, last updated 2016-06-06.

The scenario described above is the outcome of the major changes which have taken place in Portugal over the last 40 years in education policies, the school system, demography and families’ commitment to higher attainment levels for their children. Educational attainment levels for the under-40s and over-40s are distinct moments in Portuguese political history – before and after the democratic revolution of 25 April 1974 – and reflect the democratization of basic and secondary schooling following the implementation of a national compulsory public education system (Sebastião and Correia, 2007). In fact, according to the most recent population census (Censos 2011), the under-40s had, on average, secondary education or higher, and the over-40s had basic schooling.

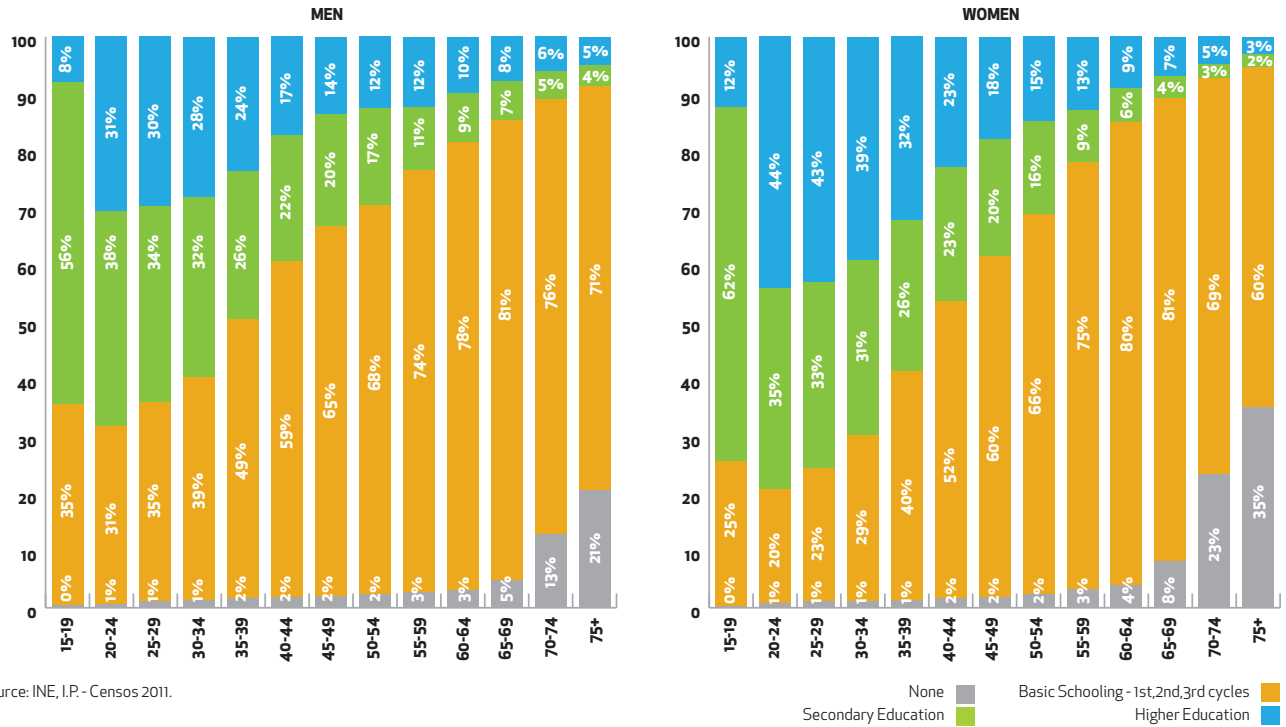
These generational cleavages in part explain the still low levels of educational attainment of the Portuguese as a whole and, at the same time, point to two distinct patterns in gender equality trends in education: in the 1960s and 1970s inequality in education placed girls/women at a disadvantage, in that they had less access to school and the higher levels of education; there was a silent revolution towards the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century whereby inequality came to be to the disadvantage of boys/men (Almeida and Vieira, 2006). Because girls’ educational attainment levels have risen much faster, boys’ school trajectories are now less successful than theirs, and go hand in hand with earlier entry into the labour market.

Data on educational attainment levels by age groups and sex illustrate these trends. In 2011, among the elderly (those aged 75 and over) there were fewer men with no education at all than women (a difference of 14 percentage points) and a greater percentage of men with secondary and higher education (4 p.p. more than women); by contrast, in the younger age groups (15-19 years), there were fewer men with secondary education (4 p.p. less than women), and a larger number of men with basic schooling (10 p.p. more than women) (figure 3.2).

These differences mean that over one-third of boys (35%) in the 15 to 19 age group were in basic schooling in 2011, compared to one quarter (25%) of girls. Thus, despite the major changes which have taken place in Portuguese school education (as a result of the democratization of education and advances in terms of compulsory schooling), the gender inequality which previously affected women now affects men.



**Figure 3.2 – Resident population, by sex, age group and educational attainment level (%) – Portugal, 2011**



Source: INE, I.P. - Censos 2011.

### 3.3.1 Boys’ school failure and poor performance

With longer compulsory schooling in Portugal, school trajectories of children and young people have become more diversified, and failure at school has increased.

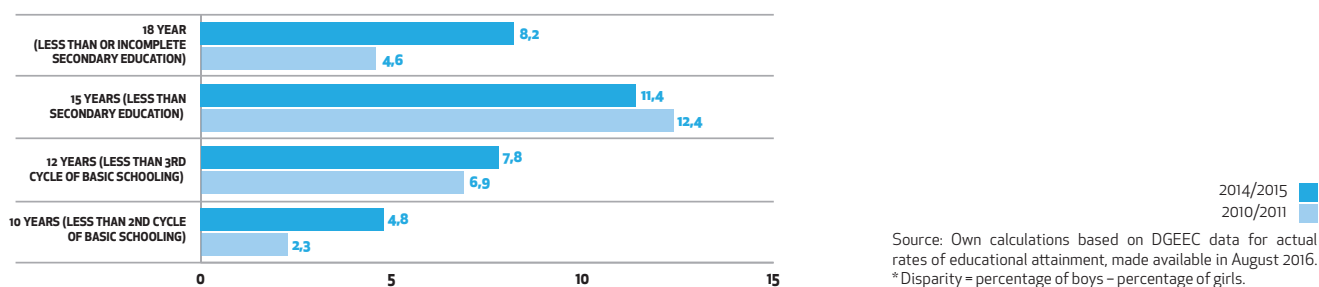
At the age of 6, most children living in Portugal are enrolled in the first cycle of basic schooling (90.7% in the 2014/2015 school year). This represents the start of their school trajectory. At the age of 10, the majority are enrolled in the second cycle (81.4% in the 2014/2015 school year) and at the age of 12 in the third cycle of basic schooling (75.8% in the 2014/2015 school year). For most pupils, secondary education begins at the age of 15 (60.4% in the 2014/2015 school year) (data supplied by *Direção Geral de Educação Estatística e Ciência* [DGEEC – Directorate General for Education Statistics and Science]).

Looking at boys’ school trajectories in the 2014/2015 school year, at the age of 6 90.1% of boys were in the first cycle, and at the age of 10 79.1% were enrolled in the second cycle of basic schooling; at the age of 12 71.9% of boys were in the third cycle of basic schooling, and at 15 only 54.9% were in secondary education. Thus boys’ failure at school is more visible from the second cycle onwards and intensifies in the third cycle, which seems to indicate a particular disadvantaging of boys at moments of “transition to a different social world” (Grácio, 1997: 52).

In this sense, school failure is particularly a characteristic of boys’ school trajectories: at 10, 12 and 15 years of age the percentage of boys enrolled at a level lower than would be expected is higher than that of girls. As figure 3.3 shows, the disparity between boys and girls for this indicator increases the greater the age and the higher the expected level of schooling. This disparity increased between 2010/2011 and 2014/2015, except for the 15 year old age group, where it declined. Nevertheless, even though the disparity at age 15 declined, it is still the highest for all pupils enrolled, at 12.4 p.p. in the 2010/2011 school year, and 11.4 p.p. in the 2014/2015 school year.

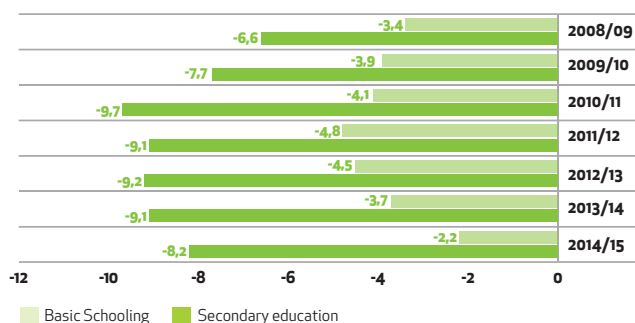
The same table also shows that the disparity in the percentage of boys and girls who were enrolled in at a lower than expected level increased particularly rapidly in young people aged 18, going from 4.6 p. p. in 2010/2011 to 8.2 p. p. in 2014/2015. This greater disparity between boys and girls at the age of majority was due to a sharper increase in school failure rates of boys than of girls: in 2014/2015, 58.3% of boys aged 18 had not finished secondary education – that is to say, more than one in every two boys failed to complete compulsory schooling.

**Figure 3.3 – Disparity\* between boys and girls in the percentage enrolled at a lower than expected level of schooling at ages 10, 12, 15 and 18 (p.p.) – Portugal, 2010/2011, 2014/2015**



In addition to their school trajectories being characterized by retentions, boys are less likely to complete basic and secondary schooling. Data from the DGEEC on the completion rates for boys and girls in those levels of schooling corroborate the lower success scenario for males. In the last 10 years, the percentage of boys who completed the final year of basic schooling and secondary education has been systematically lower than that of girls. Thus, in the 2014/2015 school year, 88% of boys and 90% of girls completed basic schooling and only 66% of boys and 74% of girls completed secondary education. As figure 3.4 shows, the disparity in this indicator has been falling since 2011/12 in basic schooling, but remains high in secondary education, to the disadvantage of boys.

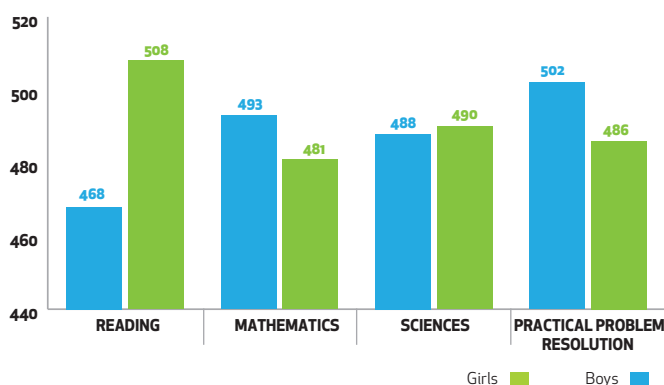
**Figure 3.4 – Disparity\* between boys and girls in completion rates for basic and secondary schooling\*\* (p.p.) – Portugal, 2008/2009-2014/2015**



Source: DGEE – *Estatísticas da Educação* [Education Statistics] 2003/2004-2014/2015. Only the final year of each level was taken into account.  
 \* Disparity = completion rate for boys – completion rate for girls.  
 \*\* This graphic takes into account all forms of basic and secondary schooling.

Analysis of boys’ and girls’ performance in different disciplines helps to understand pupils’ school trajectories in Portugal. Levels of school performance confirm socially attributed gender differences and thus reflect the different disciplinary specializations of boys and girls. The results of the most recent Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) applied in 2012 (OECD, 2015), show that, on average, boys perform better in practical problem resolution and mathematics and worse in reading tests (figure 3.5).

**Figure 3.5 – Average scores obtained in PISA, by sex and test (points) – Portugal, 2012**

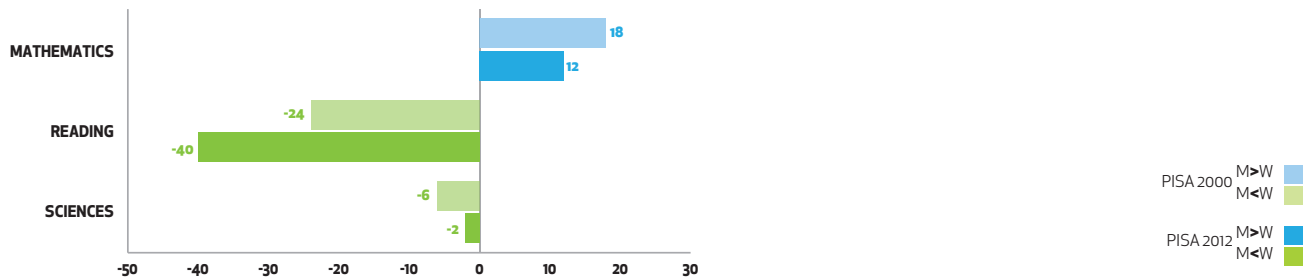


Source: PISA 2012 Results: *What Students Know and Can Do* (Volume I, Revised edition, February 2014): © OECD 2014.

In 2012 boys scored on average 16 points higher than girls of the same age in the practical problem resolution test and 12 points higher in the maths test. They scored lower in science and reading tests, the latter being the test in which boys had the worst score and girls the best (468 and 508, respectively).

Comparison of PISA results in 2000 and 2012 (figure 3.6) shows that the disparity between boys and girls grew in the reading test (it went from -24 to -40 points), aggravating boys’ disadvantage. In contrast, there was a slight reduction in the disparity in maths and science tests, so that boys’ performance came closer to that of girls: it went from 18 to 12 points in the maths test; and -6 to -2 points, in the science test.

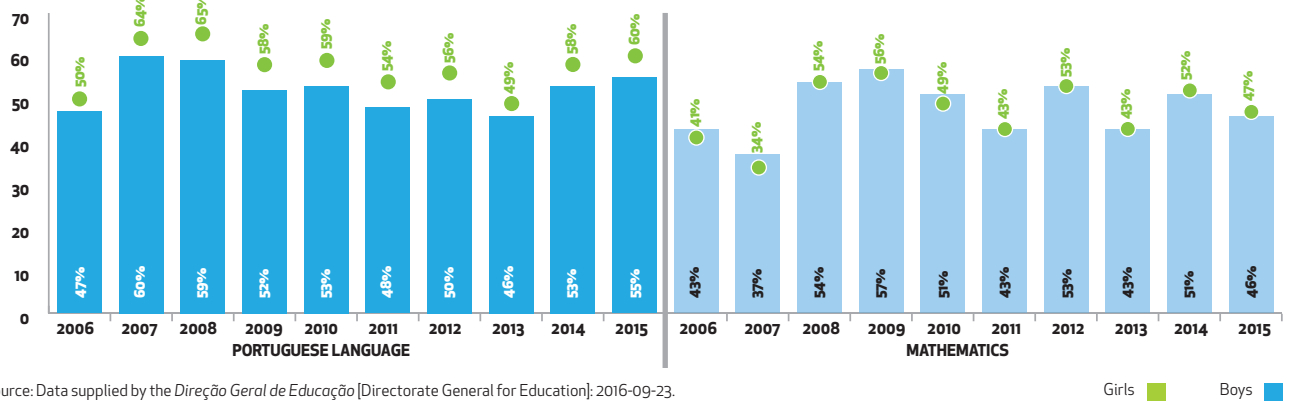
**Figure 3.6 – Absolute disparity\* between boys and girls in average scores obtained in PISA mathematics, reading and science tests (points) – Portugal, 2000, 2012**



Source: Own calculations based on PISA 2012 Results: What Students Know and Can Do (Volume I, Revised edition, February 2014). © OECD 2014.  
 \*Disparity = boys' scores - girls' scores

Results obtained by Portuguese students in the national third cycle final exams also suggest that, over the last 9 years, the disparity between average performance of boys and girls was always greater in Portuguese language than in mathematics – in 2015, the disparity between boys and girls was 5 p.p. and 1 p.p. respectively (figure 3.7).

**Figure 3.7 – Average scores obtained in final exams of third cycle of basic schooling in Portuguese language and mathematics, by sex (%) – Portugal 2006-2015**



Source: Data supplied by the Direção Geral de Educação [Directorate General for Education]: 2016-09-23.

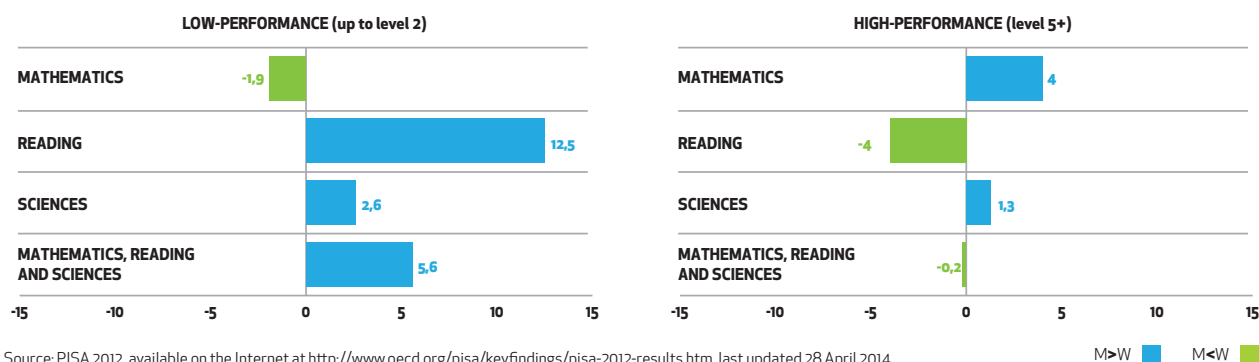
Even though, as has already been highlighted, boys and girls perform differently in different disciplines, both genders are equally likely to succeed in the different PISA disciplines. That is to say, if we compare the percentages of boys and girls who performed exceptionally well (level 5 or level 6 scores) in PISA 2012 maths, reading and science tests, the disparities practically cancel themselves out – 2.2% of boys and 2.4% of girls do very well.

In terms of high-performing students in each of the tests, in maths and reading the disparity is the same: in the maths test there are more high-performing boys; in the reading test there are more high-performing girls (figure 3.8). In the science test, the disparity is lower, with the number of boys with high scores being slightly higher than the number of girls.

When analysing low-performing boys and girls (scores up to level 2), the disparities become more evident, especially those which place boys at a disadvantage to girls (OECD, 2015). Boys' failure is particularly significant in the reading skills test. In 2012, one in four boys (25%) scored poorly in this test, compared to one in eight girls (12.5%). In addition, 15% of boys, as against 10% of girls, failed to achieve the minimum skill level in any of the three main PISA tests.

Thus, despite the fact that these values as a whole show the system to be meeting a target set in the EU Strategic Framework for Cooperation in Education and Training (ET2020) – overall low-performance indicator below 15% – significant differences between boys and girls remain.

**Figure 3.8 – Disparity between boys and girls in the percentage of low-performance and high-performance results in PISA mathematics, reading and science tests and in the three tests together (points) – Portugal, 2012**

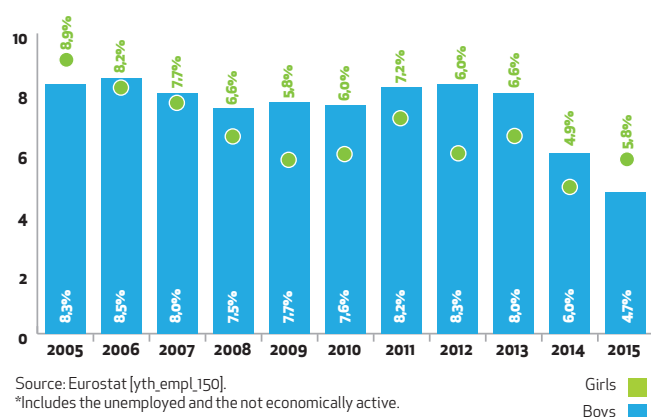


Source: PISA 2012, available on the Internet at <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/keyfindings/pisa-2012-results.htm>, last updated 28 April 2014.

### 3.3.2 School dropout and low qualifications in men

Official statistics also show that, despite the extension of compulsory schooling up to 18 years of age, in 2015 5% of young boys aged between 15 and 19 resident in Portugal (13,400 young men) were not attending any form of school or training (NEET – figure 3.9). It should however be noted that this figure is tending to fall (8.3% in 2012, 8.0% in 2013 and 6.0% in 2014) and that in 2005, the NEET rate for boys was slightly lower than for girls.

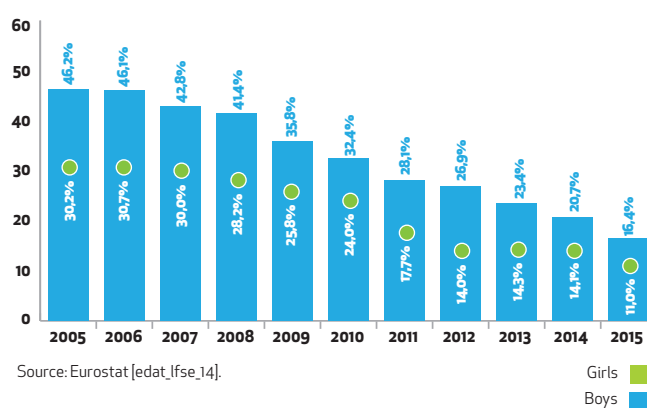
**Figure 3.9 – Percentage of young people aged 15 to 19 who are not in a job nor in education or training\* (NEET), by sex (%) – Portugal, 2005-2015**



Source: Eurostat [yth\_empl\_150].  
\*Includes the unemployed and the not economically active.

There is in fact a declining trend in early school leavers rates. In the last two decades, the percentage of the resident Portuguese population aged between 18 and 24 who had not completed secondary education and who at the time was not attending any form of education or training was 50.0% in 1992, 38.3% in 2005 and 13.7% in 2015. Despite the overall positive trend, these values are below the objective set in Education and Training in 2020 – target 10% – and conceal a persistent disparity which places boys at a disadvantage to girls, in that they are more likely to drop out of their studies early. In this connection, although there has been a strong declining trend over the last decade (some 30 p.p.), in 2015 the percentage of boys resident in Portugal (aged 18 to 24) who left off studying without completing compulsory schooling was over 16% (compared with 11% for girls – figure 3.10).

**Figure 3.10 – Early leavers from education and training (18 to 24 years), by sex (%) – Portugal, 2005-2015**



Source: Eurostat [edat\_ifse\_14].

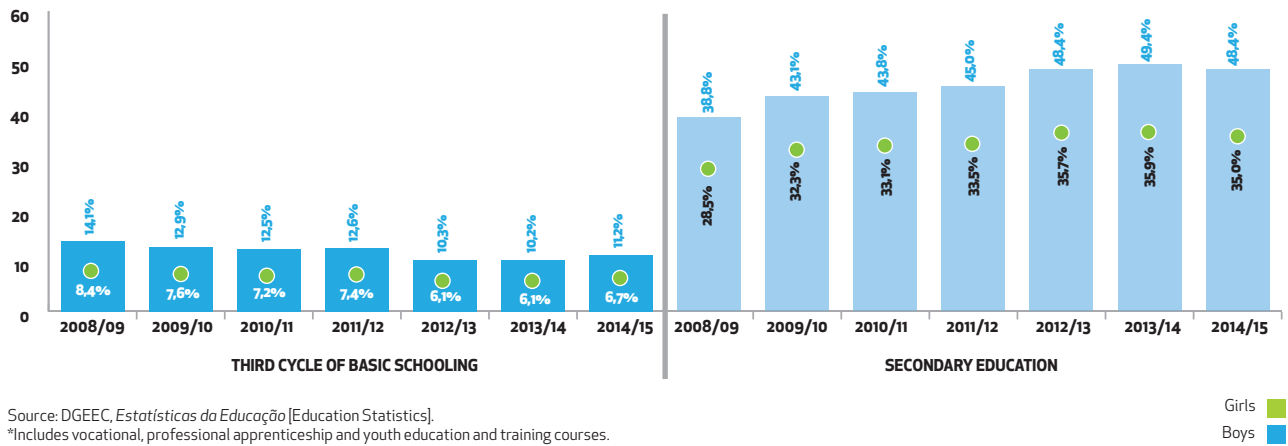
These descriptive elements of boys' school trajectories point to the existence of a close relationship between academic performance and the motivation to continue on those trajectories (OECD, 2015). In a study on the school and occupational trajectories of boys and girls who had not completed secondary education and entered the labour market with low qualifications, Guerreiro, Cantante and Barroso (2009) even argued that this is a vicious cycle in which “school dropout occurs after several mishaps along the way” (p. 73), whether because of cumulatively poor results in some of the disciplines, or successive exam failures and grade retentions in those trajectories.

The difficulty of adjusting to a regular school trajectory which is more academic than practical, and oriented towards higher education, is clearly reflected in the increasing percentage of pupils, particular in secondary education, who have taken the many alternative courses, of a vocational nature, which the Portuguese education system currently provides. In 2008, nearly 40% of young Portuguese boys enrolled in secondary education opted for vocational or professional courses, apprenticeships or youth education and training<sup>2</sup> (figure 3.11). In the 2014/2015 school year, that percentage was already close to 50%, which means that the number of pupils opting for these forms of education was already almost equal to the number of pupils in regular education. For girls, not only has the trend been less marked, but the absolute numbers are also considerably lower. In 2015, the percentage of boys in vocational-type courses was higher than that of girls by 13.4 p.p. In addition, boys represented the majority (58.5%) of all pupils enrolled in those courses.

<sup>2</sup> For a full description of the various different forms of secondary education, consult <http://www.garantiajovem.pt/educacao>.

The option to take alternative courses to regular education is less common in the third cycle of basic schooling. Some 11% of boys enrolled in this level of schooling – 4.5 p.p. more than girls – were not in regular education, but had opted for a professional/occupational-type course.

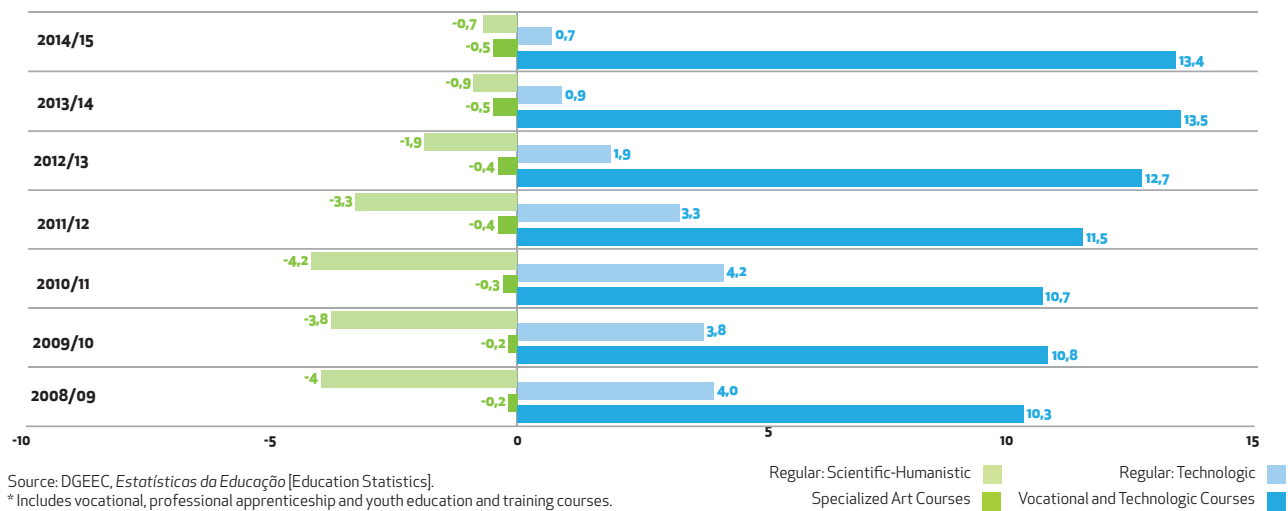
**Figure 3.11 – Percentage of pupils enrolled in the third cycle of basic schooling and in secondary education in professional/occupational courses for young people\*, by sex (%) – Portugal, 2008/2009-2014/2015**



Source: DGEEC, *Estatísticas da Educação* [Education Statistics].  
 \*Includes vocational, professional apprenticeship and youth education and training courses.

Despite the significant number of girls' enrolments in non-regular teaching modules and the fact that over the last 7 years the disparity between boys and girls has declined in technological courses, the percentage of boys in total pupils enrolled in vocational or technical secondary education is markedly higher than that of girls. For their part, girls tend to opt more than boys do for regular education and specialized art courses (figure 3.12).

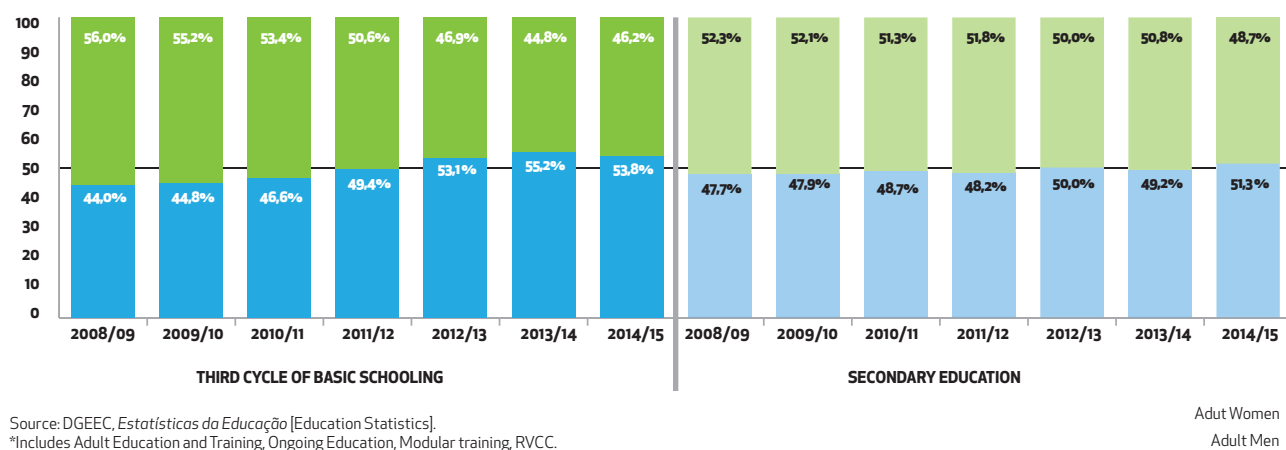
**Figure 3.12 – Disparity between boys and girls in the percentage of pupils in secondary education, by type (p.p.) – Portugal, 2008/2009-2014/2015**



Source: DGEEC, *Estatísticas da Educação* [Education Statistics].  
 \*Includes vocational, professional apprenticeship and youth education and training courses.

As far as adult education is concerned, both in basic schooling (third cycle) and in secondary education, the percentage of men has tended to increase, and since 2012/2013 they have been in a majority in the third cycle of basic schooling (54% in 2014/2015) and in equal numbers in secondary education (51% in 2014/2015 – figure 3.13).

**Figure 3.13 – Percentages of men and women enrolled in the third cycle of basic schooling and in secondary education in courses directed at adults\*, by sex (%) – Portugal, 2008/2009-2014/2015**



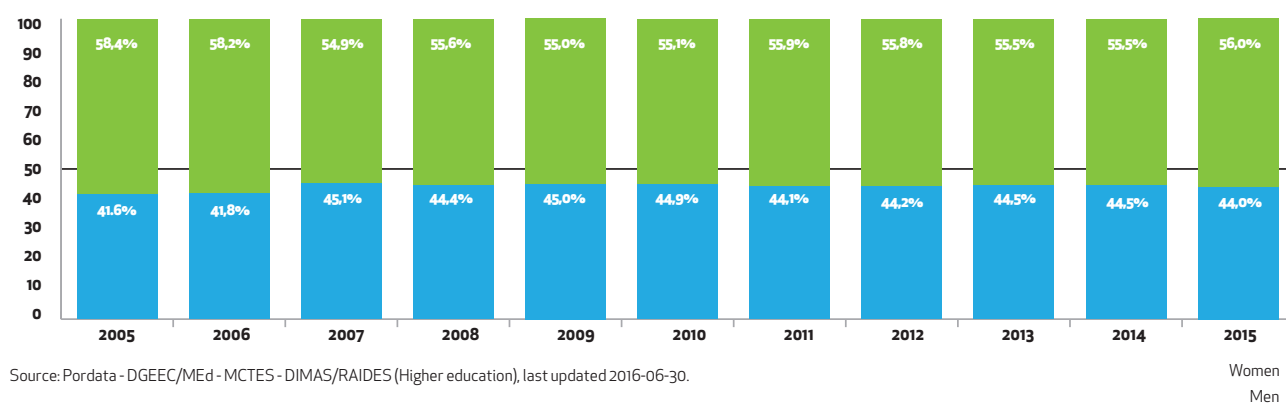
Source: DGEEC, *Estatísticas da Educação* [Education Statistics].  
 \*Includes Adult Education and Training, Ongoing Education, Modular training RVCC.

The trends in these indicators reflect, in large part, a set of educational policy measures implemented in recent years with the aim of reducing school failure and dropout rates in Portugal and re-qualifying adults with low levels of educational attainment. Highlights of these changes include, in particular, the change to 12 years of compulsory schooling in Portugal (Law 85/2009) and the expansion and diversification of vocational training and qualification courses in secondary education (Decree-Law 74/2004) (Ministry of Education, 2007; 2011).

### 3.3.2.1 Men and higher education

In addition to the increasing availability of occupational school trajectories, following compulsory schooling continuing to study in higher education is not always the chosen option. Observing the number of young people who over the last decade enrolled for the first time in higher education (universities and polytechnics), it can be seen that the percentage of females has consistently been higher than that of males (figure 3.14). This situation contrasts with the distribution of the university population by sex some 40 years ago (figure 3.15). In 1978, men accounted for 58% of students in higher education, but in 2015 they represented less than half (46%), with young women in the majority.

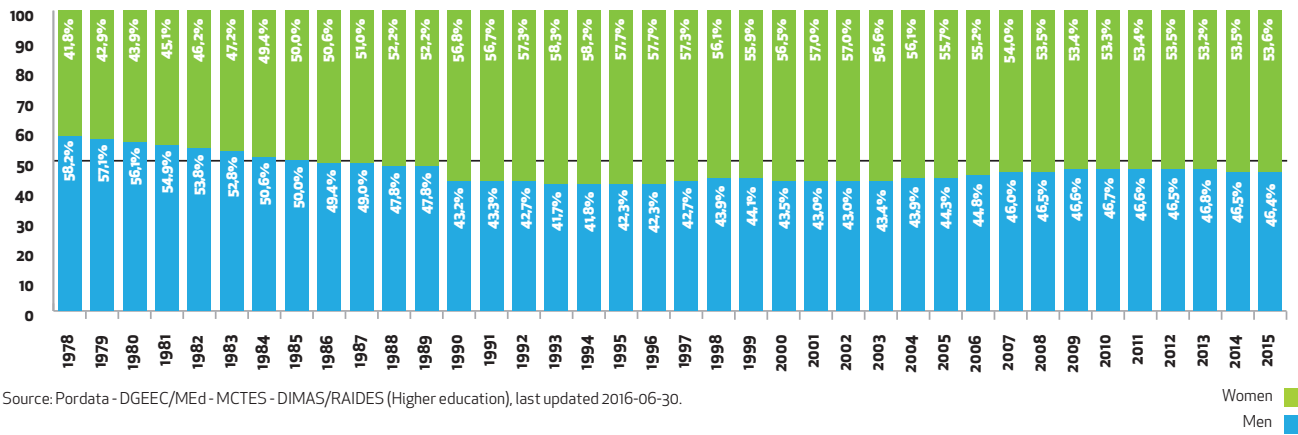
**Figure 3.14 – Percentages of men and women enrolled for the first time in higher education (%) – Portugal, 2005-2015**



Source: Pordata - DGEEC/MEd - MCTES - DIMAS/RAIDES (Higher education), last updated 2016-06-30.



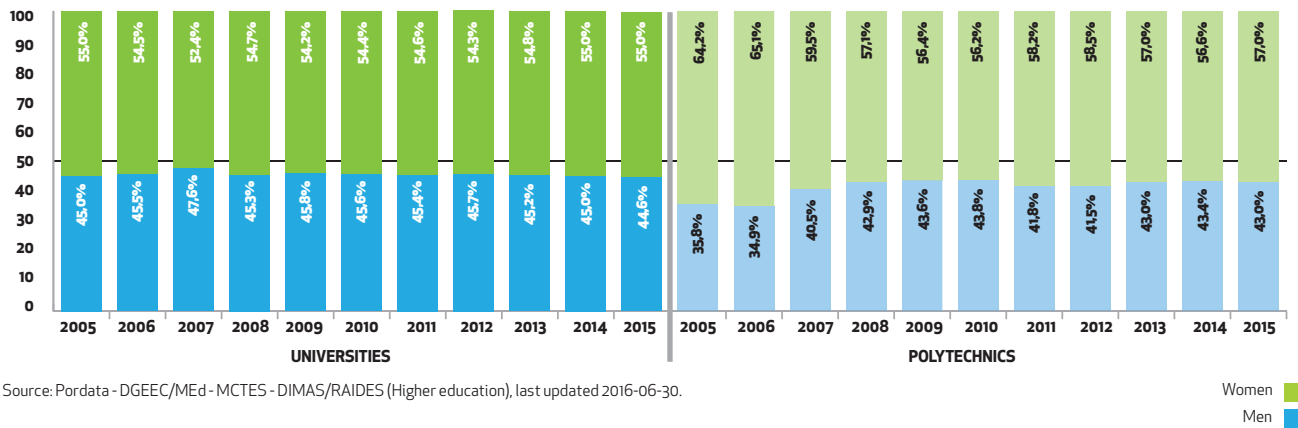
**Figure 3.15 – Percentages of men and women enrolled in higher education (%) – Portugal, 1978-2015**



Source: Pordata - DGEEC/MEd - MCTES - DIMAS/RAIDES (Higher education), last updated 2016-06-30.

In addition, in recent years, young boys have been in a minority among pupils enrolled in higher education for the first time, both in universities and in polytechnics. Contrary to expectations, bearing in mind the strong presence of boys in occupational courses in secondary education, boys are in a marked minority in the polytechnics. In the last decade, the percentage of young boys enrolled for the first time in the universities has remained stable (between 45% and 46%), but in the polytechnics there have been significant fluctuations, varying between 35% and 44% (figure 3.16). These facts suggest a need to reflect on the way young people, particularly boys, perceive and assess the advantages of, and their interest in, higher education and the training opportunities it offers.

**Figure 3.16 – Percentages of men and women enrolled for the first time in higher education, by type of higher education (%) – Portugal, 2005-2015**



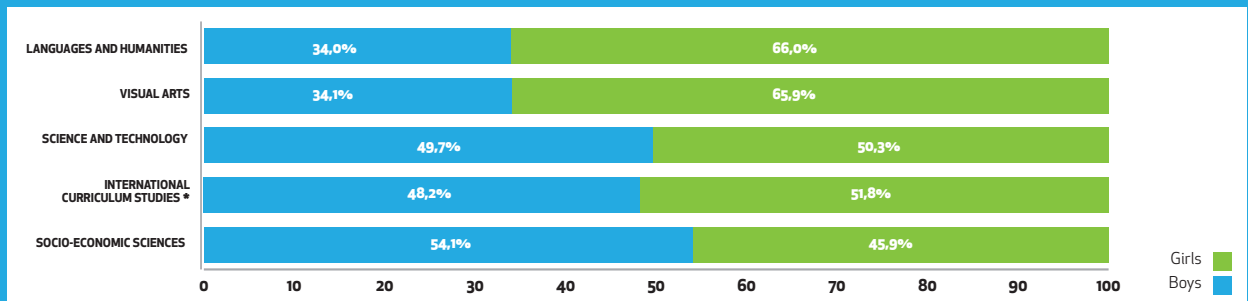
Source: Pordata - DGEEC/MEd - MCTES - DIMAS/RAIDES (Higher education), last updated 2016-06-30.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the disparity between men and women in higher education attendance has been falling. But, as the Box “Horizontal segregation in secondary and higher education” shows, this tendency for a near equal distribution of men and women does not extend to all courses and fields of education and training, there being clear evidence of gender stereotyping in young people’s occupational choices.

### BOX: HORIZONTAL SEGREGATION IN SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

In secondary education there is some stereotyped specialization of interests and vocational choices (Martino, 1995). Boys tend to prefer courses featuring rationality and objectivity, and are under-represented in languages, humanities and visual arts courses. In science and technology courses and international curriculum studies, boys and girls are present in relatively equal numbers (figure C3.1).

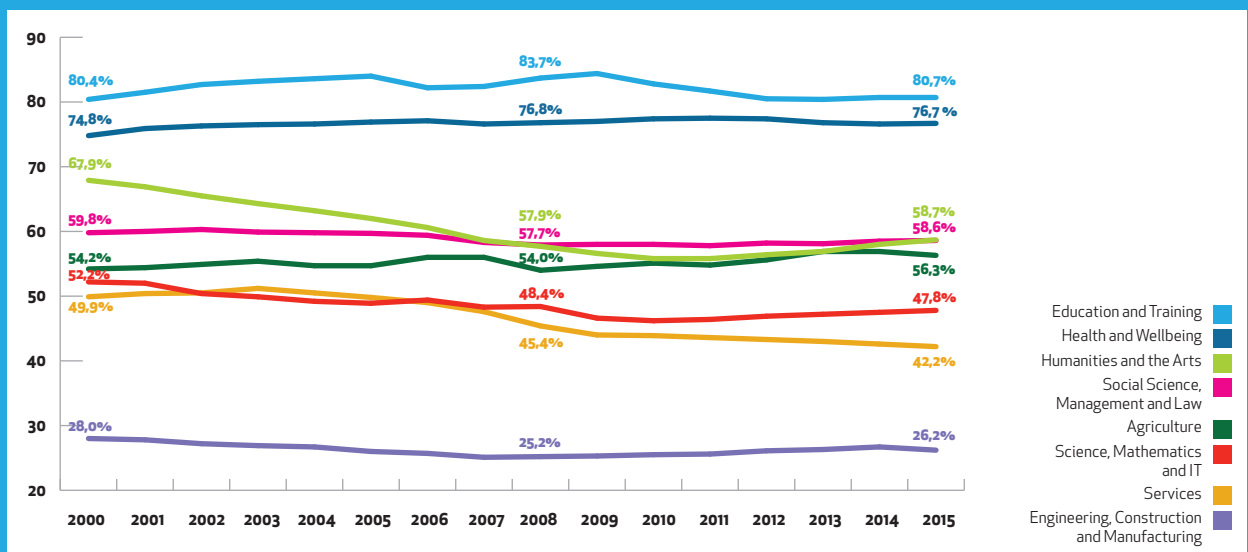
**Figure C3.1 – Percentages of boys and girls enrolled in scientific-humanistic courses in regular secondary education, by type of course (%) – Portugal, 2014/2015**



Source: DGEEC.  
 \*International Curriculum Studies refers to private schools offering an international curriculum. No information is available on the distribution of pupils in these schools by type of course.

In higher education, the courses most attended by men reflect their choices in secondary education. They tend to choose the fields of Engineering, Manufacturing Industry and Construction – between 72% and 74%, Services (Personal, Transport, Security and Environmental Protection Services) – between 50% and 60%, and Science, Mathematics and Computer Science – between 48% and 52%. Girls are strongly represented in Education, Health and Social Welfare courses (between 70% and 80%), in a majority in Social Science, Commerce and Law, Arts and Humanities and Agriculture courses, and less well represented in Engineering, Manufacturing Industry and Construction (between 25% and 28%) (figure C3.2)

**Figure C3.2 – Percentages of girl pupils among those enrolled in higher education, by field of education and training (%) – Portugal, 2015**

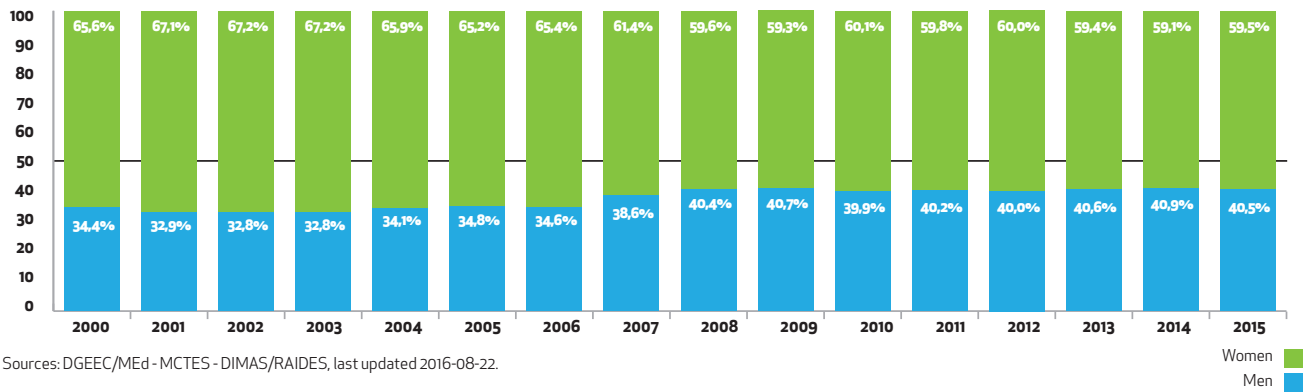


Source: Pordata; last updated 2015-11-09.

When the analysis takes into account the percentages of men and women who completed higher education, the disparity increases considerably.

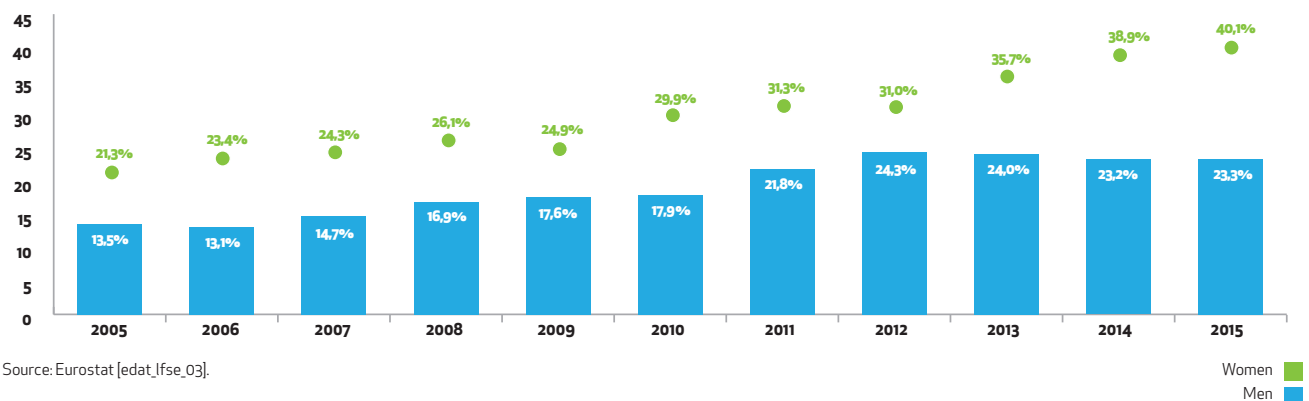
Between 2000 and 2015 men consistently represented a little over one third of new graduates in higher education. However, it should be noted that, over the last decade, the percentages of male graduates has increased slightly, rising above 40% in 2015 (figure 3.17).

**Figure 3.17 – Percentages of men and women who completed higher education in each year (%) – Portugal, 2000-2015**



Accordingly, the data show that the disparity between men and women emerges not so much in access to higher education as in completion, thus pointing to the fact that for the same age group, men have fewer academic qualifications than women. Comparison of the percentage of men and women residents with higher education (ISCED 5-8) shows the very same thing. In 2015, only 23.3% of men aged between 30 and 34 years of age had higher education qualifications, compared to 40.1% of women (figure 3.18). Despite the remarkable increase in the percentage of the population aged between 30 and 34 who had a higher education degree (from 17.5% in 2005 to 31.9% in 2015), it should be emphasized that, since 2012, the disparity between men and women has tended to increase. In this connection, it is important to note that the government target for this indicator – percentage of the population aged between 30 and 34 with higher education (ISCED 5-8) – for ET2020 (40%) is far from being reached, and the visible progress is due more to the increase in female qualifications rather than male.

**Figure 3.18 – Population in the 30 to 34 age group with higher education (ISCED 5-8), by sex (%) – Portugal, 2005-2015**



**3.3.2.2 Early entry of men into the labour market**

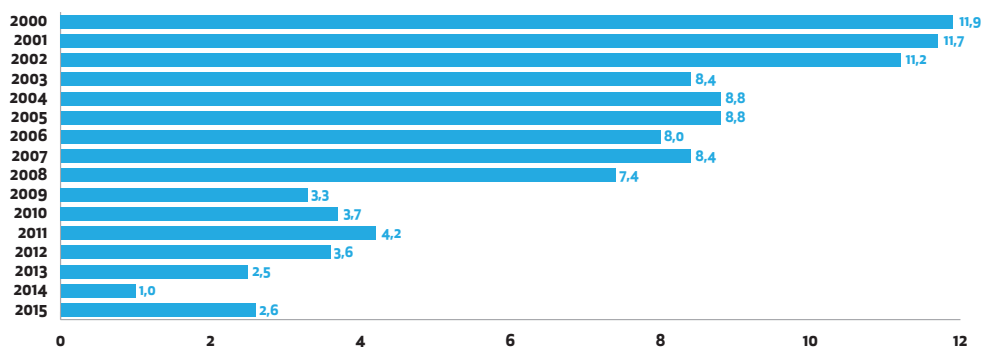
Male school trajectories are more marked by failure and repeated grade retention than the female, and these are subsequently reflected in early entry into the labour market and insecure jobs. Financial needs in the family of origin, gender stereotypes (centred on the male provider role) and the lack of motivation to pursue further studies, mean that entry into the labour market often occurs for men with low levels of qualifications who thus obtain more insecure jobs - e. g., without a formal work contract, and low income (e. g., OECD, 2015; OECD, 2014; Guerreiro and Abrantes, 2004; Guerreiro *et al.*, 2009; Woessmann, 2006).

Disparity between men and women in the employment rate (ages 15 to 24) testifies to this early entry into the labour market. This indicator shows that in this age group, the number of boys in the labour market, even though it is declining, is slightly higher than the number

of girls. In 2000, the employment rate for boys was higher than that for girls by 12 p.p., and in 2009 the disparity stood at 3.3 p.p. (figure 3.19). This decline may plausibly be attributed not only to the extension of compulsory schooling, but also and mainly to the financial crisis and its implications in the increase in the numbers of the unemployed, particularly among the youngest and oldest (Wall *et al.*, 2015).

Even though the employment rate reached a minimum disparity between young men and women (1 p.p.) in 2014, in 2015 this trend was reversed, with the percentage of young boys employed in the 15 to 24 age group being slightly higher than that of girls, with a disparity of 2.6 p.p. In that year, the percentage of boys in the labour market aged between 15 and 24 reached the significant value of 24.1%.

**Figure 3.19 – Disparity between young men and women in employment rate (15 to 24 years) (p.p.) – Portugal, 2000-2015**

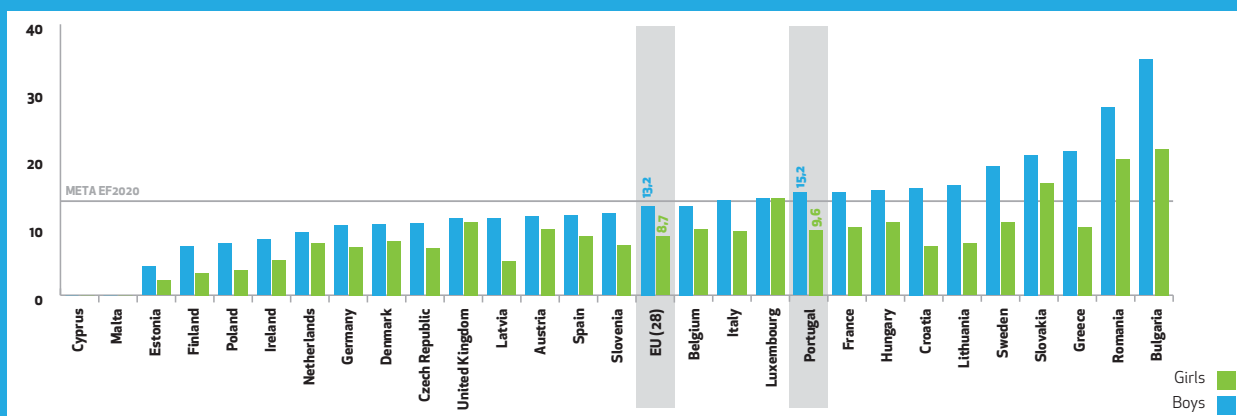


Source: Eurostat [lfsi\_emp\_a].

**BOX EUROPE: EDUCATION AND TRAINING 2020 INDICATORS**

The priorities of the EU’s strategic framework for European co-operation in education and training are better performance, reducing early leavers rates, and increasing attainment levels in higher education. To this end, it has defined targets for the main indicators. For PISA tests, Portugal is among the countries with levels closest to the targets set – an overall poor performance rate lower than 15% (ET2020), together with Luxembourg, France, Hungary and Italy. Countries with higher rates of poor performance include Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, Greece and Sweden, and with lower rates include Estonia, Finland, Poland, Ireland, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Spain. Nevertheless, there was persistent disparity between boys and girls in poor performance rates in three of the PISA tests simultaneously, to the disadvantage of boys, in all countries of the EU28, except Luxembourg (figure C3.3).

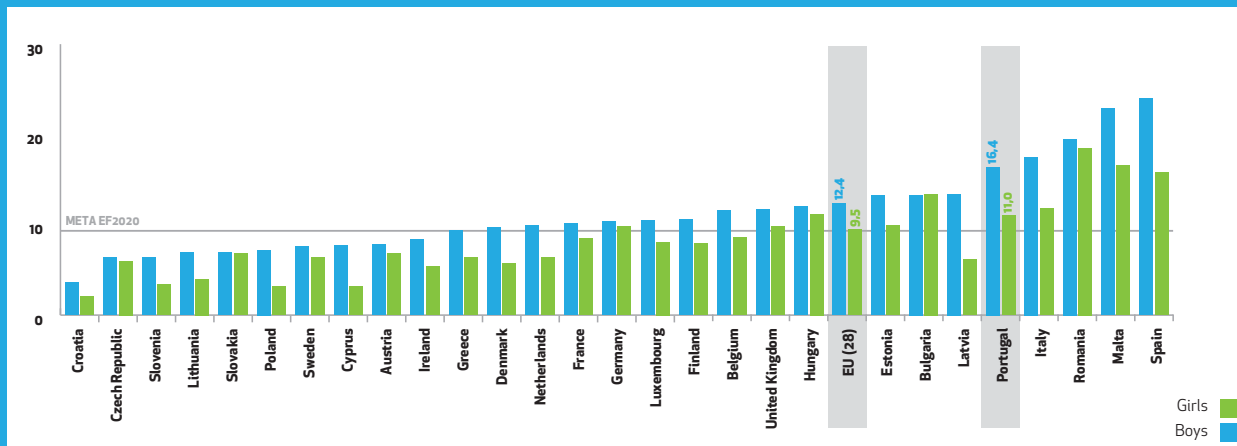
**Figure C3.3 – Young people with poor performance in PISA Portuguese, Mathematics and Science tests, by sex (%) – UE28, 2012**



Source: PISA 2012.

As far as early leavers are concerned, Portugal is among the countries with the highest rates – 10% above the ET2020 target, close to countries such as Spain, Malta, Romania, and Italy. For the member-states of the EU28 as a whole, early leavers rates for boys are higher in all countries except Bulgaria (figure C3.4).

**Figure C3.4 – Early leavers rates, by sex (%) – UE28, 2015**

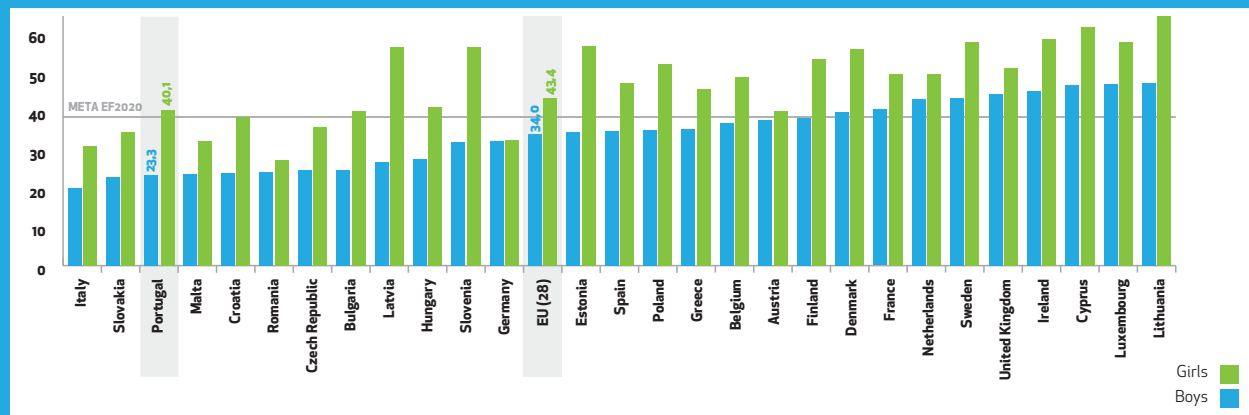


Source: Eurostat [edat\_lfse\_14].

## BOX EUROPE: EDUCATION AND TRAINING 2020 INDICATORS (CONTINUED)

Portugal is among the countries with the lowest percentage of people aged between 30 and 34 years having a higher education qualification, there being only two countries with still lower rates – Slovakia and Italy. Even though Portugal has reached the 40% target for girls, the rate for boys is still very low (23.3%), significantly below the European average (34%). The trend is similar in most countries of the EU28 (figure C3.5).

Figure C3.5 – Population aged 30 to 34 years with higher education, by sex (%) – UE28, 2014



Source: Eurostat [edat\_ifse\_03].

### 3.4 Explanatory factors for the disparity between men and women in education

The analysis presented up to this point shows that over the last 40 years the positions of men and women have been reversed as far as education is concerned. Portuguese men are now at a disadvantage both in terms of grade retention, school performance and dropout rates, and in relation to qualifications and early entry into the labour market. But what are in the final analysis the institutional, social and family circumstances which might explain this disparity?

This section of the chapter examines the influence of socialization contexts (family and school) on children's and young people's school trajectories. It seeks to understand to what extent these contexts help to explain the disparity between men and women in education and, at the same time, capture the variety of male school trajectories. Primary socialization usually takes place in the family, and for that reason it has a particularly important role in inculcating stereotypical models of behaviour and identity, especially during early childhood (Fontaine, 1990, quoted in Cavaco *et al.*, 2013). Secondary socialization in turn takes place in school, where the child encounters other sets of references and social learning which, in sending stereotyped messages, lead to the construction of masculinity and femininity (Carrito and Araújo, 2013).

The characteristics of family and school (e. g., their socio-economic level), and the practices and expectations there defined regarding performance, behaviour and the vocational choices of children and young people, may be reflected in different school trajectories and experiences for boys and girls, deeply influenced by socially transmitted gender stereotypes (see Box: Gender stereotypes).

#### 3.4.1 Family

The influence of the family on the success and school trajectories of children and young people is felt in many different ways. On the one hand, there is the primary influence of parents on the development and life course of their children, especially in terms of their expectations of them and for their future. On the other hand, the family's socio-economic circumstances are a key factor affecting children's school trajectories and success.

Parents' influence on children's development is exercised interactively and structurally (Ventura and Monteiro, 1997). Interactive influence is reflected in the quality of relationships and interactions with children and educational styles and practices. Structural influence involves the way their routines are organized, how schools and complementary activities and games are chosen, and also the direct way in which they approve or disapprove of their behaviour and choices through advice, guidance and instruction, making it clear what they expect (and do not expect) of their children.

The central role of parents in the socialization of their children justifies seeing them as powerful players in the gender game, in the sense that they tend to reproduce gender-stereotyped expectations (Lynch and Feeley, 2009: 37 – see Box: Gender stereotypes). The literature reveals that even parents who have a progressive attitude to gender equality tend to influence their children's school trajectories and vocational choices in a stereotypical way, even if they do so involuntarily (Lynch and Feeley, 2009). It has even been said that there is a tension in the parental function, in the sense that increasingly parents consciously seek to counter gender constraints, at the same time as they reproduce a traditionally gendered childhood (e. g., choice of toys, clothes, activities and styles of play) in which they seek to ensure that boys will be boys and girls will be girls (Kane, 2012).

The role of parents in maintaining and reproducing gender stereotypes is clear in the different expectations they have regarding boys' and girls' vocational/professional choices - choices which in turn are reflected in the horizontal segregation observed later on in the labour market (see Chapter 2).

In the last PISA round in 2012, Portugal was one of the few countries which asked parents of participating pupils to respond to a questionnaire as to whether they expected their children eventually to work in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM field occupations). Analysis of the results showed that the difference between boys and girls with similar results in PISA tests whose parents stated they had such expectations was 30 p.p. in favour of the boys: one in two parents of boys, but only one in five parents of girls stated they expected their children to work in the field of science and technology (OECD, 2015).

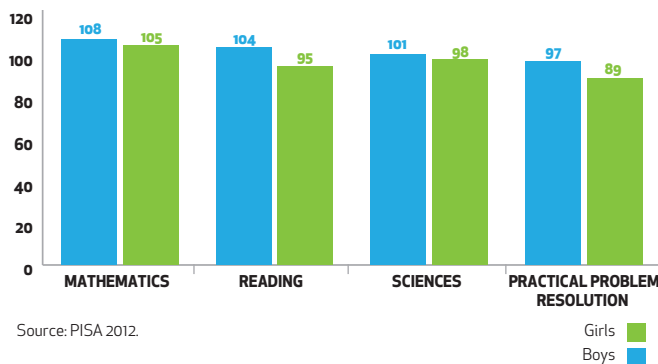
A second topic worth highlighting here is the influence of origins, class and social hierarchy, alongside ethnicity and geography, on the construction of masculinity and femininity and how these contribute to performance, failure or success in school and to resilience and motivation to reverse school failures (Guerreiro *et al.*, 2009; Morris, 2012).

The literature has shown that children of disadvantaged social classes have worse results than those from more favoured social classes (e. g., Grácio, 1997; Saavedra, 2001) and that within the same social class boys tend to have worse results than girls, except in physical education (Saavedra, 2001). In addition, it has been shown that boys from better off social classes have better results than girls from disadvantaged social classes (Saavedra, 2001).

Analysis of PISA 2012 test results, comparing children by family socio-economic level, shows that for boys from low socio-economic levels the difference in scores is always slightly higher than girls, in all disciplines (figure 3.20). In reading for example, where the average mark of boys was 468 points and of girls 508 points, the difference between boys from high and low socio-economic backgrounds was 104 points while for girls it was 95 points, a difference of 9 points to the disadvantage of boys.

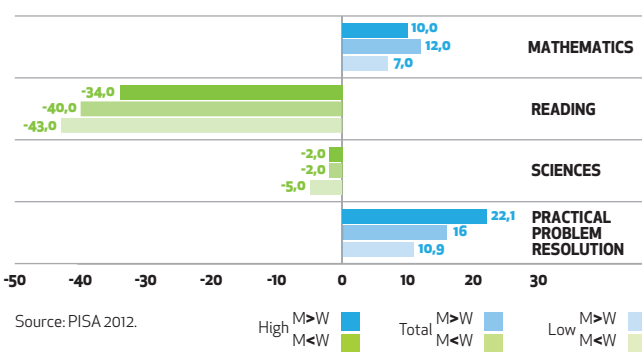
Still in connection with PISA data (OECD, 2015), in reading and practical problem resolution tests the disparity between boys and girls is greater, regardless of socio-economic level (figure 3.21). But while in the reading test the disparity is greater among children from lower socio-economic level backgrounds, in the practical problem resolution test the disparity is greater among children from higher socio-economic level backgrounds.

**Figure 3.20 - Differences in scores obtained by children from lower and higher socio-economic level homes, by sex and type of test (points) - Portugal, 2012**



Source: PISA 2012.

**Figure 3.21 - Disparity between boys and girls in scores obtained in different PISA tests, total and by socio-economic level (points) - Portugal, 2012**



Source: PISA 2012.

These data suggest that among families from higher socio-economic levels there are two elements which might explain why boys get better results: recognition by these families of the need for greater parental control and monitoring in the education of boys than of girls; and greater interest and better performance of boys in more practical and objective disciplines. Among families from lower socio-economic levels there is a prevailing pattern of less parental control of children's school trajectories and, as far as boys are concerned, greater ambivalence, associated with "pressure to work and the instrumental need to earn a living" (Almeida and Vieira, 2006; p. 126). In addition, the data suggest that, regardless of socio-economic level, but more markedly for less well-off families, there is a tendency/bias for giving up more easily on incentivizing reading habits among boys. In this connection, the results of the "Reading in Portugal" survey carried out by the Cultural Activities Observatory as part of the National Reading Plan in 2008 suggest that those with stronger reading habits are mainly women (61%) and people with secondary training (44%) at intermediate or higher levels (23%) (Neves and Lima, 2008).



A recent DGEEC report (2016), which focused on socio-economic inequalities and school results of pupils in the third cycle of general public schooling, suggests that there is a strong correlation in Portugal between pupils' school performance and the socio-economic background of their family households (DGEEC, 2016: 2): 71% of pupils in the third cycle whose mothers had high qualifications (university degrees) had "successful school trajectories"<sup>3</sup>, compared to 19% of pupils whose mothers had low qualifications. It is however emphasized that there are pupils who are able to deal with a family legacy of low qualifications by achieving above national average performance in the third cycle. The report lacks a gender perspective, however.

Children from disadvantaged socio-economic and cultural backgrounds have a negative attitude to school, lack motivation and fail at school, and this may be due to their having intellectually not very stimulating home environments (Manning and Baruth, 1995). In Portugal for example, the study by Mascarenhas, Almeida and Barca (2005) suggests that pupils from low-income families, and in particular boys whose parents have low educational attainment levels, tend to attribute their school failures to their own lack of ability. This focus on internal and not directly controllable causes of failure leads to a feeling of detachment, non-involvement and rebellion against school, thus discouraging investment in the school trajectory. It is particularly relevant to the construction of identity among these children and young people (OECD, 2015).

### 3.4.2 School

Turning to a focus on the school, it is important to understand what characteristics make it a key element in promoting gender equality or, in contrast, maintaining disparities between boys and girls.

Beyond individual and family responsibilities for failure and dropping out of school, the school's inability to reverse pupil failure has been the focus of attention, and its teaching functions have been questioned.

In fact, the study by Guerreiro *et al.* (2009) showed that, among pupils who have failed at school and are in insecure jobs, the prevailing perception of school is that it is a context in which existing skills are assessed (or not) and not a place for teaching and learning (Guerreiro *et al.*, 2009).

When school failure and dropout is mostly associated with male school trajectories, it is questionable whether the school is able to fulfil its role in attenuating social inequalities and in promoting equality of opportunities for boys and girls.

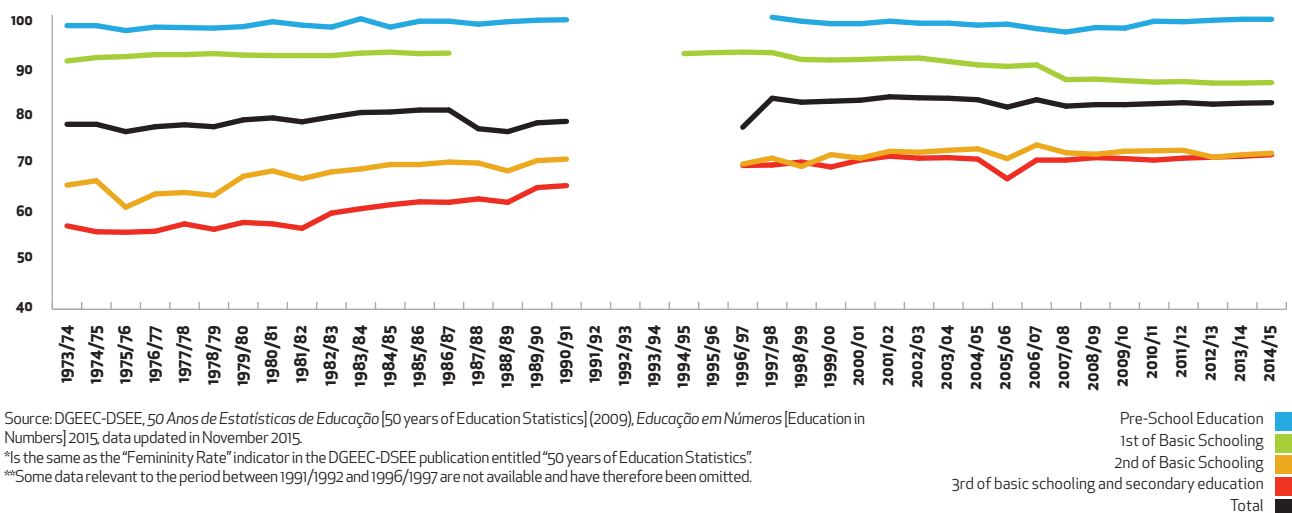
The critique of the school as an institution which reproduces gender roles, and which currently puts boys at a disadvantage, is based on the characteristics of the school context, both in terms of its population (1) and in terms of the environment created, explicitly or implicitly, by the stereotypical messages conveyed by educational practices (2). Each of these aspects of the school context will be addressed below.

#### 3.4.2.1 Teaching, non-teaching and student population

The data show that the teaching body in Portuguese schools is mostly female from pre-school up to the last year of compulsory schooling.

The lower the teaching level, the higher the female percentage of teaching staff tends to be – and conversely the lower the male percentage – with few changes over the last 40 years (figure 3.22).

**Figure 3.22 – Feminization rate\* of teaching staff, by teaching level (%) – Portugal, 1973/1974-2014/2015\*\***



Source: DGEEC-DSEE, *50 Anos de Estatísticas de Educação* [50 years of Education Statistics] (2009), *Educação em Números* [Education in Numbers] 2015, data updated in November 2015.

\*Is the same as the "Femininity Rate" indicator in the DGEEC-DSEE publication entitled "50 years of Education Statistics".

\*\*Some data relevant to the period between 1991/1992 and 1996/1997 are not available and have therefore been omitted.

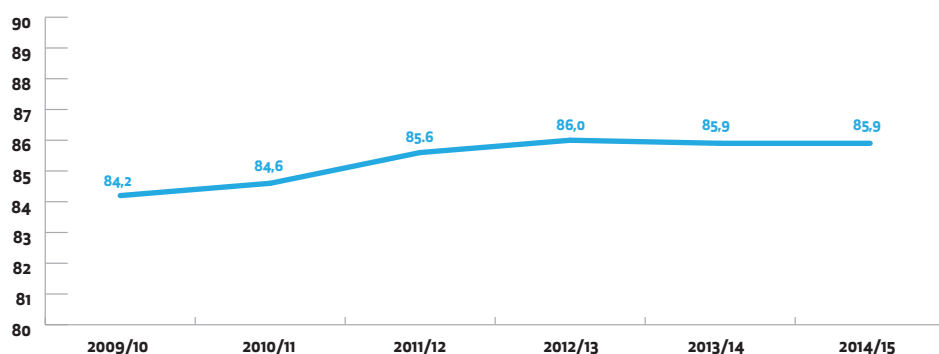
Pre-School Education  
 1st of Basic Schooling  
 2nd of Basic Schooling  
 3rd of basic schooling and secondary education  
 Total

<sup>3</sup> The DGEEC states that a pupil with a "successful trajectory" in the third cycle is the one who obtains positive marks in two final exams of the third cycle (Portuguese language and mathematics) and who was not subject to any retention during that study cycle (7th and 8th years).

At lower levels of teaching, women teachers represent over 90% of the total, with that percentage having recently increased at pre-school level and, in contrast, declined in the first cycle of basic schooling – respectively 99.1% and 86.2% in 2015. In the second and third cycles of basic schooling and secondary education, following consistent increases in the numbers of female teachers between 1973 and 1990, the percentage stabilized at around 70% from 1996 on, with values of 71.8% and 71.5%, respectively, in 2015.

These data show, therefore, that the percentage of male educators in Portuguese schools is less than 1% in pre-school<sup>4</sup>, 13.8% in the first cycle, and 28.5% in remaining levels of non-higher education. Kimmel’s 2010 definition of the numerical feminization of the school environment is thus seen to be applicable to Portugal (European Commission, 2012). Likewise, there is a predominance of women in non-teaching staff in pre-school, basic and secondary education, with a percentage of around 86% (figure 3.23).

**Figure 3.23 – Feminization rate of non-teaching staff in pre-school, basic and secondary education (%) – Portugal, 2009/2010-2014/2015**



Source: DGEEC – DSEE – Estatísticas da Educação [Education Statistics] (2009/2010-2014/2015).

Even though no correlation has been shown to exist between male/female disparity in the teaching body and pupil performance, attention has been drawn to the impact of a lack of adult male figures as role models in schools, and its effect in terms of boys’ lack of motivation and involvement in school (Thornton and Bricheno, 2006).

In addition to teaching and non-teaching staff, the student body is also an important element in describing the numbers in schools. PISA results show that in terms of failure in particular boys are more likely to perform worse when there are more pupils in the school from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds (OECD, 2015) (figure 3.24).

**Figure 3.24 – Differences in PISA scores for children in schools with a majority of pupils from high and low socio-economic backgrounds, by sex and test (points) – Portugal, 2012**



Source: PISA 2012.

<sup>4</sup> It is important to recall that specific teacher training for kindergarten emerged in the 1950s and was forbidden to men. While this situation changed after the 25 April 1974 revolution, social readiness to accept men in this profession has come much more slowly, as the statistics prove.

### 3.4.2.2 Gender stereotypes in institutional and educational practices

Analysis of institutional practices in schools shows that despite explicit equity and equality policies, schools reproduce socially rooted gender inequalities and stereotypes.

The literature which has focused on analysing school textbooks in various disciplines shows that written and visual language in them reinforces gender stereotypes by *masculinizing the generic*. This not only constructs mental images which, in a literal sense, see the male gender as protagonist, but also omit the particular characteristics of the male gender and symbolically dilute the female (Silva and Saavedra, 2009). Use of this false neuter (Barreno, 1985) is complemented by a language which *depreciates* and *discriminates* against women (Silva and Saavedra, 2009).

Identification of biased representations in school textbooks of what it is to be a man and what it is to be a woman was the grounds for defining a particular measure in the education section of National Equality Plans aimed at *producing, disseminating and monitoring the application of gender equality and citizenship promotion mechanisms among pupils*. Although this measure was first provided for in 1997, it only started having practical effects in 2006, with the adoption of the law defining the rules for assessment, certification and adoption of school textbooks (Law 47/2006 of 28 August). This law sets up a committee to approve school textbooks to be used in the Portuguese education system, ensuring that they convey non-stereotyped representations of gender, in line with constitutional principles and values such as equality.

A further complementary step was taken from 2009 onwards, at the instigation of the Committee for Citizenship and Gender equality (CIG) and supported by the DGIDC's (Directorate-General for Curricular Innovation and Development) Human Potential Operations and Validation Programme (POPH) with the drafting of "Gender and Citizenship Education Guides". These are educational guidance documents to promote a gender equality and citizenship among pupils in pre-school and the first, second and third cycles of basic schooling.

Beyond the formal curriculum, i.e. that which is written down and objective, schools also have an *informal* or *hidden curriculum* which may reinforce gender stereotypes through personal interaction and the way in which time, space and resources are organized and managed. School practices and routines reveal beliefs and attitudes which incorporate gender discrimination and are evident in different performance and behavioural expectations, in defined learning strategies, in the selection and organization of curricular and extra-curricular activities, and "in the identification of vocational tendencies and orientations characterized by 'natural' aptitudes" (Silva and Saavedra, 2009: 64).

This latter aspect points to a second measure in the second and third National Equality Plans in the field of education, aimed at *promoting career guidance which will facilitate non-stereotyped choices of course and professional career*. According to the final report of the third National Equality Plan (Ferreira,

2010), this measure, which was directed in practice at training psychologists in charge of school and occupational career guidance for pupils, fell short of expectations.

In support of its functions of equity and equality, and based on a principle of standardization, school confines children and young people with distinct personalities, attributes, interests and motivations, to a single educational strategy and a single image of a *good student*, with also a single underlying evaluation criterion. A *good student* is one who concentrates on his or her studies, is attentive in class, completes assigned tasks, performs well and whose behaviour reflects calm acceptance of the rules. This representation is close to the stereotypical characteristics of the female: dependence, imitation, passivity and conformity (Cavaco *et al.*, 2015).

According to Cavaco *et al.* (2015), studying and homework are also behaviours associated with girls, once again placing boys at a disadvantage. It is in this context that Grácio (1997) emphasizes that girls "learn to fulfil their role as pupils more easily" (Grácio, 1997: 74).

While girls tend to have a set of attributes which make it easier for them to adapt and succeed at school, boys in school, under the influence of the male hegemony model, adopt aggressive behaviours to demonstrate their virility. These give rise to problems of adjustment and lead to failure and dropout (Amâncio, 2004).

The feminization of schools may produce in boys a clash between acquired attributes and those demanded on starting school. This means that boys have to make a greater effort to adjust and fit in with school and to succeed in their academic careers. The pressure from school and teachers to adjust their attitudes and behaviours to a traditionally female pattern of behaviour leads many gradually to drift away from school and the learning opportunities which it provides (Cavaco *et al.*, 2015).

In addition, this clash which school produces in boy pupils contrasts with the demands made and the skills valued in higher education and the labour market, which are indeed more consistent with the attributes instilled by their primary socialization: speed and competitiveness in learning, logical reasoning, assertiveness and being pro-active in speedy and effective problem resolution.

Even though the literature identifies and acknowledges the many ways in which school reproduces gender stereotypes and disparities which affect children's and young people's performance and success in school, it is still alleged that *inequalities* are in some way *invisible* (Cavaco *et al.*, 2015).

With a view to analysing failure and dropout from school from a gender perspective, Cavaco *et al.* (2015) undertook a qualitative study in which they interviewed pupils, those in charge of their education, school heads, teachers and assistants. Their results suggest that gender in schools and disparities between men and women in success or early dropout "are not part of the concerns and thoughts" of the teaching and non-teaching bodies (Cavaco *et al.*, 2016: 222). School heads and teachers talk mainly about

an established and internalized equality of opportunity, in order “not to open up grounds for attributing responsibility to the school for producing those differences” (Cavaco *et al.*, 2016: 223). School activities assistants in turn recognize gender differences in school failure and dropout, describing boys as being disconnected and irresponsible and girls as more focused and responsible. Both groups hold pupils and their families, and their corresponding social and cultural backgrounds, responsible for failed school trajectories.

That is why it is important to make the various school actors see gender disparities and biases present in the school system, and require them openly to take them on board as topics for re-

flection and discussion which will acknowledge pupils’ specific needs and interests and ensure equality of outcomes and school trajectories in addition to equality of opportunities for boys and girls.

The evidence for boys’ failure and dropout from school, and the ways in which gender stereotypes and disparities in school are reproduced, suggest therefore that schools are unable to ensure inclusion and academic training for all, because the educational system is based on a principle of standardization. It does not adopt “principles of diversity which would enable it to respond in a different way to the varying needs and potential of each student” (Nóvoa, 2006, footnote 20).

### BOX: GENDER STEREOTYPES

Stereotypes are socially shared beliefs concerning individuals, groups or situations. They are ways of categorizing and defining the surrounding social reality. They are and embody a concept which motivates prejudice and discrimination.

The concept of gender reflects the social construction of sexual differences (Connell, 2002). It is defined as a series of social and cultural representations arising from the biological difference between the sexes. While the biological concept of “sex” is anatomical, gender refers to the notions of masculine and feminine as social constructions (Amâncio, 1994).

Gender stereotypes are defined as a set of structured and socially shared beliefs based on the specificities of *being man* or *woman*. They thus refer to characteristics, attributes, behaviours, preferences and roles associated with and believed to be appropriate to the masculine and feminine identities (Deaux and LaFrance, 1998, cited in Laranjeira *et al.*, 2002).

In today’s society there are many ways of living masculinity and femininity. Gender is influenced by each society’s social and cultural environment. It is thus a concept which can be analysed using a dynamic and complex approach which incorporates changes and variations of interpretation (Araújo, 2002).

This results in gender stereotypes taking on a descriptive function, whereby men’s and women’s characteristics place limits on the roles and responsibilities regarded as suitable for boys and girls. At the same time, stereotypes have a prescriptive function for the gender roles to be

adopted by men and women because, even implicitly, they convey ways of acting. The internalization of socially shared gender representations shapes expectations, affects values and behaviours, and influences decision-making, experiences and opportunities (Cavaco *et al.*, 2015).

Gender stereotypes are passed down from the outset in primary socialization, in which there is a noticeable early differentiation in the way boys and girls are brought up. Boys are brought up to be independent and to adopt strategies for practical problem-solving. Girls’ upbringing is more directed towards dependence, imitation and conformity with that which is expected of them (Cavaco *et al.*, 2015).

During secondary socialization children and young people are exposed to new values, meanings and attributes in addition to those they acquired in primary socialization in the family. School, as the primary social space for transmitting social and cultural skills and conditioning behaviour, is the main means of constructing identity markers, such as gender.

In the life of every individual there are various different moments and contexts which build their way of *being man* or *being woman*. Gender is constructed over the course of a lifetime on the basis of experiences, signals and observation of the social and cultural context of which they are a part of.

In this sense, representations of each gender initially formed in family and school are reflected later, across the board, in gender identity and attitudes to equality between men and women in various domains of adult life – the labour market, family and work-life balance, health, violence and other areas of public and private life.

**BOX: VIEWS OF EXPERTS, STAKEHOLDERS AND POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS ON MEN AND EDUCATION****Caring masculinity: social resistance**

*I ask you: a male kindergarten teacher, [...] am I going to take my daughter to that teacher? People refuse to do so. But on the contrary, if it's a woman teacher, no-one is bothered who takes the little boy or little girl. Well, kindergarten teachers, that's a very complicated issue and there have been cases where male kindergarten teachers were not accepted.*

**Lina Lopes, UGT – General Union of Workers (Focus Stakeholders)**

*I believe there's still a perception in society that the mother has a role or added responsibility in bringing up children.*

**Luís Henriques, CIP – Confederation of Portuguese Entrepreneurs (Focus Stakeholders)**

*The day we have men as responsible for children as women are, the whole of society will be viewed differently. It will be seen in such a way that men and women are equal and, as such, they [men] can look after children as much as women can.*

*We've got work to do, this whole idea has got to change. And we've got to start at one end to change the whole idea of this society, that it is a society effectively based on gender stereotypes.*

**Maria Josefina Leitão, expert consultant in gender equality (Focus Experts)**

*We need them [men] to be caregivers, more than they currently are, they have to share the responsibilities for family and for caregiving - well, actually, all the social and family responsibilities which fall on women, so that they too may become more equal in other fields.*

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Interview)**

**Education and gender stereotypes**

*In our view, everything in fact starts with gender stereotypes. If they are not deconstructed from early childhood on, they produce all the indicators of inequality we know, in terms of the labour market and everything else.*

*Boys, little boys, are brought up to play by taking up space.*

*Little girls learn caregiving: "Here's a dolly for you to learn how to take care of a baby. Here's a little saucepan so you can learn to make meals". In other words, little girls, they are not brought up to play. From the earliest age they are taught to work, unpaid work.*

**Ana Sofia Fernandes, PpDM – Portuguese Platform for the Rights of Women (Focus Stakeholders)**

*Boys are educated for violence...*

**Maria do Céu Cunha Rêgo, expert consultant in gender equality (Focus Experts)**

*... and girls are educated for submission.*

**Catarina Marcelino, Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality (Focus Experts)**

*Men are brought up to get by on their own, to solve their problems on their own and not to ask for help. So there are weaknesses here which those who work with men need [to understand], (regardless of the gender equality approach, which for us is a sacred principle). It is the issue of promoting equal rights which is among our objectives.*

**Duarte Vilar, APF – Family Planning Association (Focus Stakeholders)**

*I think stereotypes are one thing and individual characteristics are another, the latter have to be respected and we have to accept them. And after that we have to find the best way of doing away with those stereotypes, but without abandoning each individual's characteristics.*

**Ana Carmo, CCP – Portugal Retail Trade and Services Confederation (Focus Stakeholders)**

*We really have to intervene in education, which is much broader than [the] school system. So it also has a lot to do with the market, it has a lot to do with the logic of differentiation which is increasingly encouraged by others, the media in particular, but also through toys.*

**Paulo Côte-Real, ILGA Portugal – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Action (Focus Stakeholders)**

**The school system, stereotypes and (in)equity**

*When somebody told me boys were also a bit repressed, effectively, I don't know if education, at the moment, is made for boys.*

**Lina Lopes, UGT – General Union of Workers (Focus Stakeholders)**

*Even though there is a law which says that for textbooks to be approved and accredited by the Ministry they should respect gender equality issues, it is clear that that law is not being enforced, because there are textbooks with glaring assertions...*

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Interview)**

*At the age of 3, when we are fit to learn the words equality, citizenship and respect for others, what actually happens is that children are shoved into "incubators" which precisely reproduce all the stereotypes.*

**Daniel Cotrim, APAV – Portuguese Victim Support Association (Focus Stakeholders)**

*The truth is that, as far as education is concerned, inequalities arise precisely in the reverse sense, with men being at a clear disadvantage in terms of educational attainment indicators.*

**Margarida Balseiro, Member of Parliament for the PSD - Social Democratic Party (parliamentary hearing of the Equality Sub-committee)**

*The problem is that school is also a place where they [boys] only have women. They have women from the nursery school to university.*

**Maria do Céu Cunha Rêgo, expert consultant in gender equality (Focus Experts)**

*I am a man teaching classes of boys and girls, but now, speaking of vocational [teaching], there are no methodologies for dealing with those boys, because if we look closely most of them are boys. I see that teaching is not designed, in fact, for the boys, the way the curriculum is designed, the way we teach, is very much directed at girls.*

**Ricardo Simões, APIPDF – Portuguese Association for Parental Equality and the Rights of Children (Focus Stakeholders)**

*[The promotion of gender equality] cannot be left to organizations alone. Our role is obviously to change certain things, but we can't change everything. We're also not very keen on the production of guides, the State loves producing guides and then giving the guides to the schools and saying: "now get on and teach equality", and the English teacher says: "today we have an hour on equality".*

**Daniel Cotrim, APAV - Portuguese Victim Support Association (Focus Stakeholders)**



## BOX: VIEWS OF EXPERTS, STAKEHOLDERS AND POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS ON MEN AND EDUCATION (CONTINUED)

The technology field is very much in vogue, and it is in fact important for the future. What happens is, and you only have to look at the start-ups, they are all men, there are no women in technology. This is dramatic! They (men) are the technology people. The Técnico [Higher Technical Institute] is already getting more women in, but there are areas which are almost all male.

**Catarina Marcelino, Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality**

Are secondary education options chosen by young people? Or are they defined by the system?

**José Gonçalves, CONFAP – Portuguese Confederation of Parents' Associations (Final Conference)**

## 3.5 Recommendations

Two sets of recommendations emerge from the analysis undertaken and presented in this chapter on men and education and the contributions to this project of experts in gender equality, stakeholders representatives and political decision-makers.

The first set of recommendations is aimed at promoting equal outcomes in boys' and girls' school trajectories:

**Continue to promote the fight against school dropout** by increasing awareness campaigns regarding the benefits of compulsory schooling and higher education, directed at families, children, young people and adults individually;

**Continue to incentivize schools to recover young adults who have dropped out of school.** It has been observed that the number of men attending basic schooling (third cycle) and secondary school has been increasing. In effect, this is a significant incentive, given that completing specialized training at secondary or higher level, even belatedly, together with already acquired work experience, may assist in obtaining practical knowledge and the ability to adapt to new surroundings, and this is a considerable advantage in the labour market;

**Incorporate a gender perspective in the fight against school failure and dropout, involving social partners in this initiative as well.** Despite the positive effects of educational measures which have been adopted to combat school failure and dropout, disparities which place boys at a disadvantage persist. In this sense the incorporation of a gender perspective into programmes to fight school failure and dropout – considering the combined effects of gender and other various factors (e. g., socio-economic), would help in a positive way to shift these indicators closer towards established targets. In addition, working together with the social partners would enable concerted action against the casual and unskilled jobs taken by those who drop out of school;

**A more attractive school system and culture to promote boys' success in school.** Incorporate more practical, challenging and independent educational strategies to encourage good performance and success of boys in their school trajectories;

**Outline and perfect socially inclusive learning strategies and teaching styles** which will enhance the abilities, interests and skills of boys and girls, even those which are not formally recognized (experimentation, civic action, music, artistic expression, etc.);

**Undertake more in-depth studies on teaching styles and school textbooks,** with a view to more precisely identifying the impact of teaching strategies on teachers' gendered practices and on school performance and pupils' vocational preferences;

**Explore educational strategies which stimulate boys' ability and propensity for reading in digital formats, with a view to developing their interest in reading generally.** Boys and girls differ not only in their propensity to read, as in the types of reading: girls read more complex works, whether fictional or not, while boys read more comedy. But the disparity between boys and girls is less in digital reading, given that males tend to prefer digital books;

**Inculcate reading habits in boys at school and at home.** Make fathers, mothers and teachers aware of the need to encourage boys to read, making materials available which will address topics they are more interested in. More complex literature, which today continues to attract girls more than boys, can only really become appealing once the reading habit has been inculcated;

**Make less stereotypical vocational and career choices more appealing to boys and girls.** It is recommended that examples be provided of men and women in non-stereotypical professions, that gender stereotypes be removed from school textbooks, and that more appealing assessment materials and methods be used for both boys and girls;

**Encourage boys' interest in higher education by guiding their perceptions of the advantages of higher education.** Boys' attitudes to higher education need to be heard as to how they assess the advantages and types of polytechnic and university higher education courses on offer. In actual fact, the government target for graduate numbers (in the 30 to 34 age range) for ET2020 (40%) is still far from being met, and progress to date is less the outcome of more males graduating and more the outcome of more female graduates. Boys' lesser interest in higher education may, on the one hand, reflect the persistence of a model of masculinity rooted in the labour market and, on the other hand, be an effect of boys' school failure.

The second set of recommendations is aimed at dismantling the standards which, in the form of gender stereotypes, underpin educational and institutional practices, affecting learning trajectories, vocational choices and the future careers of boys and girls:

**Define gender equality as a topic for reflection and discussion among teachers and pupils** at the various different levels of schooling (from pre-school to higher education) with a view to making equality of outcomes in the labour market possible, alongside equal opportunities;



**Promote training programmes for the teaching and non-teaching staff to make them aware of the presence and effects of gender stereotypes in their practices.** Make teachers aware of the implications of gender stereotypes, which are present in verbal and non-verbal communication, for children and young people;

**Promote greater equality in the percentages of men and women in the teaching and non-teaching bodies of schools,** bearing in mind the importance of having persons of both sexes in all contexts in which children and young people are socialized;

**Include gender equality, citizenship and caregiving in the formal school curriculum as personal skills to be developed in a new discipline,** part of the school's educational programme, with specific curriculum units and assessment criteria, alongside the skills acquired in the main disciplines;

**Promote the setting up of a national gender equality programme in nursery schools, kindergartens and the first cycle of basic schooling.** Undertake early interventions in institutions which have joint responsibilities and with secondary socialization agents, through teams of qualified professionals who visit the schools. The intervention should take the form of games and play activities aimed at promoting more egalitarian identity profiles among children and teachers and deconstructing the roles and gender stereotypes which are incorporated and internalized from a tender age;

**Explore strategies for cooperation between government, schools and business** with a view to devising measures to promote gender equality - for example, job fairs and career opportunities presented in schools and aimed at students and fathers and mothers who seek to interest girls in topics related to science, mathematics, engineering and technology, and boys in topics related to the social and human sciences and the arts;

**Disseminate in-depth information on the impact of gender stereotypes on how society operates.** From early childhood gender stereotypes define different trajectories and choices for boys and girls. These choices are then further reflected in vocational and career choices. In effect, it is still girls who most opt for career areas offering access to more flexible hours, above all in education and public administration. In truth, the gendering of vocational choices is a concern, particularly in higher education, given that these choices are reflected in the persistence of horizontal and vertical segregation in the labour market. This situation keeps men away from sectors like education and affects women's career opportunities and equal pay, as well as underutilizing available human capital.

## BOX: RECOMMENDATIONS OF EXPERTS, STAKEHOLDERS AND POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS ON MEN AND EDUCATION

### Gender equality in initial teacher training

What have we got in terms of teacher training? Nothing. Gender issues are not part of teacher training, because they are not part of higher education. I think the most important part would be teacher training. [...] If an effective job is not done of training teachers in the various disciplines, and if the guide is not made known [Gender and Citizenship Education Guide], and if they are not given some training in how to use it in teaching practice, where will the guide be later on?

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Interview)**

Initial training of all teachers at all levels of schooling. Implementation of the law which requires a gender equality perspective in school textbooks.

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Final Conference)**

### Educational practices and school curriculum: citizenship and caregiving

School has to innovate in terms of learning, you have to adapt to the challenges of a twenty-first century in which no-one can be left behind, least of all boys.

**Susana Amador, Member of Parliament for the PS – Socialist Party (parliamentary hearing of the Equality Sub-committee)**

Once and for all, in terms of education, when kids finish the 4th, 6th, 9th and 12th years, in addition to formal skills in mathematics and Portuguese and English languages, they should also have curriculum-developed abilities in social and personal skills. [...] And that should be written down in the law, like other things that we have to have. That would be a step forward. In being written down in the law, it is consolidated and more difficult to go backwards. But what about assessment? In this matter of educating for citizenship, human rights and gender equality are keys, this is one of the most important things. It's just a matter of putting some things on the curriculum which are in fact already related to the curriculum, namely the Human Rights Charter, the matter of the Constitution. [...] There are many number of materials and strategies which schools can access at the Directorate General for Education, it's a kind of menu, all of it validated. From it schools can independently choose to cater to all types of sensitivities, for each school year. This also to include civil society and NGOs with know-how.

**Catarina Marcelino, Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality (Focus Experts)**

And I think there also has to be training for the children at school, training in human rights and gender equality.

**Maria Josefina Leitão, expert consultant in gender equality (Focus Experts)**

These issues need to be discussed from the time they are very little. The stereotype issue is crucial, the question of citizenship and civic education is very important, which there used to be in schools but was dropped. And here I think it is fundamental that these topics are talked about again.

**Eduarda Castro, APMJ – Portuguese Association of Women Jurists (Focus Stakeholders)**

We need a lot of investment in education. The question of caregiving has to have high visibility in education. Young people, women and men have to learn to be independent. State education should offer not only a gender equality issues module, but also a basic caregiving techniques module.

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Interview)**

Develop education policies which question gender stereotypes and equip both boys and girls with the skills needed to look after themselves and others – the technical skills of domesticity and an ethic of caregiving should be inseparable.

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Final Conference)**

The commitment to civic education, from the outset at school, seems to me to be essential for the issue of gender equality and awareness of it. So it's important to bring in a new discipline, which has already been discussed, to include various topics to train young people so that their conscious selves are not distorted in terms of the principles of equality later in life. It is totally clear to me that this is something which cannot just be the object of occasional awareness campaigns, left to the NGOs, but has to be something signposted by the government itself and inserted into the school curriculum of the state schools, which belong to all and are for all.

**Isabel Moreira, Member of Parliament for the PS – Socialist Party (parliamentary hearing of the Equality Sub-committee)**

The recommendation would be to include gender stereotypes, in the sense of schools working on and deconstructing them from the earliest age.

**Ana Sofia Fernandes, PpDM – Portuguese Platform for the Rights of Women (Focus Stakeholders)**

### Education and the Labour Market

And I think that working a bit with the academic associations, especially at the university level, bringing in the youth associations which work in these areas [dealing with inequality between men and women on entering the labour market] and try to intervene in a properly guided way.

**Catarina Marcelino, Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality (Focus Experts)**

Combating early school leavers as it affects young people's access to jobs is a matter for dialogue among the social partners.

**Lígia Amâncio, expert researcher in gender equality (Final Conference)**

A blue-tinted photograph showing the lower legs and feet of a child and an adult. The child's foot is resting on the adult's foot, and they are both on a reflective surface. The image is used as a background for the chapter title.

**CHAPTER 4**  
MEN, HEALTH  
AND VIOLENCE

# CHAPTER 4

## MEN, HEALTH AND VIOLENCE

### 4.1 Men and Health

#### 4.1.1 Introduction

Health viewed from men's perspective is a relatively recent topic. Although medicine is traditionally an area of knowledge in which the man is perceived as the rule and the woman as the exception (androcentrism), much of what is known today on male health is due to the knowledge acquired over time about women's health (EC, 2011; Norwegian Ministry of Children and Equality, 2009). In this sense men's health remains an unexplored research topic. Little is known on how male socialization, diverse forms of masculinity and men's socially significant experiences influence male health (EC, 2011). Of what is known on men's health, it is known all over the world, and in Europe in particular, that men and women do not display the same behaviour in relation to health. In general, men adopt more risk behaviours (they drink more, smoke more and consume more drugs); they resort less to health services for preventive reasons (with less frequent consultations, including specialist consultations, fewer tests, etc.) and they die earlier than women do.

Nevertheless, men are not a homogenous category. Men's health status and life expectancy at birth vary according to economic, social, cultural and geographical context (Fernandes *et al.*, 2012; Santana *et al.*, 2015). In this connection, rather than being a consequence of biological, genetic or psychological factors, male health seems to be determined by social factors like educational attainment, career, income (Antunes, 2010, 2012; Perelman, Fernandes and Mateus, 2012), conjugal status (Carvalho, Mateus and Xavier, 2016; Perelman, Fernandes and Mateus, 2012; Fernandes *et al.*, 2012) and even place of residence (Santana *et al.*, 2015). These are factors which seem to affect men's access to healthcare, with direct implications for their health status.

As the authors of the Men's Health in Europe report (2011) state, rather than adopting an approach which blames men for not knowing how to take care of themselves (i.e. not using the preventive medicine resources at their disposal, adopting risk behaviours and dying early), we are interested in an approach which seeks to understand the factors behind this type of behaviour, so as to put forward action measures which will promote healthy living habits and good health practices for both men and boys. The main objective of such measures is to minimize or eliminate the relative injustices arising from social determinants of male health (Antunes, 2010; Prazeres *et al.*, 2008; Prazeres, 2009).

The aim of this chapter is to analyse men's health in Portugal, in a gender equality perspective, taking the following indicators into account: life expectancy; death rates; health status (chronic illnesses, absenteeism, self-assessment of health status and frequency of doctor's consultations); causes of death in men and risk factors (tobacco, alcohol, practice of physical exercise and eating habits). In each of these indicators attention will be given to the disparity between men and women or the sex ratio (number of men for every 100 women), as well as to age and educational attainment level of

the individuals concerned. The main sources of information are Eurostat and INE [Statistics Portugal], and in particular the *Inquérito Nacional de Saúde* [National Health Survey], the outcome of a joint venture between the INE and the INSA (Dr. Ricardo Jorge National Health Institute) (INE/INSA 2016).

#### 4.1.2 Highlights

**Average life expectancy for men is lower than for women but increases the higher their level of educational attainment.**

Men with basic schooling have a life expectancy 5.1 years lower than men with higher education, and 7 years lower than women with the same level of educational attainment.

**Men die younger more often than women, but have fewer health problems over the life course and have a more positive assessment of their health status.**

Deaths of men aged between 15 and 64 are at least twice the number of deaths of women in the same age group. Women have more health problems over the life course, in particular chronic illnesses, and are more negative in assessing their health status. In 2014, 57.9% of men stated their health status to be good or very good, as against 45.5% of women.

**The probability of suicide is greater among men.**

Men are three times more likely to commit suicide than a woman and at least 1 in 10 deaths among males aged 15 to 39 is the result of suicide. But suicide is more frequent among the elderly living in rural areas, above all in the Alentejo region, on account of social isolation, lack of financial resources and the high incidence of chronic incapacitating illnesses.

**Men are more affected by malignant tumours than women.**

In 2014, over 59.7% of deaths from a malignant tumour occurred among males. The probability of a death from malignant cancer of the lip, mouth cavity and pharynx is 5 times higher for men than for women, as is the likelihood of death from a malignant tumour of the oesophagus. The difference between the sexes regarding these two types of tumour increased between 2000 and 2014.

**Men resort to health services less than women do, but this pattern is less prevalent with age.**

In general, women go to the doctor more often, including specialists, but in the 65 to 74 age group the disparity between men and women declines.

**Men have less healthy eating habits than women and are more likely to be obese.**

Although men do more physical exercise than women and use less drugs, in particular anxiolytics and antidepressants, men have poorer eating habits and consume more tobacco, alcohol and illegal drugs.

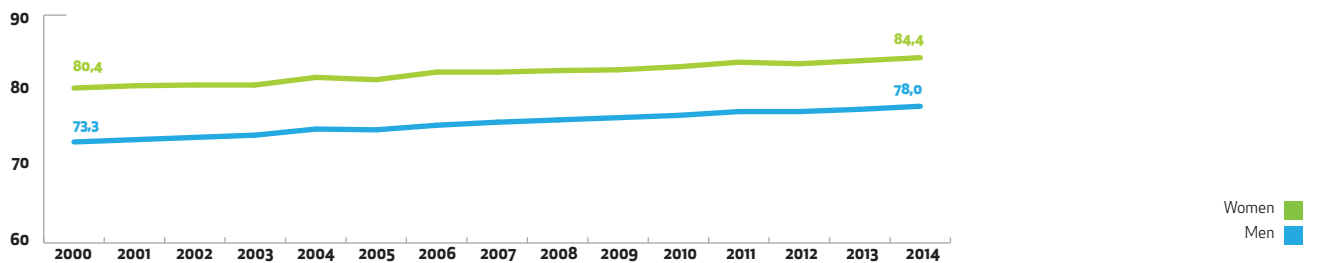
### 4.1.3 Developments and trends: what changes have there been in the situation of men and the disparity between men and women?

In Portugal, men’s life expectancy at birth is lower than women’s, 77.2 years and 83.0 years, respectively (INE/INSA, 2016). Men’s higher death rates (number of deaths per 100,000 inhabitants), as compared to women’s, especially at an early age, are largely caused by factors associated with risk behaviours and lifestyles (higher alcohol and tobacco consumption; higher number of road accidents; more deaths from HIV-Aids; higher calorie food intake; etc.). On the other hand, these are causes of death which are more frequent in men from disadvantaged backgrounds, in which access to adequate medical care and the use of health services are more limited (Antunes, 2010, 2012).

#### 4.1.3.1 Life expectancy

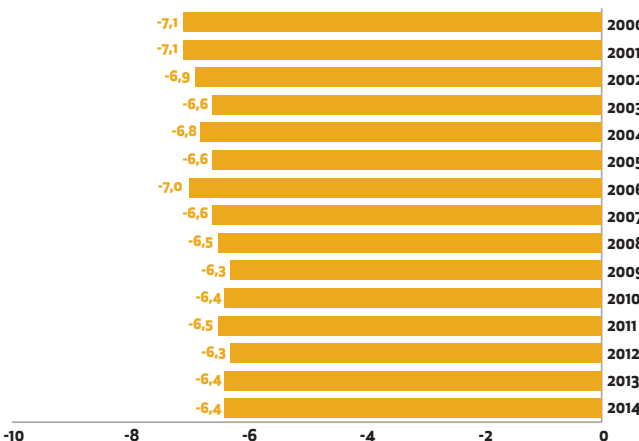
Although more male than female embryos are conceived in the world (the sex ratio is about 120/100), at time of birth the balance between the sexes is almost equal (a ratio of about 105/100). From then on, in more developed countries, death rates are always higher for men, in all age groups (Prazeres, 2009). In Portugal, men live on average six years less than women (6.4 years in 2014). Although average life expectancy at birth, for men and women, has increased over the last decade (figure 4.1), there is still a strong disparity in favour of women (figure 4.2).

**Figure 4.1 – Average life expectancy at birth (in years), by sex - Portugal, 2000-2014**



Source: Eurostat (online data code: demo\_mlexpec), consulted on 19 July 2016.

**Figure 4.2 – Disparity between men and women in life expectancy at birth (in years) - Portugal, 2000-2014**



Source: Eurostat (online data code: demo\_mlexpec), consulted on 19 July 2016.

There was an increase in life expectancy for Portuguese men and women between 2000 and 2014. In 2014, men’s life expectancy at birth was 4.7 years higher than that recorded in 2000. In other words, men were living to age 78 and women to age 84.4. Between 2000 and 2014, women’s life expectancy did not increase as much as men’s, but women continue to have higher life expectancy at birth.

**Figure 4.3 – Average life expectancy at birth (in years), by sex and educational attainment level; and disparity between men and women (in years) - Portugal, 2013**

Ed. Attainment Level	Men	Women	M-W Disparity
Basic Schooling (Complete)	76,6	83,6	-7,0
Secondary Schooling or Equivalent (Complete)	80,1	84,4	-4,3
Higher Education	81,7	85,9	-4,2
Difference Higher - Basic	5,1	2,3	-2,8

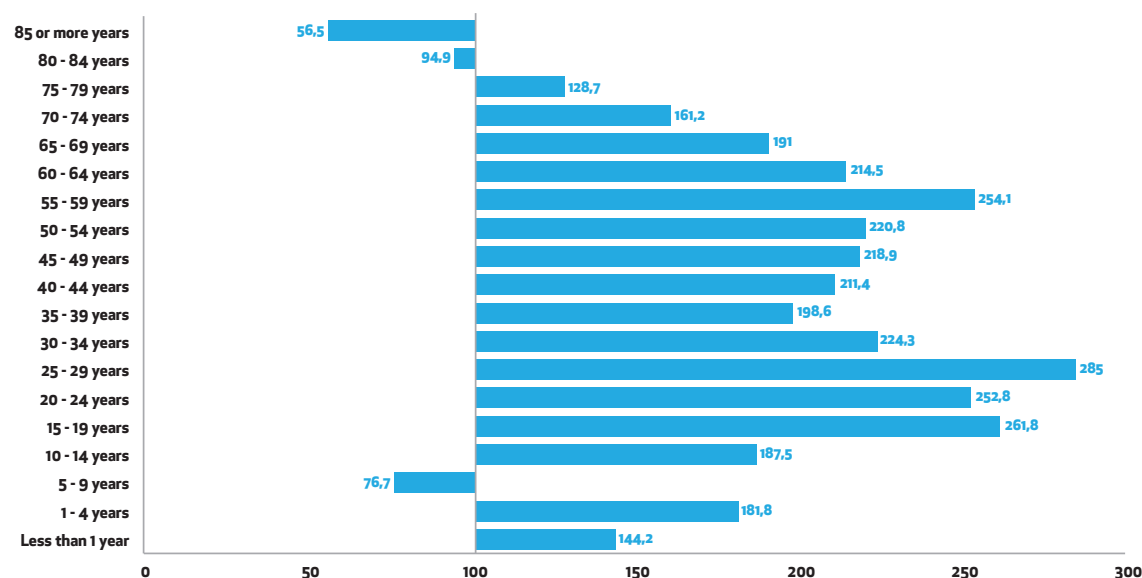
Source: Eurostat (online data code: demo\_mlexpecedu), consulted on 19 July 2016.

Apart from the biological determinants of life expectancy, attention should also be paid to social, economic, cultural and geographical factors (Santana *et al.*, 2015). In social and economic terms, educational attainment level seems to influence life expectancy of the Portuguese at birth (figure 4.3). The higher the level of educational attainment, the higher the life expectancy, for both men and women. There is however greater dispersion among men, as compared to women. Among women, the difference in educational attainment is just 2.3 years, while for men that difference is more than double, at 5.1 years according to 2013 data. Men with lower educational resources have lower life expectancy at birth (76.6 years) than men with higher education or above (81.7 years). This points to a combination of factors which place men with lower educational resources at a disadvantage compared to their peers. Fewer years of schooling, lower-grade jobs, more heavy-duty work with greater workplace accident risk, etc., are some of the factors to be taken into account when analysing the life expectancy data of men with basic schooling. In addition, the disparity between men and women is particularly marked among those with very low educational resources (7.0 years), which points to the cross-influence of gender and schooling, suggesting that women pay more attention to their health and bodies, which is the reason they live longer, even when they have fewer educational and financial resources (Fernandes *et al.*, 2012).

#### 4.1.3.2 Deaths

Another significant variable is individuals' age at time of death. Men have lower life expectancy and die earlier than women. In 2015, male deaths exceeded female deaths in all age groups, except for the 5 to 9, 80 to 84 and 85 and over age groups, in other words, more men than women died in most age groups (figure 4.4). This fact is particularly visible between 15 and 64 years old, a time when the number of male deaths is at least double that of women.

**Figure 4.4 – Sex ratio at death, by age group (%) - Portugal, 2015**

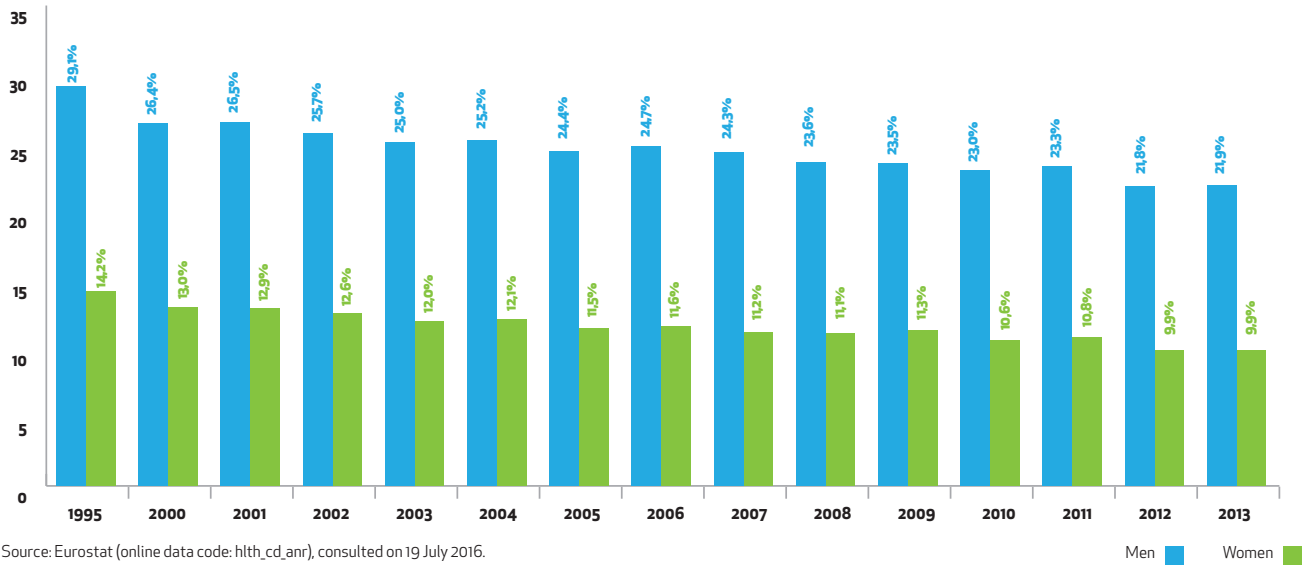


Source: INE, IP (2015), consulted on 27 July 2016.

In effect, in 2013, over 1/5 of men who died were aged between 15 and 64 (21.9%) (figure 4.5). Although the percentage of male and female deaths in the working-age group (15 to 64 years) has declined over the years (1995-2013), the disparity between men and women remains above 10 percentage points. Thus it is possible to state that for every 10 men who die, 2 are aged between 15 and 64, while for women the corresponding figure is 1 in 10. In other words, as can be seen in figure 4.5, men of working age die some 2 to 2.5 times more than women in the same age group. This trend is only inverted at a late stage of life, more specifically after 80 years of age, at a time when the disparity between men and women means that there are more female deaths. This however is an inversion which seems to be due to the fact that the number of men in that age group (over 80 years of age) is significantly lower than that of women (EC, 2011).

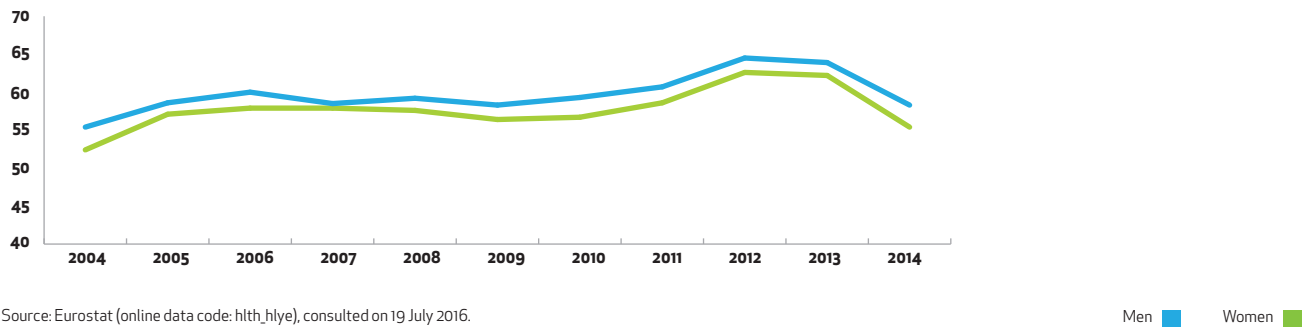


**Figure 4.5 - Deaths in the 15 to 64 years age group as a percentage of total deaths, by sex (%) - Portugal, 1995-2013**



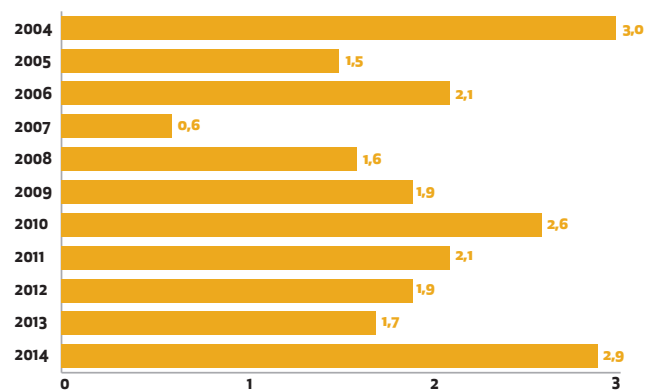
Although women's life expectancy at birth is higher than that of men, with a recorded difference of 6.4 years in 2014 (figure 4.2), and the number of male deaths in almost all age groups is higher than that of women (figure 4.4), the data on number of healthy years for both men and women (figure 4.6) show that, in Portugal, as in other European countries (EC, 2011; Norwegian Ministry of Children and Equality, 2009), men have on average more years of healthy life than women.

**Figure 4.6 - Years of healthy life at birth, by sex - Portugal, 2004-2014**



This means that Portuguese men have more years of life in which their (daily) activity is not affected by health problems. Although in the period in question (2004-2014) there was some variation, it is possible to conclude overall that the disparity between men and women is always around 2 years of healthy life, in favour of men (figure 4.7).

**Figure 4.7- Disparity between men and women in years of healthy life at birth (years) - Portugal, 2004-2014**

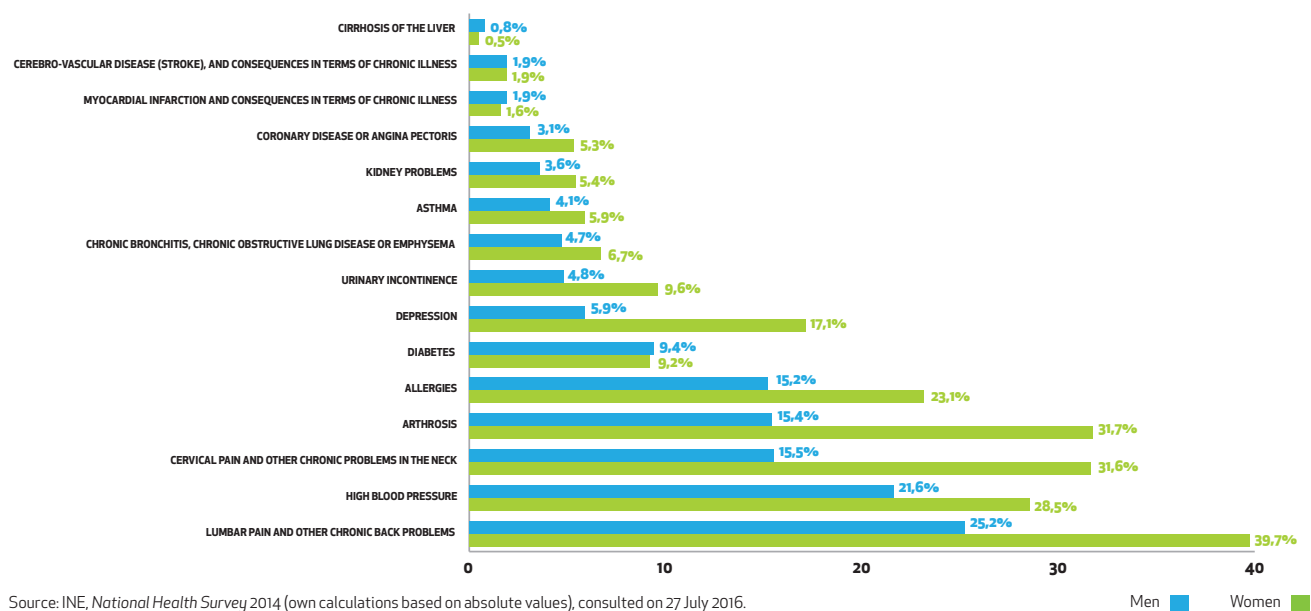


Based on an analysis of the results of the National Health Survey conducted in 2005 and 2006, in mainland Portugal, Perelman, Fernandes and Mateus (2012) set out to analyse gender differences in health and health care in Portugal, thus contributing to the ongoing discussion of these trends globally. The authors conclude that although women have a more negative perception of their health status, miss work more often and are more prone to chronic illnesses, they are only partially prevented from working, while men are totally so, and this is reflected in more days off work. In addition, women resort more frequently to health care services. Nevertheless, socio-economic status affects health differences between men and women. In this connection, the following elements of socio-economic status stand out: educational attainment level, professional occupation and employment status. The persistence of health differences between men and women after controlling for socio-economic factors, leads these authors to conclude that it is necessary to analyse the relationship between gender and health in greater depth, by taking into account more detailed information on the socio-economic and psycho-economic factors which affect health (Perelman, Fernandes and Mateus, 2012: 2346-2347).

### 4.1.3.3 Health status: chronic illnesses, absenteeism, self-assessment of health status and frequency of doctor's consultations

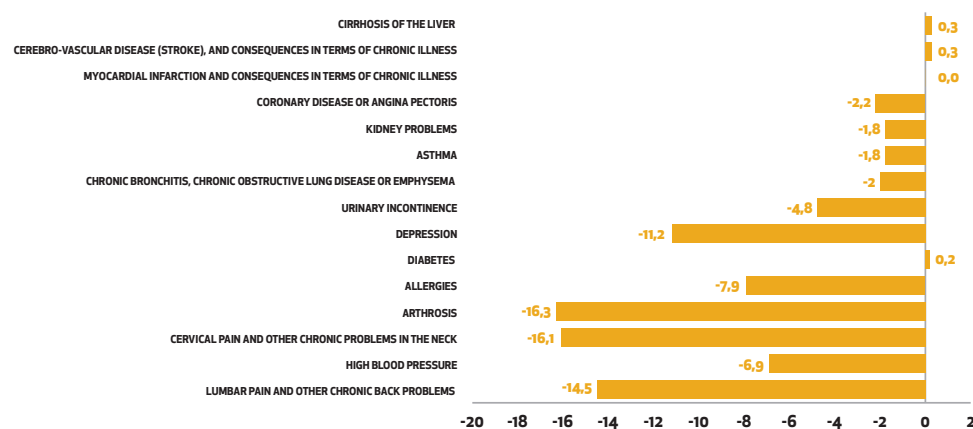
Analysis of the results of the most recent National Health Survey (INE/INSA 2016), applied in 2014, with respect to the health status indicator reveals that women suffer more from health problems over the life course, in particular from chronic illnesses (figure 4.8). With the exception of myocardial infarction, cerebro-vascular disease (stroke), diabetes and cirrhosis of the liver, and their consequences in terms of chronic illness, chronic illnesses affect women more than men, with particular emphasis on illnesses such as arthrosis, lumbar pain and other chronic back problems, cervical pain and other chronic problems in the neck, and depression. For all these cases, the disparity between men and women is over ten percentage points, to the disadvantage of women (figure 4.9).

**Figure 4.8 – Chronic illnesses by sex (%) - Portugal, 2014**



Source: INE, National Health Survey 2014 (own calculations based on absolute values), consulted on 27 July 2016.

**Figure 4.9 – Disparity between men and women, by type of chronic illness (percentage points) - Portugal, 2014**



Source: INE/INSA, National Health Survey 2014 (own calculations based on absolute values), consulted on 27 July 2016.

**BOX: DEPRESSION AND MENTAL HEALTH**

Although men state they suffer less from depression than women (a difference of -11.2 percentage points in favour of men), the truth is that the probability of a man committing suicide is 3 times as high as for a woman. These results are constant from 2000 to 2014 (figure 4.15). According to the First National Epidemiological Study of Mental Health (2013)\*, there is a very high incidence of psychiatric disorders in Portugal: more than 1 in 5 individuals in the sample had had a psychiatric disorder in the 12 months prior to interview (22.9% annual incidence). This is the second-highest rate in Europe, lower only than Northern Ireland, which has an annual incidence rate of 23.1%. For Portugal, the estimated incidence of psychiatric disorders over a lifetime is 42.7%. But in the 18 to 34 age group the lifetime incidence is at 50.1%.

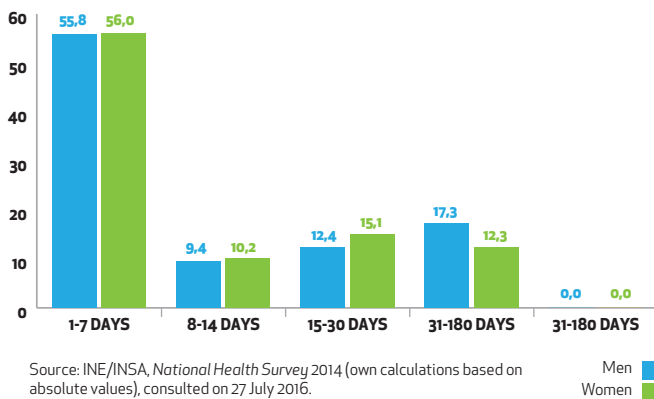
The study shows that the most serious situations are those of depression, with a worrying gap between appearance of symptoms and starting treatment – on average 5 years, and 4 years in cases of severe depression. Women, younger people, and those separated, divorced or widowed are more often subject to psychiatric disorders. Women are

more likely to suffer from depression and anxiety, while men suffer from lack of control over impulses and substance abuse. Those with low to average educational attainment levels suffer from impulse control and substance abuse disorders. However, not all psychiatric disorders have the same probability of being treated. Women aged between 50 and 64, those who suffer from depression, those with higher educational attainment levels and those who are separated/divorced or widowed most frequently receive some form of treatment. In addition, the study confirms the high consumption rates for psycho-pharmaceutical drugs among the Portuguese. Almost a quarter of Portuguese women and one-tenth of Portuguese men mention that they used anti-depressants in the 12 months prior to interview. In comparative terms with other European countries in the study, Portugal has one of the highest rates of psycho-pharmaceutical drug consumption, particularly among women.

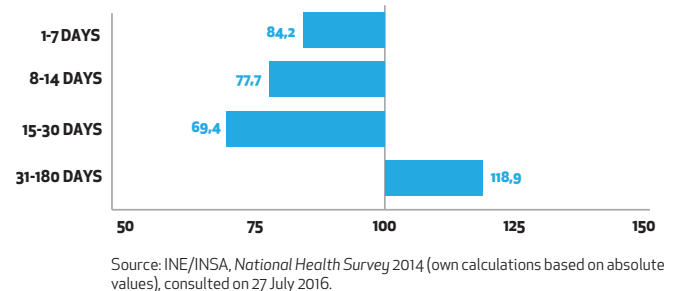
\*This is a study included in the World Mental Health Initiative, a World Health Organization programme which took place in over 30 countries in five continents, co-ordinated by the Harvard University. In Portugal, the study was organized by psychiatrists José Miguel Caldas de Almeida and Miguel Xavier, and applied in 2009 to a representative sample of the Portuguese population.

In 2014, there were more women than men taking time off work for health reasons (figure 4.10). Although the number of men in employment in Portugal is higher than the number of women employed (see Chapter 2), some 29.1% of women, compared to 23.1% of men, mention that they were absent from their workplace for at least one whole day on account of health problems, in the 12 months prior to the interview (INE/INSA 2016). The majority of employees (55.9%) were absent from their workplace for between 1 and 7 days. Despite the number of workplace absentee women being higher than the number of men in all categories of the days off work variable, there is one exception. In the 31 to 180 days category there were 86 258 men (17.3% of the total number of men who were off work for health reasons) compared to 72 577 women (12.3% of the total number of women who were off work for health reasons) (sex ratio 118.9) (figure 4.11). This information makes it possible to state that men who were absent from their workplace for health reasons in 2014 had more severe health problems than the women. As a rule, the 35 to 44 age group is the one with the highest incidence of health problems, affecting both men and women, representing some 30% of the total.

**Figure 4.10 – Absenteeism due to health problems for at least one day in the 12 months prior to interview, by sex and number of days (%) - Portugal, 2014**

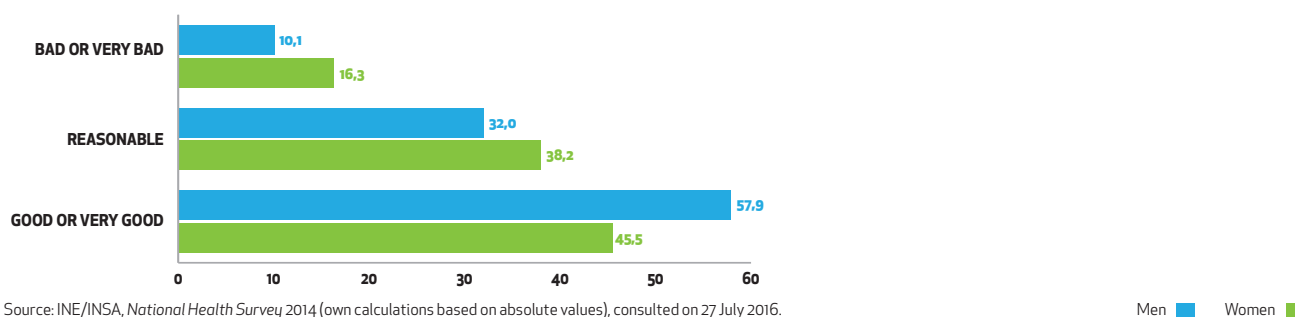


**Figure 4.11 – Sex ratio in number of days absent from work due to health problems (%) – Portugal, 2014**



When asked about their health status, men assess themselves more positively than women. In 2014, 57.8% of men stated that their health status was good or very good, while 54.8% of women asserted that their health status was reasonable, bad or very bad. For every 100 women who stated they were in good or very good health there were 112 men. In the categories i) reasonable and ii) bad or very bad, the sex ratio is negative, there being for every 100 women 73.9 and 54.3 men, respectively.

**Figure 4.12 - Resident population aged 15 and over, by sex and self-assessment of health status (%) - Portugal, 2014**



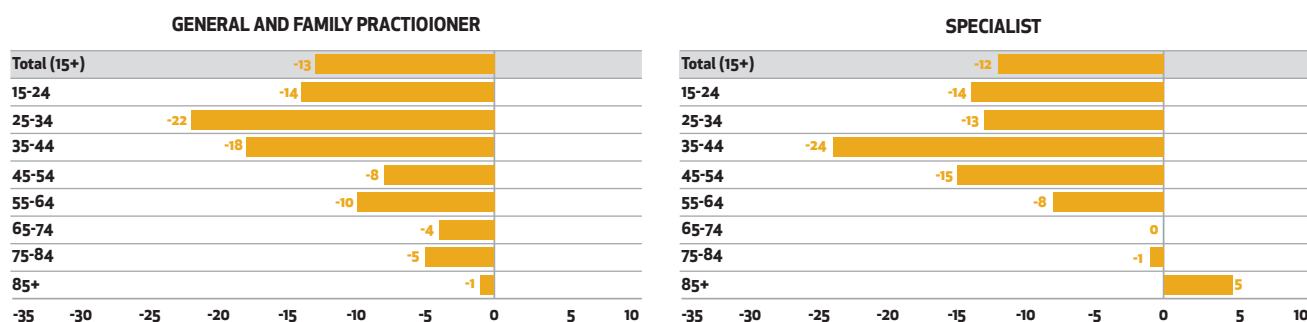
Source: INE/INSA, National Health Survey 2014 (own calculations based on absolute values), consulted on 27 July 2016.

Even though Portuguese men suffer less from chronic illness, miss work less often for health reasons and are more satisfied with their health status, they die on average earlier than women do. This seems to be due to multiple factors: less recourse to preventive medicine (lower frequency of doctor’s consultations, in particular with specialists); sub-diagnosis (undergoing fewer diagnostic tests and medical screenings); adoption of risk behaviours (greater consumption of tobacco, alcohol and drugs/illegal psychoactive substances) and less healthy lifestyles (even though they do more physical exercise than women do, men have less healthy eating habits). All these, along with age, educational attainment and occupational factors (socio-economic circumstances) and genetic, anatomical and physiological differences between the sexes (Prazeres, 2004) seem to be contributing to a significant disparity between men and women in terms of the causes of death.

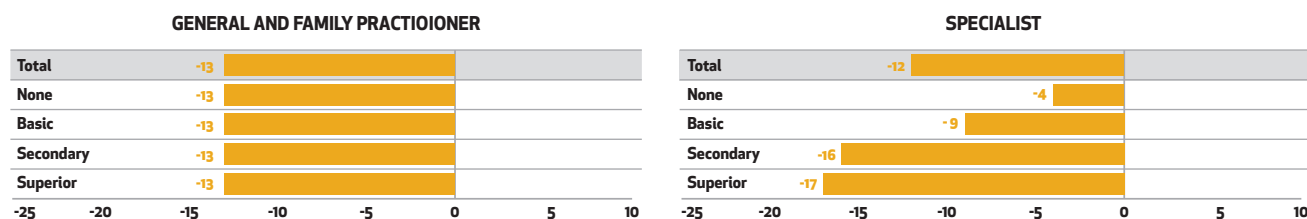
In connection with the frequency of doctor’s consultations (figures 4.13 and 4.14), the results of the 2014 National Health Survey (INE/INSA, 2016) show that although for both sexes the frequency of general or family practitioner consultations is significantly higher than those with specialists, the disparity between men and women, as a

rule, always favours women. Nonetheless, the disparity tends to lessen with age, and is at its lowest in the older age groups, from age 65 to 74 onwards. Another interesting statistic derives from crossing frequency of consultations with educational attainment level. Individuals with lower attainment levels (those with no educational attainment or basic schooling) are over-represented in general or family practitioner consultations, with numbers varying between 88.7% and 83.2% for women, and 75.7% and 70.7% for men. In contrast, individuals with higher educational attainment levels (secondary and higher education) have more consultations with specialists, although there is a fairly marked disparity between men and women, of 16 and 17 percentage points, respectively, in favour of women. However, while educational attainment seems to influence the frequency of specialist consultations by women, for men it is age rather than educational attainment which seems to influence the frequency of decision to consult a specialist. In this connection, bearing in mind that younger men are also those with higher educational attainment, it is possible to conclude that men have less recourse to medical consultations for preventive health reasons (see Box: Sexual and reproductive health in Portugal).

**Figure 4.13 - Disparity between men and women who attended at least one medical consultation in the last 12 months, by type of consultation (general or family practitioner, or specialist) and age group (%) - Portugal, 2014**



**Figure 4.14 - Disparity between men and women who attended at least one medical consultation in the last 12 months, by type of consultation (general or family practitioner, or specialist) and educational attainment level (%) - Portugal, 2014**



Source: INE/INSA, National Health Survey 2014 (own calculations based on absolute values), consulted on 27 July 2016.

## BOX: SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH IN PORTUGAL

More than two decades after the Cairo Conference (1994), which set out a new agenda for protecting and promoting women's and men's reproductive rights, as well as making men jointly responsible in the spheres of sexuality, reproduction and parenthood (Cunha, 2010), sexual and reproductive health in Portugal is a field of government and technical intervention, and even of academic reflection, in which women are still the main focus.

Even though the two most recent fertility surveys included the views of men on their contraception practices (INE, 2001; INE/FFMS, 2014), in the last National Health Survey, applied in 2014 (INE/INSA 2016), questions on sexual and reproductive health were addressed only to women. In addition, even though Decree-Law 259/2000 of 17 October mentions the need to facilitate men's access to family planning consultations, particularly for younger men, over 15 years later there is still no data on men's take-up of these consultations (nor are there any campaigns promoting them). It is estimated, however, that the numbers are low. Finally, the increasing use of the pill by Portuguese women has taken responsibility away from men in terms of family planning, particularly

when stable heterosexual relationships are at stake. In effect, compared to what happens in other European countries, the use of male contraceptive methods in Portugal is substantially lower than in the Nordic countries, and even than in Spain (Almeida and Vilar, 2008).

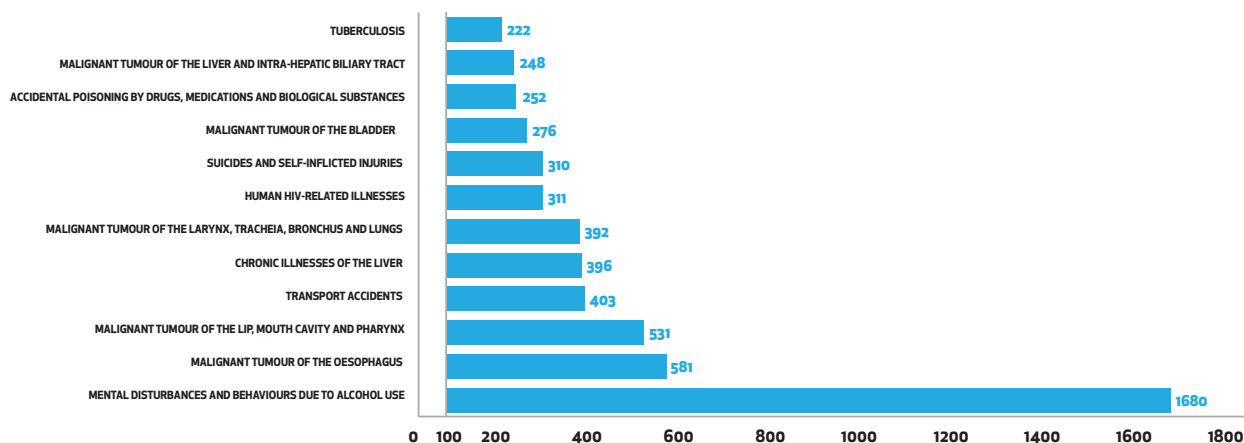
Thus, as analysis of legislation adopted in Portugal shows, changes in the field of sexual and reproductive health have largely been designed with women in mind: i) Law 32/2006 of 26 July, which governs the use of medically assisted procreation techniques; ii) Law 16/2007 of 17 April, which decriminalizes voluntary termination of pregnancy in the first 10 weeks at the request of the woman; iii) Dispatch 8378/2008 (2nd Series, 57), which incorporates vaccination against cervical cancer (HPV) into the National Vaccination Plan (PNV); iv) Resolution 46/2010 of 15 April of the National Parliament, which recommends to the government a series of measures aimed at guaranteeing women's right to sexual and reproductive health throughout their lives including, in point 10 of the Resolution, "adequate and regular medical and psychological monitoring, in the National Health Service (SNS) to prevent and treat menopause-related conditions [...]".

### 4.1.3.4 Causes of death in men

In 2014, 105,219 deaths were registered in Portugal, mostly as a result of the following sets of causes: diseases of the circulatory system (including strokes) 32,288 deaths (30.7% of total) and malignant tumours 26,220 deaths (24.9% of total) (INE, 2016). Together, these two sets account for 55.6% of total deaths in 2014, thus perpetuating a trend observed since the 1980s (INE, IP, 2002). In 2014, 59.7% of deaths from malignant tumours occurred in males, while 54.9% of deaths from circulatory diseases occurred in females.

Among the circulatory diseases, ischemic heart disease (which includes acute myocardial infarction) stands out for affecting more men than women. In 2014, the number of male deaths arising from this type of illness was 1.3 times higher than the number of female deaths, a trend which has remained unchanged since at least the beginning of the 1990s (INE, IP, 2002). Nonetheless, it should be noted that between 1991 and 2014 there was a reduction, in absolute terms, in the number of deaths due to ischemic heart disease. Compared to 5,380 male deaths in 1991, there were 4,278 deaths in 2014, a change of -20.5% (1991-2014). In other words, over approximately 25 years, there was a reduction of about 1/5 in the number of deaths from ischemic heart disease. In terms of circulatory system diseases, however, the most surprising factor is cerebrovascular illness (like strokes), which affects women above all, with a recorded ratio of 76.5 male deaths for every 100 female deaths (INE, 2016). Between 1991 and 2014 there was a change of -53.7% in male deaths from cerebrovascular illnesses, and of -52.2% for women.

Still in connection with causes of death affecting men more than women, and excluding prostate cancer (figure 4.15), there are various causes of death affecting men above all, in particular HIV-AIDS (3.1 times more); malignant tumour of the lip, mouth cavity and pharynx (5.3 times more); malignant tumour of the oesophagus (5.8 times more); malignant tumour of the larynx, trachea, bronchus and lungs (3.9 times more); mental disturbances and behaviours due to alcohol use (16.8 times more); chronic illnesses of the liver (4.0 times more). In addition to internal causes of death, that is to say, health problems, there are also significant external causes of death like road traffic accidents (4 times more) and suicide (3.1 times more), all of which affect mostly men. These are systematic results, and change little over the years. Between 2000 and 2014, the sex ratio in most of the selected causes of male deaths remained over 200, which indicates the persistent association of men with certain causes of death, particularly those arising from external factors and regarded as more violent, like suicide and road traffic accidents.

**Figure 4.15 – Sex ratio in causes of death mainly affecting men (sex ratio > 200) – Portugal, 2014**

Source: INE/INSA, National Health Survey 2014 (own calculations based on absolute values), consulted on 27 July 2016.

#### 4.1.3.5 Risk factors

The causes of death which affect men above all can be seen as a consequence of the construction of male identity in boys, in so far as it equates to the adoption of risk behaviours and specific life-styles (Prazeres, 2004). Greater consumption of alcohol and tobacco seem to be some of the factors which explain the persistent association between the above-mentioned causes of death and men. Data from the most recent National Health Survey (INE/INSA 2016), applied in 2014, show the persistence of a trend which has emerged over the years: there are more men smokers than women, and men also consume more alcohol. In addition, although they do more physical exercise than women, few of them do so regularly, and it is more common for men to eat less healthily than women, particularly in the fact they eat less fruit and vegetables.

##### Tobacco

In 2014, 59.6% of Portuguese men smoked or had smoked at least once in their lives (as against 26.1% of women). Among younger people (from 15 to 34 years of age), 48.2% of men smoked or had smoked at least once in their lives (as against 33.4% of women). The data shows that the number of women who have at any point in their lives had contact with tobacco is increasing. But if we limit the analysis to those who smoke every day, we can see that 23.5% of men resident in Portugal smoke daily (as against 10.9% of women), thus maintaining a significant difference between men and women, of 12.6 percentage points, to the detriment of men. 2014 data show further that 16.8% of the resident population smoke daily and that the highest percentage of daily smokers (20.2%) is found among those with secondary education. In terms of disparity between men and women, 25.6% of men with basic schooling smoke daily, a percentage well above the national average. But the disparity between men and women reduces as educational attainment levels increase.

##### Alcohol

In 2014, men were 4 times more likely to die of chronic liver illness than women (sex ratio 395.7) and 16 times more likely to die from mental and behavioural disturbances as a result of alcohol use (sex ratio 1680.0). The percentage of men who drank alcohol in the last 12 months (among the resident population aged 15 and over) was 84.9%, compared to 56.8% for women. Among men who drank alcohol in the last 12 months, 58.2% had basic schooling, which suggests that alcohol consumption in Portugal is particularly frequent among those with lower levels of educational attainment (45.0% of women with basic schooling). Thus, and unlike what happens in the rest of Europe, particularly in countries not producing wine, alcohol consumption does not increase with the level of educational attainment.

More important than understanding changes in the consumption of alcohol by educational attainment level is understanding the association between age and the consumption of alcohol, in particular excessive alcohol consumption measured by risky alcohol consumption (6 or more drinks on one occasion, internationally known as 'binge drinking'). In 2014, men who drank alcohol in the last 12 months, 44.7% had consumed 6 or more drinks on a single occasion. The 15 to 24, 25 to 34 and 35 to 44 years age groups are those with higher than average consumption: 55.8%; 60.3% and 52.7%, respectively. This means that those in the younger age groups have a greater propensity to adopt risk behaviours, in this case the excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages.

The situation is reversed for women. Most women state they have never had 6 or more drinks on a single occasion (56.4%), although younger women do present higher risk behaviour; 33.5% of women aged between 15 and 24, and 30.3% of women between 25 and 34 stated they had had 6 or more drinks on a single occasion in the 12 months prior to interview (see Box: Alcohol and Gender). This means that even though men's and women's behaviour in connection with alcohol consumption differs, younger women show a pattern of behaviour clearly different from women aged 35 and over, while the behaviour of younger men is closer to that of older men, especially if we take into account those who "never had 6 or more drinks on a single occasion", a category with close to average values for all ages.



## BOX: ALCOHOL AND GENDER \*

The common element, in differing percentages for each type of ethyl alcohol-based alcoholic beverage, is ethanol, a substance with neurotropic effects which interferes with mental functions (psychotropic). Alongside the harmful effects of direct contact with the digestive tract, especially if taken while fasting or on any empty stomach, and in proportion to the concentration or volume of alcohol in each drink (higher in distillates or “white” drinks, lower in fermented drinks like wine and beer), it has significant potential for:

- Dependence: produces unpleasant physical and mental symptoms in the habitual user who suddenly stops;
- Tolerance: to achieve the same psychic effects (reduction of anxiety in social situations, removing inhibitions, etc.) the chronic drinker increases the quantity of alcohol ingested (“habituation” effect).

There is however another particular metabolic feature of alcohol – it is different for each gender, varying with age, for strictly biological reasons, because for females:

- the average body surface is smaller, so the same quantity of ethanol in circulation will achieve higher blood concentration for the same volume ingested;
- ethanol does not mix with fat (adipose tissue) and as the female body tends to have higher concentrations of this tissue, in not being absorbed by them it also achieves higher blood concentration, in the cells and organs;
- until the menopause the liver has less metabolic capacity (digestion) in relation to alcohol, for hormonal reasons;

- because ethanol affects foetus and baby growth, the WHO has long recommended that no alcoholic beverage be taken during pregnancy and breastfeeding.

For the WHO the maximum daily dose of fermented drinks for women (distilled drinks are excluded from the outset because of their very high concentration of alcohol), in addition to recommending that they be taken with food, is 1/3 of the male recommended maximum:

- one draught beer per day;
- one glass of wine per day.

After the menopause the potential for hepatic metabolization improves (because of the reduction in oestrogens) but other physical and constitutional limitations remain, so the maximum recommended daily dose may be increased, but is still not as high as the male equivalent.

For both sexes, ethanol represents “dead calories”: its metabolization (which occurs mainly in the liver) takes place at the expense of the energy which its decomposition requires, and does not require drawing on food reserves (adipose or fat deposits) or on the calories made available by the digestion of food taken at the same time (in particular carbohydrates). It thus conflicts with any attempt to lose weight, as it has the opposite effect, hence the fact that most weight loss programmes ban alcohol.

\*Explanatory note drawn up on the basis of the “Global status report on alcohol and health” (WHO, 2014), kindly ceded by Dr. Alvaro Carvalho (Director of the National Mental Health Programme /DGS).

### Physical exercise and eating habits

Despite the benefits of regular exercise for men’s and women’s health<sup>1</sup>, in 2014, 64.9% of the Portuguese did no physical exercise (INE/INSA, 2016). This is one of the highest figures in the whole of the EU, exceeded only by Bulgaria (78%) and Malta (75%) (EC, 2014), countries which are even more sedentary than Portugal. But there are differences in terms of gender, age, educational attainment level, employment status and socio-occupational status. Males, younger people, and those with higher educational attainment levels tend to do more physical exercise than females, the elderly, and those with lower attainment levels. Thus sex, age and educational attainment level have a strong impact on how much physical exercise people do, i. e. at least once a week. In addition, and as is to be expected, employed persons are more active than the retired and the unemployed, with the same disparity between men and women mentioned earlier. In other words, women are slightly more sedentary than men. In this connection it is also worth highlighting the case of inactive men as compared to inactive women, with a disparity of – 31.8 p.p. (percentage points) to the disadvantage of women, which is explained by the still high number of Portuguese women who are housewives, i. e. have no paid work.

Among those who do regular physical exercise, there is a difference between men and women in the time they spend each week on physical exercise. As a rule, women, even younger women, spend less than 3 hours per week on physical exercise (57.9% of women in the 15 to 24 age group and 65.6% in the 25 to 34 age group). Men, by contrast, especially younger men, tend to spend 3 or more

hours per week on physical exercise (61.8% for those aged 15 to 24; 55.6% for those aged 25 to 34). The difference between men and women is particularly marked, i. e., over 10 percentage points, in favour of men, up to age 44, declining thereafter, even though men continue as a rule to do more physical exercise than women.

How then do we explain that even though men do more physical exercise than women, there are more overweight and obese men than women in Portugal (in a ratio of 57.1% to 49.1%, respectively)? First, although Portuguese men do more physical exercise than women, weekly exercise levels for both sexes remain low, in that the vast majority of interviewees responded that they do no physical exercise (59.3% in the case of men and 69.8% in the case of women).

Another possible explanation may lie in the eating habits of the Portuguese. Their food diet, according to data from the Global Burden of Disease Study, 2010 (AA. VV., 2015), is characterised by low fruit intake (less than 3 pieces of fruit per day); by excessive consumption of foods high in salt; by very little intake of vegetables, low intake of dried fruits and excess consumption of processed meats. In addition, as mentioned in the report entitled The state of men’s health in Europe (EC, 2011), the male food diet tends to be less healthy and less nutritious than the female diet. In effect, according to the special issue of Eurobarometer - Health and Food Special Eurobarometer 246, published in 2006: “Men tend to be less likely than women to associate a healthy diet with eating more fruit and vegetables or with not eating too many fatty foods (EC,

<sup>1</sup> The practice of regular physical exercise, i. e. at least once a week, is important, in as much as it is directly tied to the prevention of chronic illnesses like cardiovascular disease, type 2 diabetes, some forms of cancer and obesity. It also has a positive effect on muscle and skeletal strength and psychological well-being. Physical activity also lessens the risk of high blood pressure and high cholesterol, and is associated with healthy eating and not smoking (EC, 2011).

2006)”. Additionally, and again according to the same Eurobarometer, while women eat healthily because they want to lose weight, men do so because they want to stay healthy. In this connection, the fact that in many cases cooking is a female responsibility means that men, as a rule, have less control over their food diet, nearly always revealing that they know less about nutrition issues than women. Finally, and as mentioned in the The state of men’s health in Europe (2011) report, gender differences in job situation and number of daily hours devoted to work should be taken into account. Men are more subject to long working days outside the home, to shift work and to having to travel long distances to get to and from work, which may mean they more often resort to snacks and fast food (EC, 2011: 24-25).

The results of the most recent National Health Survey, applied in 2014 (INE/INSA 2016), indicate further that being overweight and obese, for both men and women, is widely associated with the less well educated strata of society (those with no educational attainment level and those with basic schooling), which raises the possibility of a strong association of high calorie and high salt intake and scarce financial and educational resources of most of the Portuguese. The situation has worsened among school-age children too, where there are high levels of sedentary living and high calorie intake, leading to a prevalence of overweight and obesity among the younger generations as well.

## BOX: VIEWS OF STAKEHOLDERS ON MEN AND HEALTH

### Male contraception: ignorance and under-use

*Until the availability of the pill, control [of contraception] was basically in men’s hands: they used condoms, practised coitus interruptus ... it was in fact in their hands. When the pill came along men were practically deprived of responsibility for fertility control. It is women who control when they take the pill and so the time when they want to get pregnant or not.*

*[Currently], the issue of male contraception is important, but it has mostly been framed as: “The man should help the woman with family planning”. In my opinion, the man should help himself first of all. If he is in a relationship, he is obviously in a relationship (...) men’s attitudes to contraception should look to the interests of the couple, but even within that relationship, he has to look out for his own interests. I think men have to fight for their own interests as men. And men also have specific problems as men.*

*At this time there are just two [safe] male measures, the condom and vasectomy. Vasectomy, which is an excellent method for men who no longer want to have children and which has no impact on their sex lives, (...) is unknown [as a method of contraception]: the number of users in Portugal is 0.4%. If we look to Spain, which is close to us, the percentage of men who have had a vasectomy is considerably higher. In Brazil too. Not to mention the Nordic countries, where the percentage of men who’ve had a vasectomy is even higher. So there is an issue here of why this option is not on the table. There is a great deal of ignorance surrounding this method.*

**Duarte Vilar, APF - Family Planning Association (Focus Stakeholders)**

### Sex education and sexual and reproductive health: questions of citizenship

*From the health point of view, men and adolescents talk less with each other and sometimes end up in situations of greater vulnerability (...) than women, who have been brought up to ask for help if they have problems and to talk with each other.*

*[In my capacity as executive director of the APF], I had a meeting yesterday with Madam Secretary of State for Equality and Citizenship and mentioned the importance of working specifically with men and boys. I’ve had experience of giving sex education classes, where I split up the boys and girls, in a first stage, and then brought them together again. It is indeed important for boys to have a space where they can talk about themselves, regardless of any subsequent very salutary event, which is when they are faced with the views and, let’s say, the lives of women. Because it is also in this relationship [between the sexes] that you build and rebuild gender identity.*

*In matters of health it’s the same thing, not all are equal when it comes to talking about reproductive health. Of course you don’t talk about the same thing when you talk of a gay, bisexual or heterosexual man. There are completely different issues and also different concerns. Just as there are [clinical] studies based on men only but which subsequently have consequences for women, so too there is the opposite. For example, the HPV vaccine, which is used only on women, when HPV obviously also affects men.*

*I think all these issues, the question of reproductive health and sex education in schools, all that has to be dealt with, with a clear gender perspective, giving men and boys space to express their desires and their problems. These are matters of citizenship. It has to be that way.*  
**Duarte Vilar, APF - Family Planning Association (Focus Stakeholders)**

## 4.1.4 Recommendations

The analysis of Men and Health and the contributions of gender equality experts and stakeholders to the project (see Box: Views and Box: Recommendations), produce the following recommendations of this White Paper:

**To develop more in-depth studies on the impact of social inequalities on men's health and undertake awareness campaigns based on the social determinants of men's health.** Particular attention should be given to men with fewer educational, occupational and financial resources. These are men who are in a disadvantaged social position, take less care over their nutrition, make less use of professional healthcare services and are more likely to be found in high-risk occupations (such as construction industry). For all these reasons they are at a clear disadvantage in relation to other men and the population as a whole. Specific campaigns are required to target these men, so as to make them aware of the need to take better care of themselves, thus giving them the chance for a longer and healthier life. It is particularly important that these campaigns be directed at the younger generation, i.e. to boys from disadvantaged social backgrounds given the risk of social inequalities being reproduced in health matters;

**To promote awareness campaigns aimed at young men (aged 15 to 29) alerting them to the risk of death due to external causes.** Most deaths in this age group are the result of external factors, above all traffic-accidents, which account for about 25% of all young males deaths. The probability of a man dying in a traffic accident is some four times higher than for a woman (a probability which remained unchanged between 2000 and 2014). These campaigns should be undertaken in schools, from the first cycle of basic schooling up to secondary level, in partnership with associations representing those who have been seriously and irrecoverably injured in traffic accidents;

**To develop awareness campaigns on the effects of excessive alcohol consumption over the life course.** Such campaigns should provide information on metabolic changes resulting from alcohol consumption, according to gender and age, as well as on alcohol-related pathologies and causes of death. Recent data indicate that young Portuguese males have a greater propensity for excessive alcohol consumption on a single occasion (6 or more drinks on a single occasion), but the behaviour of younger women (up to age 35) is closer to that of men, and in some cases even overtaking it, as mentioned in ECA-TD-CAD 2015 (Feijão, 2015), in connection with risky consumption of alcohol by girls. The target age groups for these campaigns are young people (between 15 and 34 years) of both sexes in secondary and higher education.

**Adopt urgent measures to combat male suicide.** The probability of a man committing suicide is three times higher than a woman's. Even though suicide is more frequent among the elderly, especially elderly men living in the Alentejo, on account of social isolation, incapacitating illnesses and lack of financial resources, at least 1 in 10 male deaths between the ages of 15 and 39 are the result of suicide. Thus, on the one hand, urgent measures need to be adopted to combat suicide among older men, in particular by improved diagnostic training and treatment of depression in primary health care, and to combat social isolation and lack of financial resources in advanced age [as put forward in the National Suicide Prevention Plan 2013-2017 (Carvalho *et al.* undated)] and, on the other hand, it is necessary to act in relation

to younger men, in particular boys of school age, by setting up more community mental health teams, taken from general hospitals, to tie in with primary healthcare professionals, so that it is not only family doctors who monitor those with suicidal tendencies (men/women; boys/girls);

**To promote specific campaigns aimed at men, regardless of their sexual orientation, on the use of male contraceptive methods, like condoms and vasectomy.** In Portugal, for reasons connected with mass use of the pill as the contraceptive method of choice for women and the implementation of family planning consultations in health centres after 25 April 1974, sexual and reproductive health questions are in most cases regarded as a matter for women. It is however necessary to examine the issue of male contraception, bearing in mind men's and women's interests, in so much as it broadens the range of contraceptive choices, particularly when couples decide to have no more children;

**To include sex education in the curriculum of various disciplines, and to set up a specific Education for Health and Citizenship discipline which include matters relating to sexuality.** Law 60/2009 of 6 August established the system for applying sex education in schools (public, private and co-operative primary and secondary teaching establishments), with each child and young person having a minimum numbers of hours of sex education in each school year – 6 hours in the first and second cycles and 12 hours in the third cycle and in secondary education. It was complemented by Regulation 196-A/ 2010 of 9 April, which defined the sex education content for each cycle of basic and secondary education. In 2012, the abolition of non-disciplinary curricular subjects – Civics Training, Project Area and Accompanied Study, created serious hindrances to implementing sex education in schools. When the 21st constitutional government, headed by António Costa, took office, discussion on the adoption of sex education in schools, at the various levels, was once again on the agenda, as part of the new curriculum discipline Education for Health and Citizenship;

**To include the Human Papilloma Virus (HPV) vaccine for boys in the National Vaccination Plan (PNV – Plano Nacional de Vacinação).** In 2008, Dispatch 8378/2008 (2nd Series, issue 57) brought the cervical cancer vaccine available for girls on the National Health Service (SNS). Although the HPV vaccine for boys is available on the market its cost is not subsidised by the State. Nevertheless, HPV is among the probable causes of malignant tumour of the lip, mouth cavity and pharynx and of malignant tumours of the oesophagus which affect men 5 times more than women; and men continue to be HPV carriers.

**To ensure that men and boys take advantage of the services and health care available to them on the National Health Service (SNS).** To publicize what services and healthcare are available to men on National Health Service units. To this end it is necessary to undertake awareness campaigns for males, stressing the importance of information on matters of sexual and reproductive health throughout life. The 5th National Equality Plan (2014-2017) envisages the production of technical reference material (Measure 24) and the inclusion of the gender perspective in health programmes relating to Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs), Non-Transmittable Diseases, Sexual and Reproductive Health and Violence over the life course (Measure 25), but there are no concrete measures for practical action addressed to the male public.

**BOX: RECOMMENDATIONS OF EXPERTS AND STAKEHOLDERS ON MEN AND HEALTH**

*Improve knowledge of men's attitudes and representations in connection with their health problems and needs and specifically their sexual and reproductive health, including matters relating to different sexual orientations, by carrying out studies on these topics.*

*Draw up a Sexual and Reproductive Health Plan for Men.*

*Undertake specific campaigns directed at males on male sexual and reproductive health, in particular on the use of male contraceptive methods like condoms and vasectomy, and on the supply of health care and services for men available in SNS units.*

*Create a specific discipline of Education for Health and Citizenship – ESC – to include matters relating to sex education. Include gender aspects in sex education, including specific topics more directed at boys and young men.*

**Duarte Vilar, APF - Family Planning Association (Focus Stakeholders)**

*Undertake more studies on the impact of social factors on men's health and promote campaigns targeted at men in particular.*

*Promote caring (non-violent) forms of masculinity from early childhood onwards as a measure for promoting health and well-being of children, men and their partners.*

*Extend to men the scope of application of the sexual and reproductive health module in the National Health Survey (INE/INSA 2016). In 2014, this module was only applied to women.*

**Vasco Prazeres, DGS - Director General of Health (Final Conference)**

*There is a lot of work to be done on the construction of the masculine identity. Masculinity has a significant element of aggressiveness, of danger, of strength ... Maybe there would be fewer deaths. Maybe they wouldn't get involved in such dangerous activities, particularly as far as driving is concerned. (...) I did that as a teacher, in the work on deconstructing stereotypes of masculinity and femininity.*

**Virgínia Ferreira, expert researcher in gender equality (Interview)**

## 4.2 - Men and Violence

### 4.2.1 Introduction

In Portugal, the fact that the family is a place of violence gained visibility and social recognition with the advent of democracy from 25 April 1974 onwards. Until then the ideology of the *Estado Novo*, backed up by conservative Catholic morality, imposed a view of the family based on a rigid hierarchy of men's authority and power over women and of parents over children (Wall, 2011). "Those who can give orders do so, those who have to, obey", was one of Salazar's maxims (Casimiro, 2011). As head of the family, the man was the representative of authority and the guardian of morality, and it was his role to discipline both his children and his wife (Wall, 2011).

Following the 25 April 1974 revolution, feminist movements encouraged public debate on male violence against women (Casimiro, 2011). From 1976 onwards, and after 1978 with the revision of the Civil Code, equality between men and women was enshrined in the law, and male domination lost its legitimacy, thus changing the patriarchal order which until then had governed family and gender relations in Portugal. At the same time, there was a growing awareness in Portuguese society of the issue of child abuse, which gained visibility from the 1980s onwards, following commemoration of the International Year of the Child, with the help of paediatricians, judges and other childhood professionals (Almeida, 2005).

This was the catalyst for students and researchers to start paying particular attention to the topic of violence in the family and subsequently to contribute to more in-depth knowledge of domestic violence, in particular violence by men against women in the conjugal context (Lourenço, Lisboa and Pais, 1997; Pais, 1996; Dias, 2004; Lisboa *et al.*, 2009, 2010). Greater awareness led to a need to devise and implement specific action measures. At the end of the 1990s, and in the light of EU-defined priorities in this domain, the government's agenda began to include topics such as the prevention and countering of domestic violence, by way of the creation of the Na-

tional Equality Plan (since 1997), the National Plan Against Domestic Violence (since 1999) and the Mission Organization against Domestic Violence (in 2005).

At the turn of the millennium, with the introduction of Law 7/2000 of 27 May, domestic violence became a public crime, no longer requiring the victim's complaint for a criminal case to be opened. Some years later, following the revision of the Penal Code in 2007 (Law 59/2007 of 4 September), the crime of domestic violence was re-defined, and now included "persons of another or the same sex with whom the perpetrator has, or has had, a relationship analogous to that of a married couple, with or without cohabitation" (article 152, clause 1, paragraph b), regardless of the victim's age and gender. And the Fourth National Plan Against Domestic Violence (PNCVD, 2011-2013), adopted in 2010, clearly reflects that change by including situations as diverse as violence between ex-partners, violence in courtship and violence in same-sex couples (Santos, 2012). At the same time, the public network of support for women victims of domestic violence was established, with formal safe houses, numbering 37 units in 2012 (Perista *et al.*, 2013). In 2013, Portugal became the third member-state of the Council of Europe to ratify the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention). Very recently, in September 2016, following the government's acknowledgement that men may also be the victims of domestic violence, the first safe house for male victims of domestic violence was opened:

*The government wants to provide a specific response for these men, the first of its kind in Portugal, moving ahead with a pilot project in the Algarve, with room for 10 victims, which will operate for one year [...]. There are an increasing number of cases of men victims, even though the majority of victims of this crime are women. (Speech by Deputy Minister, Eduardo Cabrita, in the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Affairs, Rights, Liberties and Guarantees, June 2016)<sup>2</sup>.*

<sup>2</sup> News story available on the website of the government of Portugal, at: <http://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/ministerios/madj/noticias/20160629-madj-seci-violencia-domestica-men.aspx>



This subsection on men and violence gives an account of a number of sociological studies carried out in Portugal on the topic of violence, focusing on the many different types of violence (physical, psychological and sexual) and the contexts in which it occurs (conjugal, courtship, children, school, between peers, etc.). Starting out by presenting the available statistical data on domestic violence, the aim is to analyse the relationship between men and violence in Portugal, from a gender equality perspective.

## 4.2.2 Highlights

**Men are the main perpetrators of violence, both of violence against women and violence against other men.** Violence against women occurs in the private space of the home and takes the form of physical violence. According to the Assassinated Women's Observatory (OMA), there were 43 women who died in 2014 as victims of domestic violence. In the vast majority of cases the men with whom they had, or had had, an intimate relationship are the perpetrators of the crime.

**Violence in the couple may also arise in the period of courtship,** establishing a cycle of violence prior to the transition to married life. In addition, this is a type of violence which takes place not just in the context of **heterosexual relationships**, but also in **same-sex relationships**.

**An increasing number of cases of domestic violence have come to be acknowledged in which men are the victims and women are the perpetrators.** There are more and more complaints and accusations in which the victims of conjugal violence are men. Violence of women against men takes on the nature of psychological violence.

**Men are also victims of sexual harassment in the workplace, and the perpetrator may be a man or a woman.** A recent national survey on moral and sexual harassment in the workplace showed that 9% of men and 15% of women reported having been victims of sexual harassment, by managers, colleagues or clients. In the case of female victims 95% of the sexual harassers are men and 5% are other women, in the case of male victims 65% of the sexual harassers are women and 35% are other men.

**Men are the main victims of violence between peers, which takes place mainly in public places.** Violence between peers is perpetrated in public – at school, in nightclubs, in the street, etc. – by men against other men, as a way of establishing a hierarchy within a group of male peers. Violence between peers is significant from the time boys start school, takes place at school, and affects boys more than girls.

**Certain groups of men are more subject to violence by other men.** Ethnic minorities, sexual minorities (homosexuals, transsexuals, effeminate men, transgenders, etc.), immigrants, the homeless and the disabled, are more vulnerable to situations of violence.

**Male victims of violence find it difficult to put themselves in the victim's position and lack reaction mechanisms to deal with**

**the violence perpetrated against them.** In the study on moral and sexual harassment in the workplace, the most frequent reaction of male victims of sexual harassment was to ignore the situation. In addition, male victims of violence in conjugal life find it difficult to see themselves as victims and are afraid of the social marginalization which that may bring about.

## 4.2.3 Developments and trends: what changes have there been in the situation of men and the disparity between men and women?

### 4.2.3.1 Men and domestic violence: what the data say

In 2015, according to INE data<sup>3</sup>, the PSP and GNR (urban and national police forces) recorded 23,543 cases of the crime of domestic violence against a spouse or partner, of which 3,275 (13.9% of the total) involved male victims of conjugal violence (3,299 in 2014, 3,058 in 2013 and 2,781 in 2012). These data are confirmed by the National Internal Security Report for the Year 2015 (SIS, 2016), which recorded 26,783 occurrences of domestic violence<sup>4</sup>, compared to 27,281 occurrences recorded in 2014. These figures differ, however, from the number of arrests, which has nonetheless risen gradually, from 417 in 2012 to 750 in 2015. In overall terms, domestic violence continues to account for a high number of murders of women: in 2015, 29 women were killed as a result of domestic violence, a figure which is high but lower than that recorded in 2014, when there were 43 women victims of domestic violence, 35 of whom were victims of those with whom they had an intimate relationship or had had such a relationship in the past (husband, partner, boyfriend, ex-husband, ex-partner, ex-boyfriend) (OMA Report 2014, cited by PGDL, 2015).

In Portugal, the number of men who submit a formal complaint or accusation of domestic violence to the police forces (PSP and GNR) or to institutions such as the Portuguese Association for Victims Support (APAV) is low compared to the number of women, but it has been increasing. Thus, although the majority of victims are female (84.6%) and most aggressors are male (86.9%), data from the National Internal Security Report for the Year 2015 (SIS, 2016), identify 3,508 female aggressors and 4,124 male victims, with the majority of these cases being situations of conjugal violence (57%) or violence between ex-partners (21%).

According to APAV (2016), between 2013 and 2015 there was an increase in the number of adult men who called on the services of this association for help after having been victims of domestic violence (395 in 2013 and 452 in 2015), and in 56% of these cases there was a conjugal relationship between victim and aggressor. Most of the victims were aged 60 or over. APAV, however, regards domestic violence perpetrated by women as being different from domestic violence perpetrated by men, because the former involves mainly situations where psychological violence is the rule, although in 25% of cases there is physical abuse.

Men who are victims of violence in their intimate relationships often do not admit the fact and do not seek professional help, because

<sup>3</sup> The number of cases refers to "Suspected and identified perpetrators of crimes of domestic violence against the spouse or equivalent recorded by the PSP and GNR (number) by sex and year", available at: [https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?menuBOUI=13707294&xpgid=ine\\_perfgenero&xpid=INE](https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?menuBOUI=13707294&xpgid=ine_perfgenero&xpid=INE), data updated on 30/3/2016.

<sup>4</sup> Data for occurrences recorded by the GNR and PSP and referring to cases of domestic violence regardless of whether they were reported in connection with another more serious crime, namely homicide, rape, etc.; Annual Internal Security Report 2015, available at: <http://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/pm/documentos/20160331-pm-rasi.aspx>, updated on 31/3/2016.

they find it difficult to acknowledge and manage their status as victims, in a society which sees men as the strong sex. They thus remain silent about the abuse and aggression of which they too are victims (Machado and Matos, 2012; Prazeres *et al.*, 2014). Men who are victims of violence “struggle to reconcile their victimization and perceptions of their masculinity” (Machado and Matos, 2012: 19). They feel fear and shame, and often go into denial. In addition, they justifiably fear the potential negative consequences, in so far as acknowledgement of their victim status may lead to social stigma (Casimiro, 2013), beginning with the fact that men are not treated equally by victim support services (Machado and Matos, 2012). In this sense men are, along with the elderly, same-sex couples and courtship couples, the neglected victims of family violence (Casimiro, 2011), or their forgotten victims (Machado and Matos, 2012). As is made clear in the opinion expressed by Teresa Beleza, on the 2007 changes to article 152 of the Penal Code:

*So-called domestic violence is unfortunately a ubiquitous and common phenomenon affecting many different types of victim. Children. Women. The elderly. The sick. And others, of course. But vulnerability and the unequal distribution of power in society render these categories of people statistically more likely to be victims [...]. A different, and very interesting issue, is the linguistic and phenomenological relationships between domestic violence, so-called gender violence and violence against women (...). The truth is that for reasons of statistical prevalence, but also because it is made more visible by social movements and academic research, violence by men against “their” women is correctly taken to be paradigmatic of domestic violence – and the current text of article 152, even though it of course covers prototypical cases like these, was clearly drafted (including successive amendments) with mainly women victims of violence by their present or past partners in mind (Beleza, 2008 in PGDL, 2015: 2).*

While the magnitude of the violence practised by men against women is distressing, and there is much to be done with a view to disseminating knowledge of this fact and generating collective awareness in order to combat it all along the line – it is also necessary to shed light on and seek understanding of the violence of which men too are victims in their intimate relationships, in particular by women. This is a phenomenon which is gaining visibility and recognition in society and which should not be neglected (Casimiro, 2011, 2013). Violence in intimacy is a phenomenon which affects women and men, and which needs to be understood as a whole by adopting a comprehensive approach, to include all possible perpetrators and victims (Machado and Matos, 2012). It should be recalled that domestic violence often extends to secondary victims, even in extreme and lethal cases, like children and other relatives of the victim (PGDL, 2015).

Many feel, however, that due to the “gender dimorphism between men and women” (Casimiro, 2013), the consequences of violence perpetrated by women against men will always be less serious than the violence which men do to women, particularly if attention is given to the physical aspect of violence (Lourenço, Lisboa and Pais, 1997; Dias, 2004). However, as the work of Casimiro (2008) reveals, female violence in the couple takes on different forms from male violence, being mainly psychological violence, which takes place “persistently and continuously” (...) “like woodworm” (Casimiro, 2011: 135). In this connection, it should be borne in mind that male victims of violence in intimacy are “victims of moderate violence which is mostly psychological violence” (Machado and Matos, 2014). It is therefore necessary to understand “under what conditions and in which contexts violence against men is practised, the nature and types of that violence, what motivates women to be violent (is it a form of self-defence and/or something proactive?), the potential consequences and men’s (and women’s) interpretations of it” (Casimiro, 2013: 9). Not forgetting also that conjugal violence is not confined to heterosexual couples, it also occurs in same-sex couples (Casimiro, 2011; Santos, 2012).

### BOX: SEXUAL AND MORAL HARASSMENT IN THE WORKPLACE

The study on Sexual and Moral Harassment in the Workplace in Portugal is a recently completed research project, co-ordinated by Anália Torres, which was undertaken in partnership with CIEG and CITE, with funding from EEA Grants. A survey was applied to a representative sample of the working population of mainland Portugal, excluding the primary sector. There were 1,801 individual replies, 558 from men and 1,243 from women. A methodological choice was made to over-represent women.

The results of this study show that in 2015 moral harassment affected almost as many men as women, with some 15.9% of men and 16.7% of women interviewed stating they had experienced situations of this type at work. By contrast, sexual harassment was reported by 14.4% of women and 8.6% of men. The data show that in 64.6% of cases women were the aggressors of male victims of sexual harassment at work, while other men were the aggressors in 35.4% of cases (this differs from sexual harassment of women, for only in 5% of such cases was another woman the aggressor) (Torres *et al.*, 2016). Sexual harassment is perpetrated by bosses, work colleagues and clients.

What stands out in these results is the different reaction of men and women when they are the target of sexual harassment at work. Women show displeasure immediately; 52.0%. Yet 50.0% of men say they pretend not to notice, that is to say, they seek to ignore the fact that sexual harassment took place. This male reaction to sexual harassment in 2015 is like most female reactions in 1989, when the first survey of Sexual Harassment in the Workplace was carried out (and applied only to women) (Amâncio and Lima, 1994). This shows how far men still have to go in dealing with sexual harassment at work, of which they too are victims.

**Torres, Anália *et al.* 2016. *Assédio Sexual e Moral no Local de Trabalho em Portugal (Policy Brief)*. Lisboa: CIEG/ISCS-ULisboa and CITE.**



#### 4.2.3.2 The place of men in studies on domestic violence in Portugal

There are few studies on violence in Portugal, particularly studies on violence in which the man is also interviewed or questioned. The qualitative work undertaken by Dias (2004) on representations and practices of violence in the family is notable for interviewing both men and women. But because the research focuses primarily on aspects of physical violence, it is perceived as a means for the man to control his wife and children, and as a form of manifesting “masculine” power. Throughout this study, men are always perceived as aggressors and women as potential victims. Women are only acknowledged as aggressors in the context of defensive violence (Casimiro, 2013).

The quantitative study co-ordinated by Lisboa (Lisboa *et al.*, 2009 and 2010) on gender violence is based on a questionnaire applied to men and women in mainland Portugal in 2007. It addresses the question of female and male victimization in connection with different types of violence (physical, psychological and sexual) and acts of socio-cultural discrimination. Comparing the data on the victimization of men and women aged 18 and over, in connection with the different types of violence, it notes that there is a slightly higher incidence for men than for women, of 43% and 38%, respectively. Nevertheless, women continue to be the main victims of domestic violence, given that violence against them generally takes place in the home (60%) and is practised in most cases by their partners or spouses (42%). For men, the violence of which they are the victims occurs mainly in the public space (38% of such situations take place in the street and “other public spaces” and 16% in the workplace) and is practised by male colleagues and friends (23%) and strangers (23%). Violence by spouses is responsible for only 3% of reported cases.

The results of this survey also show that males are the main perpetrators of violence, whether against other men (78%) or against women (74%). Even when domestic violence is practised by other family members, male and female, respondents mainly recall episodes from childhood and adolescence in which men are the perpetrators, above all fathers and stepfathers. The authors claim that the reasons why there is more violence between men, that is to say among male peers, is that “men, being in historic terms intensively engaged in social life, are for that very reason exposed to interpersonal interactions and social conflict which may produce violence” (Lisboa *et al.*, 2009: 56).

#### 4.2.3.3 Violence against children (abuse, neglect and sexual abuse of minors)

Alongside conjugal violence, family violence also includes violence against children, which may take the form of abuse, neglect or the sexual abuse of minors. It is only relatively recently that the child abuse practised in the family context has become socially visible in Western countries. This is because children have come to be more highly valued as individuals and because there has been a change in standards of social relations between adults and children which has made such manifestations of the abuse of power unacceptable (Almeida, 2005).

The following typology of the forms of family abuse and neglect of children is based on a study published in 2001, at the request of the National Parliament, entitled “Families and Child Abuse in Portugal”

(Almeida, André and Almeida, 2001; Almeida 2005). It describes both those aspects which are directly linked to abuse, and its connections with the social and family contexts to which the child belongs.

The authors conclude that, as a rule, child abuse takes place in the physical space of the family home and, in 65% of cases, the harm is perpetrated by parents (the biological father or mother, or both of them). The ways in which child abuse and neglect are practised vary according to the family’s social origins: in working class families physical violence predominates, while in better off families, psychological and emotional violence seem to be the most common forms of abuse. In addition to these social and family differences there are also gender differences in child abuse, neglect and sexual abuse. Girls are thus over-represented in situations of “sexual abuse”, “being left on their own” at home and “intentional intoxication”; boys are over-represented in situations of “harm” (physical and emotional), “exploiting the child for work” and in cases of severe neglect of “basic care” (Almeida, 2005).

But as Almeida (2005) rightly points out, one “surprising result of the survey is precisely the fact that no cases of [sexual] aggression by females were reported”. This social invisibility of the mother or other female family member as sexual abusers of children reflects the weight of gender stereotypes in the social construction of child abuse and the difficulty society has in conceiving of sexual abuse perpetrated by women, that is to say sexual abuse without penile rape.

In September 2007, Portugal enshrined in article 152 of the Penal Code (Law 59/2007 of 4 September) prison terms of one to five years for those convicted of physical (and psychological) child abuse, including corporal punishment, at school or at home (Casimiro, 2011). This paradigmatic change in connection with violence against children shows how society today interprets so-called “pedagogical spanking”, frequently used as an educational resource but which embodies in itself the possibility of rendering the use of force and the resort to violence commonplace as forms of dealing with conflicts and problems.

#### 4.2.3.4 Violence in schools

Violence against children includes violence which takes place in schools. There are few studies on violence in schools in Portugal (Sebastião, Alves and Campos, 2003). This is a multi-dimensional phenomenon which has wrongly been associated with high levels of cultural diversity, pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds and school trajectories marked by failure.

Violence in schools in Portugal led to the adoption of a series of policy measures guided by two differing approaches, one pedagogical and one involving policing (Sebastião, Alves and Campos, 2003). The former maintains that violence should be resolved by promoting social skills and civic training for pupils. It suggests that certain organizational and pedagogical measures should be implemented such as decentralized school management and the introduction of priority teaching areas (TEIP), in an attempt to integrate pupils with learning difficulties. The policing approach, on the other hand, favours a centralized education system management model, reflecting the school’s difficulty in accepting its surrounding socio-cultural diversity. It starts out from the principle that diversity makes it difficult to achieve socialization in the context of the mass schooling brought on by the advent of political democracy. In this connection see the *Programa Escola Segura*

[Safe Schools Programme], which started in 1992, as a result of an agreement between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Home Affairs.

While it is true that the progressive expansion of compulsory schooling made it more difficult to manage pupil behaviour, and also increased schools' social and cultural diversity, it is also true that the approach the school adopts to violent situations is a good reflection of the school's own representations and aims as a collective entity applying educational policy to pupils (Sebastião, 2013). In this connection, whether a school adopts a pedagogical or a policing approach seems to depend on the ethos of each school and, of course, of those who run it (Sebastião, Alves and Campos, 2003). This makes it difficult for proponents of each of these approaches to work together.

Based on a case study undertaken in a central Lisbon school, Sebastião, Alves and Campos (2003) conclude: "Going counter to discourses which blame the occurrence of violence in schools on disadvantaged, degraded and peripheral social backgrounds, the study showed that for this school located in central Lisbon, violence is recurrent and everyday, affecting all pupils in the school" (*ibid.*: 52). Nevertheless, most violent situations in schools are of petty everyday violence between pupils (small thefts, aggression, intimidation, persecution and threats), generally by older against younger and stronger against weaker pupils. "Pushing and shoving", "kicking", "sandwiching" and "petty theft" are commonplace.

Factors which explain the occurrence of violence in school include the physical and spatial nature of the school, pupils' gender and the level of schooling. Schools with restricted physical space have a greater propensity for the occurrence of violence, and the most common situations are those in which boys are both aggressors and victims of violent situations. In terms of schooling levels, the greatest number of occurrences of violence is found in the second cycle of basic schooling. This may be due to the change in pupils' everyday school calendar as they move from the first to the second cycle (Sebastião, Alves and Campos, 2003).

Violence in schools thus seems to be related to the construction of specific models of masculinity and produces a hierarchy of dominant boys and boys perceived as being weaker, effeminate or even homosexual. In 2010, as part of the research project entitled "Men on the margins: age, ethnicity, sexual orientation and occupational trajectories in the construction of non-hegemonic masculinities", Aboim and Vasconcelos (2013) interviewed non-heterosexual men and immigrant men of African origin who stated they had suffered violence at school at the hands of boy fellow-pupils, in particular discrimination, physical violence and sexual abuse.

To finalize, it is important to stress that, contrary to common perceptions, the frequency and intensity of violence have been falling (Sebastião, 2013). As the data in the study entitled Violence and Gender (Lisboa *et al.*, 2009 and 2010) confirm, in the transition from the 1990s to the 2000s physical, psychological and sexual violence against women declined (from 48% to 38%). However, this reduction in frequency contrasts with the increase in the number of reported cases and accusations, as a result of greater sensitivity and societal intolerance of the phenomenon of violence (Casimiro, 2011).

Nonetheless, there are a number of problems with the available data on violence in Portugal, particularly the official statistics, which mean it is impossible to provide a longitudinal perspective on it in its many aspects. First, much of the violence is not reported to the police or official authorities. Secondly, reported violence is often hidden or included in categories which combine violent and non-violent crimes. Thirdly, statistics do not always show the gender of victims and perpetrators. Although it is possible to obtain the number of crimes committed by men against women and by women against men, there are no available data on violence between peers, particularly between male peers. In this sense, the issue of violence between men, which some studies show to be the most common form of violence (Lisboa *et al.*, 2009 and 2010), remains under-researched.

### BOX: VIEWS OF STAKEHOLDERS ON MEN AND VIOLENCE

*Domestic violence affects men and women [...]. It cuts across all of them, men and women alike. Now what policies are there regarding men? There aren't any! [...] Violence against men still raises a laugh when it is discussed in forums on domestic violence. [...] It's important that this topic of violence against men is discussed, but it's going to take time.*

*I organize and supervise shelters, I run the national network of shelters for women and children who have been victims of violence, and I've got boys there as well, boys up to the age of 18 [...]. It's a complicated situation for them. It's complicated because they are in a women's world, aren't they? [...] and yes, it's important we work on these issues of gender [...] associated with the fact of being male, as in: "my father taught me that women are not to be respected", "my father taught me that violence is a form of contact with the other, that it's a way of sorting out problems".*

*Violence is power.*

**Daniel Cotrim, APAV – Portuguese Association for Victim Support (Focus Stakeholders)**

## 4.2.4 Recommendations

Three sets of recommendations emerge from this study of men and violence and from the contributions made as part of this project by gender equality experts and stakeholders representatives (see Box: Views and Box: Recommendations):

- i) To understand the facts of violence in Portugal and widen the scope of National Plans Against Domestic Violence (PNCVD);
- ii) To deconstruct gender, educate for diversity and promote non-violent forms of masculinity from early childhood;
- iii) To support male victims of violence.

The first set of recommendations relates to political and governmental measures aimed at understanding the phenomenon of violence, in all its aspects, so as to subsequently to act upon it.

**To draw up official statistics which will make it possible to assess and analyse the phenomenon of violence in Portugal in all its aspects, taking all types of violence into account (physical, psychological and sexual), the contexts in which it takes place (conjugal; childhood; school; between peers, etc.) and types of aggression.**

Available official data on violence in Portugal is scarce. Although a significant number of qualitative studies point to violence between male peers as being the most frequent form of violence in Portugal, there is no available data on it. Discussion on violence in Portugal has focused on the question of domestic violence, particularly violence by men against women in intimate relationships, but it is a much wider phenomenon, not limited to the private domestic sphere, and it is therefore necessary to understand it in full in order to be able to act upon it in a concerted way.

**To include in the National Plan Against Domestic Violence (PNCVD) specific measures aimed at male victims of violence.**

The number of complaints of domestic violence by men is small compared to complaints by women. In 2015, they accounted for some 13.9% of all occurrences of domestic violence recorded by the security forces (INE). Men are also victims of conjugal violence and, with the increasing sensitivity to the topic of violence in Portugal, these situations have gained in visibility.

The second set of recommendations involves adopting measures aimed at younger people, to deconstruct gender stereotypes, educate for the acceptance of difference and diversity, and promote non-violent forms of masculinity.

**To promote non-violent forms of masculinity, from early childhood.**

To undertake awareness campaigns against violence, especially physical violence between peers in schools, developing educational strategies which encourage pupils, particularly boys and pupils in the first, second and third cycles of basic schooling, to adopt non-violent behaviours. Special attention to be given to the implications of new technologies on violence between peers as, for example, in the case of cyberbullying.

**To promote training for education professionals in order to combat violence in schools.**

To provide educators with sufficient information and knowledge to identify situations of violence in schools, flag them and act upon them. To draw up a guide about violence in schools in its many forms, enabling educators to respond to violent situations on the spot without ignoring any of the parties involved. 'Educators' here means all those who work in schools: kindergarten teachers, class teachers, class helpers, leisure time supervisors, and operational assistants.

**To combat the idea that gender dimorphism is the cause of inequality between men and women.** Educate for equality in difference and diversity, from kindergarten up to secondary school. To bring in the study and analysis of the Gender and Citizenship Guides produced by the Ministry of Education under the National Plans for Equality and Citizenship, in the various higher education courses having a teaching option. It is necessary to deconstruct the stereotypical images of masculinity and femininity which schools continue to promote, and it is the teachers as front-line educators who should have the skills to undertake this work with pupils.

**To promote a caring masculinity, more involved on fatherhood, as a way of combatting domestic violence.**

To promote the carer role for men and make them aware of the importance of their contribution to children's well-being. Promoting caring masculinities also involves measures directed at employers, to make them acknowledge and encourage a caring fatherhood which embody the sharing of parental responsibilities (see measures proposed in Chapter 2).

**To promote population-wide awareness campaigns on the cycle of violence.**

To educate parents not to be violent with their children, thus implementing in practice the change to article 152 of the Penal Code, introduced in 2007, which criminalized physical violence by parents against their children.

The third set of recommendations involves specific measures aimed at protecting and monitoring male victims of violence in schools, in the workplace and in the family.

**To adopt standards for monitoring victims of violence between peers in schools, particularly when the victims are immigrants, disabled or members of sexual, ethnic or religious minorities.**

Boys who are victims of violence in schools often belong to one of these groups. Strategic plans are required in schools teaching the first, second and third cycles of basic schooling, supported by psychologists, the police and non-governmental organizations which undertake work in the field of violence.

**To support male victims of violence.**

In connection with sexual and/or moral harassment in the workplace, awareness campaigns are needed to help men realize the importance of reporting aggressors. To involve businesses and other bodies in drawing up this type of campaign, so that internal company policies also change. In connection with domestic violence, to extend to other parts of the country the safe house for men programme - in line with the safe house for male victims of domestic violence recently set up in the Algarve (September 2016).

## **BOX: RECOMMENDATIONS OF EXPERTS AND STAKEHOLDERS ON MEN AND VIOLENCE**

### **Train magistrates in domestic and gender violence**

*Magistrates should be properly trained in the field of violence, in particular domestic and gender violence.*

**Daniel Cotrim, APAV – Portuguese Association for Victim Support (Focus Stakeholders)**

*Train magistrates and police and security service (PSP and GNR) representatives to understand the phenomenon of conjugal violence against men.*

**Gerardo Meil, international project partner (Final Conference)**

### **Involve local councils in the national plan against domestic violence (PNCVD)**

*Comply with the stipulations of the National Plans Against Domestic Violence (PNCVD), involve local councils in the struggle against domestic violence. Some local councils are already involved, but it's necessary to publicize this and get them all involved.*

**Daniel Cotrim, APAV – Portuguese Association for Victim Support (Focus Stakeholders)**

### **Improve knowledge about violence in Portugal and set up specific support services for men**

*To draw up a White Paper on violence in Portugal.*

*To set up a helpline for men who are victims of violence.*

**Gerardo Meil, international project partner (Final Conference)**



# PROGRAMME OPERATOR

## CIG – *Comissão para a Cidadania e Igualdade de Género* [Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality]

Equality between men and women is a basic principle of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, and its promotion is a fundamental task of the State. **CIG** is the national body responsible for promoting and defending that principle, seeking to respond to the profound social and political changes in society as far as citizenship and gender equality are concerned.

CIG's mission is to guarantee the implementation of public policies in the field of citizenship, to promote and defend gender equality and to combat domestic and gender violence and the trafficking of human beings. It is also responsible for the coordination of the main policy instruments – the National Plans.

CIG is a central service belonging to the State administration services; it has administrative as well as financial autonomy, the latter restricted to the management of programmes founded by EU resources or international funds of the same nature. CIG is integrated in the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (the Cabinet), and reports to the Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality, as set forth in the decree establishing the delegation of powers of the Deputy Minister no 660/2016 of 5 January (Government Gazette – 2nd series, issue 10, 15 January 2016).

### **CIG's responsibilities are:**

- a.** To support the drafting and development of general and sectoral policies involving promotion of citizenship and gender equality and to take part in their implementation, in terms of specific policies, and in corresponding co-ordination in terms of integrated policies;
- b.** To contribute to changing the normative framework, or to implementing such changes, from the citizenship and gender equality point of view, drawing up normative proposals, giving opinions on prospective legislation and putting forward mechanisms to promote effective and complete compliance with existing norms, in particular in the inter-related domains of education for citizenship, equality and non-discrimination between men and women, safeguarding paternity and maternity, reconciling men's and women's work, family and personal lives, the struggle against all forms of gender violence, and victim support;
- c.** To prepare planning studies and documents in support of political decision-making in the field of citizenship and gender equality;
- d.** To promote education for citizenship and action to improve civic awareness of situations of discrimination and the ways of eradicating them;
- e.** To promote actions which facilitate equal participation in economic, social, political and family life;
- f.** To put forward measures and develop actions against all forms of gender violence, and to support its victims;
- g.** To help non-governmental organizations regarding measures, projects and actions which promote similar objectives to the Commission's;
- h.** To award quality prizes to entities which adopt codes or follow examples of good practice in terms of gender equality, prevention of gender violence and victim support;
- i.** To provide technical supervision for domestic violence centres and shelter facilities and ensure co-ordination with other government sectors involved in these forms of support;
- j.** To co-ordinate and ensure implementation and maintenance of technical systems to protect the victims of domestic violence;
- k.** To keep the public opinion informed and aware by using the media and publishing, and maintaining a specialized documentation centre and library;
- l.** To draw up general recommendations regarding good practices in promoting gender equality, in particular in terms of advertising, the operation of educational and training and work organizations in the public and private sectors, and to certify compliance with those good practices;
- m.** To assess technical skills and certify the quality of persons and institutions involved in promoting citizenship and gender equality;
- n.** To develop legal and psycho-social information systems, especially for situations of discrimination and gender violence;
- o.** To receive complaints relating to situations of discrimination and gender-based violence and, if necessary, to submit them to the competent authorities or organizations involved by issuing opinions and recommendations;
- p.** To ensure suitable forms of institutional participation for non-governmental organizations contributing to citizenship and gender equality policy implementation;
- q.** To organize, as the law requires, a national registry of non-governmental organizations whose statutory purpose essentially provide that they should promote the values of citizenship, defence of human rights, women's rights and gender equality;
- r.** To co-operate with international and EU-level organizations and similar foreign organizations in order to participate in overall guidelines for citizenship and gender equality and promote them in Portugal;
- s.** To co-operate with national, regional and local public and private bodies in projects and actions aligned with the CIG's mission, in particular by establishing partnerships;
- t.** To provide technical assistance for initiatives in the field of citizenship and gender equality undertaken by other entities;
- u.** To issue a favourable opinion regarding co-operation agreements involving government entities, in particular those working to assist the victims of gender violence.

**Website:** <https://www.cig.gov.pt/>



# PROMOTER

## CITE – Comissão para a Igualdade no Trabalho e no Emprego [Commission for Equality in Labour and Employment]

**CITE** was established on July 1979, on the basis of a government decision with the support of the social partners. CITE, is a Portuguese equality entity with a tripartite and equilateral composition, having 4 members from the State, 4 members from the trade union confederations (CGTP-IN and UGT) and 4 members of the employers' confederations (CCP, CIP, CAP and CTP), whose mission is the promotion and monitoring of equality and non-discrimination between women and men in labour, employment and in vocational training, as well as protection of maternity and paternity and reconciling work and family life, in both the private and public sectors, as well as the promotion and monitoring of social dialogue on gender equality.

As part of its responsibilities, CITE:

- a.** receives complaints and issues legal opinions concerning equality and non-discrimination in labour and employment;
- b.** issues a legal opinion (within 30 days) which employers must obligatorily request before dismissing any pregnant worker, any worker who has recently given birth or who is breastfeeding, or male worker during the parental leave (paternity leave);
- c.** issues a legal opinion (within 30 days) which employers must request in advance when they disagree with part-time or flexitime work for male or female workers with one or more children under the age of 12;
- d.** examines the decisions of the employers not to renew fixed-term contracts of pregnant workers, workers who have recently given birth or who are breastfeeding, or male workers during the parental leave (paternity leave);
- e.** co-operates with the Working Conditions Authority in the application of legislation on equality and non-discrimination in labour, employment and vocational training;
- f.** registers all legal decisions sent by the courts concerning equality and non-discrimination between men and women;
- g.** answers individual and employers queries about applicable legislation (through personal contact, in writing, by telephone, fax and e-mail);
- h.** examines whether or not employment advertisements comply with the rule which prohibits discrimination between women and men in the access to any profession or job;
- i.** promotes studies and research, disseminates legislation and legal opinions concerning equality and non-discrimination in labour, employment and vocational training, as well as good practices for reconciling professional, personal and family life;
- j.** awards the "Equality is Quality" Prize to businesses and employers that pursue exemplary policies regarding equality and good practices for reconciling professional, personal and family life, in partnership with the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG);
- k.** develops and organizes training projects, awareness-enhancing activities and other initiatives, in the fields of equality in labour, employment and vocational training and of reconciliation of professional, personal and family life;
- l.** promotes equality between men and women in employment, particularly among employers, through equality plans and by developing non-discriminatory policies with regard to gender in recruitment, selection, access to continuous vocational training, career advancement and managerial level positions, remuneration and in the fight against precarious contracts, in addition to the development of good practices for reconciling professional, personal and family life;
- m.** takes part in the preparation and implementation of the National Plan for Equality;
- n.** follows up on the questions regarding equality and non-discrimination between women and men in labour, employment and vocational training at the European Union and international organisations levels.

**Website:** [http://www.cite.gov.pt/en/about\\_us.html](http://www.cite.gov.pt/en/about_us.html)

# SCIENTIFIC PARTNERS

ICS-ULisboa – *Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa*  
 [Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon]  
 OFAP – *Observatório das Famílias e das Políticas de Família*  
 [Observatory on Families and Family Policies]

**ICS-ULisboa** is a leading interdisciplinary centre dedicated to research, post-graduate teaching and advanced training in the social sciences, with a staff of 80 senior research fellows from 7 disciplines (Sociology, Political Science, Social Psychology, Anthropology, History, Economics and Human Geography). Created in 1982, it is well-known for cross-national research and has an international reputation as top-level partner in EU comparative projects. Its activities are organized into seven Research Groups:

1. Environment, Territory and Society;
2. Socio-Political Attitudes and Behaviours;
3. Identities, Cultures, Vulnerabilities;
4. Empires, Colonialism and Post-Colonial Societies;
5. Life Course, Inequality and Solidarity: Practices and Policies;
6. Power, Society and Globalization;
7. Regimes and Political Institutions

The ICS-ULisboa is also highly experienced in providing research evidence to inform policy and practice decisions and hosts five Observatories informing on: the Quality of Democracy (BDQ); Family and Family Policies (OFAP); Youth and Schooling (OPJ); Environment and Territory (OBSERVA); Aging Issues (IE). The Institute publishes the oldest and most prestigious journal of the Social Sciences in Portugal, *Análise Social*, presently in its 200th number.

The ICS-ULisboa participated in this project through the research group LIFE (Life Course, Inequality and Solidarity: Practices and Policies) at the time coordinated by Karin Wall and currently coordinated by Vítor Sérgio Ferreira. LIFE is at the forefront of research in the fields of family, gender and social citizenship, migration, children and youth, the life course and intergenerational relations, social inequalities, culture and lifestyles, social policy. The research line is highly experienced both in quantitative and qualitative methodologies and hosts three ICS Observatories (OFAP, OPJ and IE).

**Website:** <http://www.ics.ulisboa.pt/instituto/>

In this context, **OFAP – Observatory on Families and Family Policies**, established in 2010, has its main aims to develop and disseminate knowledge on families and family policies in Portuguese society, by:

1. monitoring developments in family forms and dynamics, as well as their impact on demographic trends;
2. monitoring and disseminating changes in legislation and family policies, in other words, on governmental measures and other initiatives which regulate and support family life in Portugal.

**Website:** <http://www.observatoriofamilias.ics.ul.pt>

# INTERNATIONAL PARTNERS

UAM – Autonomous University of Madrid, Spain

NTNU – Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway

The **UAM** is a public institution focused on academic excellence and internationally renowned for both teaching and research. Created in 1968, the UAM hosts one of the largest scientific communities in Spain whose research meets international standards which is recognized as “Campus de Excelencia” that incorporates highly qualified research groups from the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC). The Department of Sociology at the UAM was also created in 1968. Its lifelong goal was to contribute, from a sociological point of view, to the best and most comprehensive training of students of very different degrees. Consequently its goal has been to conduct research of excellence, teaching assistance and specialized academic consulting. Teachers are leading specialists in areas such as Sociology of Economics, Administration Sociology, Sociology of Law, Sociology of Population and Family, Sociology of Knowledge and Science and Public Opinion and Electoral Sociology. Several members of the Department have served and continue to support the UN, UNDP or the European Union in electoral or judicial.

**Website:** <http://www.uam.es/ss/Satellite/en/home.htm>

**NTNU** is Norway’s primary institution for educating the nation’s future engineers and scientists. The university also has strong programmes in the social sciences, and its cross-disciplinary research delivers creative innovations that have far-reaching social and economic impact. The Faculty of Social Sciences and Technology Management has a research and teaching profile that covers a wide range of subjects in a unique combination of social sciences, humanities, technology and natural sciences. This broad academic spectrum allows for cross-disciplinary collaboration and creative subject combinations. An international orientation is one of the declared aims of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Technology Management.

The Department of Sociology and Political Science offers bachelor’s and master’s studies in sociology, political science and sports science, as well as master’s studies in media, communication and information technology. Studies in sociology include courses in organization and working life, family and childhood, social inequality and welfare and media. Studies in political science include courses in international and comparative politics, public policy and administration and political theory and political behaviour. The Department of Sociology and Political Science has an active research environment consisting of several research groups which work on local, national and international projects, and emphasizes the contact and collaboration with external institutions, such as industry and commerce, the public sector and voluntary organizations.

**Website:** <http://www.ntnu.edu/>

# CONSULTING ENTITIES

## National and International Government Bodies

Caisse Nationale des Allocations Familiales, France  
 Directorate-General for Health - DGS, Portugal  
 Embassy of Norway in Portugal  
 European Institute for Gender Equality, EIGE, Lithuania  
 Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security, Portugal  
 National Institute for Health and Welfare, Finland  
 National Mental Health Programme, Portugal  
 Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality (Minister in the Cabinet of the Prime Minister)  
 Subcommittee on Equality and Non-Discrimination (Parliamentary Committee for Constitutional Affairs, Rights, Freedoms and Guarantees), Portugal

## National and Foreign Non-Governmental Organizations

APF - Family Planning Association, Portugal  
 APIPDF - Association for Parental Equality and Children's Rights, Portugal  
 APAV - Portuguese Association for Victim Support  
 APMJ - Portuguese Association of Women Jurists  
 CONFAP - National Confederation of Parents' Associations  
 ILGA - International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association, Portugal  
 PpDM - Portuguese Platform for the Rights of Women, Promundo, Brazil  
 UMAR - Women's Union Choice and Answer, Portugal

## Social Partners

CCP - Portuguese Commerce and Services Confederation, Portugal  
 CGTP-IN - General Confederation of Portuguese Workers, Portugal  
 CIP - Confederation of Portuguese Business, Portugal  
 UGT - General Union of Workers, Portugal

## Foreign Universities

IOE - Institute of Education, University College London, United Kingdom  
 Konan University, Japan  
 Norwegian Police University College, Norway  
 University of Geneva, Switzerland  
 University of Iceland, Iceland  
 University of Lausanne, Switzerland  
 University of Paris 1, France  
 University of Quebec, Canada  
 University of Stockholm, Sweden

## Portuguese Universities and Research Centres

CES - Centre for Social Studies, University of Coimbra, Portugal  
 CESIS - Centre of Studies for Social Intervention, Portugal  
 CIES - Centre for the Research and Studies on Sociology, ISCTE/ Lisbon University Institute, Portugal  
 CIS - Centre for Psychological Research and Social Intervention - ISCTE/Lisbon University Institute, Portugal  
 FPCEUP - Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences - University of Porto, Portugal  
 IE - Institute of Education, Lisbon University, Portugal  
 ISCSP - Institute of Social and Political Sciences, Lisbon University, Portugal  
 SOCIUS - Research Centre in Economic and Organizational Sociology, ISEG - Lisbon School of Economics and Management, University of Lisbon, Portugal



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Apoio

