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**SOCIAL AND
BEHAVIORAL
SCIENCES**

**Men and women between
family and work in
Portugal**

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WORC Report 01.02.005



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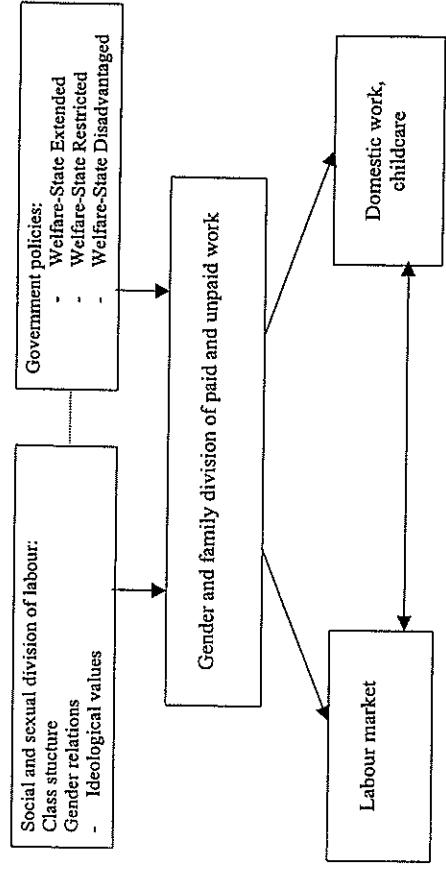
Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Conceptual Model

The European Network covering this project put forward a theoretical model that may serve as a basis on which to launch nation-wide research work within its scope. Owing to the specific characteristics of the Portuguese scene, mainly in terms of omissions in the Welfare-State system and more particularly in the fields we are studying, the team engaged in this study had already submitted a theoretical model for the Network's appreciation. The model took into consideration the Network's concerns but made it somehow flexible enough to follow up targets adapted to Portuguese reality.

One of the main factors causing us to draw up a theoretical framework had to do with our initial aim to understand what the effects of social policies have been and how successful the use of such policies has been in the division of labour between men and women. It is well known that in Portugal, similar to what happens in the Southern European countries in general, policies in this field are all too limited or too new to withstand an assessment of their effectiveness and coverage. For example, there is no measure allowing a parent to work shorter hours when there are small children to take care of at home. The theoretical model suggested by our Dutch colleagues considered this independent variable a fundamental role right from the start. However, it is not feasible to include it in the same way in Portugal's case. What is vital to understand, though, are the ways in which the differences between men and women come to light, thus allowing us to test other hypothetical explanations. This is what our scheme attempts to do by working within its theoretical framework.



At ground level, what we are studying in an articulated, interconnected way are the various dimensions of the social and sexual division of labour more related to sharing paid and unpaid work between them. Generally speaking, this sort of differentiation reveals the analytical dichotomy between paid work – as a result of a job on the labour market normally pursued outside the home if not in physical terms then at least in social, material and symbolic terms – and unpaid work done on the domestic front.

If the former may be broken down into several professional categories where there is a very direct relationship between job types and what bearing they have on scenarios outside professional activity, likewise, domestic work may also be looked at in a more detailed breakdown of the different kinds of tasks involved. Within this wide range of issues are those covering child care, care for the elderly or all kinds of household chores in the strict sense of the term (doing the shopping, cooking, doing the laundry, ironing, etc.).

In order to carry out a sociological study on such a broad, complex issue, it is necessary to resort to a wide range of theoretical and practical tools capable of providing leads and solving analytical questions.

In its role as a variable, occupying the centre of the stage in the much-needed debate about such issues, gender naturally provides one of the fundamental analytical axes coursing its way transversally throughout the entire study and laying its foundations. Other issues, such as education and schooling, status in the class system, insertion on a regional scale, ideological sympathies and attitudes to name just a few, provide information which allow us to raise questions about what is going on in Portugal with regard to the division of labour between men and women.

Equally important – and indeed, one of the central concerns raised by the European Network that this study also takes into account – is the role played, or not, by State's intervention. This means the path chosen by the Welfare-State, the ideological nature of State and governmental structures, and the effects to be gained by development particularly in the way political initiatives are directed at the family and gender issues. It is therefore vital to gauge and analyse the nature and extension of such effects.

Having this kind of data at hand enables us to map out the framework and show the patterns of the division of paid and unpaid work between men and women in specific contexts as well as understand the practices and attitudes in relation to this topic. It will in turn allow us to study the overall situation in Portugal as regards the symmetry of paid and unpaid work between men and women. Finally, the data found about the precise outlines, meanings and implication of such a division will be put forward for discussion.

Chapter 2

Specific features of Portuguese context

2.1 Portugal within the framework of the Welfare-State's diversity

Although the Welfare-State is often taken to be a single unit, in practice there are important differences between Welfare-States not only because of the way they are structured in real life but also because of the principles underlying their set-up. The very wide range of theoretical propositions that explain such differences, aptly mirrors this situation whether we are talking about the axes presiding over the construction of typologies or whether we have in mind the concrete groups of countries we find them in (Midgley, 1997: 89-110). However, not even these factors are always able to explain the specific nature of each country situated inside or outside such systems.

The Portuguese case is in keeping with what usually happens in Southern European countries and recognition of this phenomenon is beginning to gain ground as here, the Welfare-State is seen to possess characteristics justifying its uniqueness (Ferrara, Hemerijck and Rhodes, 2000). Portugal, therefore, clearly stands among those countries where the most widely diffused typologies have least utility. They display their own special peculiarities which partly revert back the particular conditions in the past when they first emerged – conditions which were singular for their tardiness and for their unfavourable socio-economic situations. For example, it is almost impossible to place Portugal in a satisfactory way within the Esping-Andersen (1990) framework that, based on the concept of *de-commodification*, focuses on global guidelines underlying each country's mechanisms that lead to policies dealing with well-being, and divides the Welfare-State systems in three groups: liberal, conservative and social-democratic.

We have turned to our previous study (Torres *et al.*, 1997; Torres e Silva, 1999) in order to use a typology of Welfare-States which, by mainly dealing with the questions of the relation between paid and unpaid work, is based on the extent and coverage of measures taken by the state. By bearing this classification criterion in mind, we have identified three types of Welfare-State: the extended (the Scandinavian countries, France and Belgium), the restricted (the English-speaking countries and Continental Europe – Holland, Germany, Austria, Luxembourg), and the disadvantaged (the Mediterranean countries).

The Portuguese Welfare-State finds itself grouped with countries in the South of Europe, such as Ferrara, Hemerijck and Rhodes, *op. cit.* have already suggested when noting that the criterion on which they had based their groups coincided with the geographical divide-line of Europe¹. The system of Welfare-

¹ The division includes also the Scandinavian, British and Continental system. It should be mentioned that this typology is not based on compatibility issues, or the family and gender policies. While Ferrara *et al.* speak about two models, the British and the Continental models, the typology we suggest using considers that countries handle differently issues like policies affecting the family, compatibility and gender. Being

State prevalent in the South of Europe, generally speaking, amounts to being a disadvantaged, unequal one in the kind of coverage afforded, whether in terms of social risks or from the viewpoint of social groups covered by welfare and the asymmetries between them (Torres *et al.*, 1997; Torres e Silva, 1999).

Nevertheless, it is important to mention that Portugal has some very specific features when compared with other Southern European countries. They have a direct bearing on the results presented in this Report. Two of the features have to do with the question of gender and the relationship between paid and unpaid work which have hitherto been ignored (the first question more in particular) by many of the theories normally used to describe the make-up of the Welfare-State. With good authority, Künzler (1999) speaks about the need to *genderise* the study of Welfare-States. Effectively speaking, the gender issue has been included in each country's policies in varying degrees of intensity and orientations. On the other hand, where attitudes are concerned, the situation also varies quite drastically from country to country with regard to men and women in the labour market, education and doing unpaid work.

It is opportune to stress the fact at this particular point, that Portugal has one of the highest rates of working women in the European Union and numbers are clearly closing in on Northern European levels. However, what is more relevant here is that female employment in Portugal is on a full-time basis which contrasts with the Northern European countries where part-time jobs are quite common and do not involve a small minority as they do in Portugal.

Apart from this, the rate of female employment has risen extremely quickly – only a few decades ago, it was the lowest in Europe². The change was effected in a traditionally-minded society that was seriously affected by deep sexual asymmetries sanctioned and promoted by the powers that were. The rapid growth may be explained by several factors such as the lengthy Colonial War (1961-1974) and, therefore, the need for man-power, by many more women who had completed their school education and by a labour market which paid low wages and thus encouraged workers to hold down two jobs.

Together with phenomena like rising urbanisation and breakdown of the extended family into the close family unit, the result of feminising the labour market was to do away with any hope of protecting wide-scale social solidarity networks based on family relations and local neighbours. The theory according to which society would be able to replace an endemically lacking State and thus provide an alternative mode of social organisation based on the ability of families to solve these kinds of problems efficiently by themselves – a theory which was disseminated both at home and abroad as being typically representative of the Portuguese situation – has fallen into disrepute today. Recent studies carried out

so, in our model France and Belgium are grouped together with the Scandinavian countries and Holland, United Kingdom, Germany, Ireland, Austria and Luxembourg belong to a big group that we considered as having a Restricted Welfare-State (Torres & Silva, 1999) in terms of family and gender policies. Ferrera *et al.* consider Continental Europe as a single, whole entity, taking into account the global shape of the Welfare-State's political construction.

² Portugal did not take an active role in World War II, which explains why the labour market during this period failed to include women.

on the compatibility between paid and unpaid work as well as on gender issues (Torres, *et al.* 2000)³, have proved otherwise, just as the data in this Report will demonstrate. Besides, these studies further reveal that solidarity networks not only have a far less relevant influence than what had been previously thought about them, but there is also less supply available to those who need these networks the most (for a more detailed account, see Torres, *et al.* 2000).

Together with this panorama, the lacking, incomplete nature of the Portuguese Welfare-State – which is reflected, as we shall see later, on the social policies about gender and closing the gap between paid and unpaid work – has left an indelible mark on women with regard to work in Portugal.

2.2 Social policies and gender in policies

In practice, what are the implications of the gender issue in this context? If we wish to answer the question straightforwardly, we would do well to say that the gender issue has only become a *recent political concern*⁴.

The question of equality which was brought up by the European Union (Torres and Silva, 1999) has, for some years, been included in the shortlist of public concerns. At least, it has been recognised on an official scale, as for example, by the High Commissioner for Questions on the Promotion of Equality and the Family, or the Committee for Equality at Work and in Employment. Nevertheless, it could be argued without running the risk of contradiction, that besides these inclusions, in overall terms and irrespective of the individual and institutional capacity and dynamism of those involved, the scope, visibility, application and outcomes have been relatively modest.

In the last few years, however, a turning point seems to have been made in public – and political – social attitudes about the gender issue. Chronologically speaking, the turning point came not only with the political swing in power in 1995, when the Socialist Party took over government in Portugal, but also when Europe started to pay increasingly more attention to the matter.

When the Constitution was amended in 1997, it afforded an excellent example of this turning point in action: among the State's basic targets was the promotion of equality between men and women; the enshrining of workers' rights regardless of their sex, the right to organise labour in order to allow for greater compatibility between professional and family life; laying down a new law ensuring the right to days off work should family duty and childcare demand it, and, as a further step in consolidating democracy, the law promoting equality when exercising civic rights and running for political office. Likewise in 1997, a

³ Even among those who have espoused this theory, there is now talk of a «regression of the Welfare-State» (for example, Hespanha *et al.*, 1999) and the possible adverse effects the idea of replacing the State may eventually bring to bear (Hespanha, 1999a). However, several aspects of the theory have been held up for questioning in terms of presenting a faithful picture of Portugal's historical past.

⁴ Be that as it may, it should be stressed that it was not only at political level that this issue became a recent concern: it is enough to mention the studies based on gender to realise that it has gained increasing visibility in the last few years. Nevertheless, the few studies on policies aimed at the family have made little reference to this dimension in political measures to be taken.

Global Plan for Equal Opportunities was passed in parliament in which a series of terms were laid down to promote gender equality particularly at work⁵.

On the other hand, setting up the Ministry of Equality in 1999 lent institutional recognition through the kind of visibility and importance that far outstripped anything done by the Committees which we mentioned earlier on. Furthermore, the new Ministry ended up by symbolising the turning point.

Moreover, different laws have been passed which have helped to lessen the discrepancies between paid and unpaid work, or to put it more in more official terms, although strictly speaking not in the most suitable language, between work and the family. There have also been direct or indirect measures taken to deal more specifically with questions of gender equality.

Examples of these measures lie in the widening network of back-up facilities such as crèches and kindergartens, children and young people's recreational centres, as well as pre-school education and facilities for the elderly (rest-homes, day-care centres). There are still glaring omissions in coverage and uneven back-up from region to region. Nevertheless, there has been a significant step-up in providing such facilities in the last few years. For example in the case of pre-school education, the state-owned network practically took off from scratch and is now well on its way to becoming generalised.

Needless to say, the extent to which the network provides such facilities is extremely important not only for the role it plays in closing the gap between paid and unpaid work, but also for attenuating the sexual division of labour owing to the fact that the brunt of the problem falls upon women. This is, therefore, one of the fields in which the indirect effects of the gender issue has been felt although it does not fail to have important practical consequences because of it.

On the other hand, it has not been only indirectly that the gender issue is the object of political initiatives. On the labour scene, for example, which is one of our most pressing concerns, the European Union has enshrined gender equality as one of the four pillars of its employment strategy. Such guidelines have had a bearing on Portuguese labour policies. The annual National Employment Plans, which may be considered the meeting point of all principles and measures to do with this question, have been drawn up and have taken into account basic dictates issuing from the European Union. One such dictate advocates «reinforcing policies leading to equal opportunities between men and women»⁶.

Within the sphere of these guidelines, measures have already been taken to setting up observatories to monitor discrimination on the job and, in general, keeping an eye on men and women's situations with regard to sexual discrimination. They also handle in a systematic way, measures that seek to back

⁵ For a detailed description of measures taken in this field in Portugal and the European Union, see Rego (1999).

⁶ This pillar dictates four guidelines: taking into consideration the aim of equal opportunities between men and women, doing away with discrimination on the labour market; making life at work compatible with life at home; facilitating the way for those who wish to take up their professions once again. The concern about gender issues and steps towards compatibility in this pillar means that official recognition has been made, and that these realities are irreversible and are associated with reflections about conditions favouring equality between men and women.

up job policies in hitherto discriminated areas⁷ and in other specific fields calling for equal opportunities in employment back-up schemes; moreover, the subject of equal opportunities is included in the syllabus of all government-sponsored training courses.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that there is a clear political and legal connection between concerns for gender issues as laid down in the National Employment Plans and in European strategies, as we have pointed out above, in political terms the gender question cannot be tied down to applying the European agenda.

The idea that we defend here, therefore, is this: the gender issue is a recent concern associated with guidelines stipulated in the European agenda and the political changes which occurred in 1995, but it is clearly in its early stages and in the process of being consolidated⁸.

To be sure, the results gained from gender oriented initiatives which we mentioned briefly above, whether we are speaking about family policies or those specially geared to closing the gap between paid and unpaid work, may still not be given an overall assessment. However, this does not invalidate the fact that they are increasingly more obvious and irreversible in the Portuguese political and social agenda, and the effects, even if they have not yet gone beyond the symbolic stage, will doubtlessly be felt in a most decisive way.

It is worthwhile taking a look at the positions occupied by the different Welfare-State systems in connection with the gender issue and compatibility between paid and unpaid work. The differences, which have emerged at other levels, have also become very clear as far as this matter is concerned. Therefore, while the Scandinavian system, which is extended and has a social-democratic nature as other classifications suggest, openly tends to favour aims seeking to satisfy men and women's equality on the job and guaranteeing a wide range of facilities and equipment in order to attenuate the difference between paid and unpaid work, the restricted models fail to do this.

In the restricted model, the state has to adopt a restrictive, familialist and maternalist stance. It sometimes has to pay the price for following political guidelines which place the main onus of childcare and caring for the elderly more particularly on the women. It is also the mother who has to bear the brunt of the discrepancies arising between paid and unpaid work. This being the case, measures taken in the sphere of paid work will always favour part-time work or domestic work in order to allow mothers a chance of taking care of their children. Effectively speaking, this seems to be the case of most of the countries situated within this social framework.

On the other hand, childcare or care for the elderly, as well as the models in the division of labour, tend to be regarded as a *private* question. This means it falls to the individual and the families themselves to take up their own

⁷ The observatories already in action have identified which areas these are.

⁸ It is not by the way that Ferrera, Hermerjck and Rhodes (2000) single out the case of Portugal in their Report on Redesigning the Welfare-State. They speak about making job and the family compatible, and mention measures which were adopted as from 1996: more rational attributions of family subsidies, introducing protection measure to parents and mothers who have handicapped or chronically sick children, increased maternity leave, and a wider network of crèches.

responsibilities and decision-making without resorting to State interference. In turn, and due also to the imbalance in men and women's expectations and their roles with regard to these issues, the differences between the sexes in these Welfare-State systems are deepened. Moreover, it is also because of the differences between men and women which are nothing more than reflections of the individual's right to make «free» decisions in keeping with his/her choices and be exempt from the Government's interference.

In practice, what happens is that neither of the guidelines end up by favouring equality between men and women (either directly or indirectly). Instead they become politically restrictive when adopting measures and planning facilities.

In the case of the Southern European model which, as we have seen, is disadvantaged, the situation once again reveals very specific characteristics. In first place, certain characteristics resemble those in the restricted model not because of political choice but because of the incipient nature of the Welfare-State itself and the way it is brought to bear in gender and compatibility issues in particular. As there has never been any prior experience, these outcomes have been witnessed only very recently.

On the other hand, the lacking or disadvantaged nature of the Welfare-State and the recent appearance of questions such as these have helped to shape the political decision-making of these countries much more openly especially in terms of gender and compatibility issues. The singular situations in which each country finds itself has, consequently, also been more accentuated. The deficit, therefore, means insufficiency and limitations but it also means space for manoeuvring on the ideological plane in order to better model available political instruments. In a way of speaking, it means that its very state of incompleteness is also open.

In this sort of framework, only one kind of guideline leading to the extended model – although the means financial resources may limit efficiency – can effectively set up conditions favouring equality between the sexes. Above all, it is the only one to achieve any sort of compatibility between paid and unpaid work. In Portugal, measures leading to wider facilities act as determining factors particularly when the rate of full-time employment among women has risen so quickly and has become the highest in Europe. Furthermore, the solidarity networks in Portugal which were traditionally deemed so essential have failed, as we saw, to satisfy the demand and capacity once expected of them.

More than studying the effect of policies about paid and unpaid work between men and women which are still in their early days, it is vital to undertake more thorough-going research and learn more about the situation today. In fact, it has come face to face with a very singular reality – in a certain way, it is a unique situation when compared with the rest of Europe. We have found that Portuguese women, whether or not they are mothers, earn their paid jobs by doing unpaid work in almost the same number of hours men spend on the job. This means that the burden of work on women is extremely heavy. It manifests itself in their difficulty to keep a healthy balance between life at work and life at home without jeopardising their professional interests and dedication. Modern guidelines and

practices leading to greater symmetry in the division of paid work between men and women are, therefore, counteracted by the division of unpaid work. After having analysed the features made evident in this unequal division of labour, we shall be putting forward some ideas in this report, that will help to explain the situation in Portugal.

Sample composition, methodology and breakdown of the population

The data that follow is the result of a research work undertaken in Portugal between 1999 and 2000. The most important empirical basis used was a survey in the form of a questionnaire. It was answered by a statistically representative sample of the population resident in mainland Portugal⁹ aged between 20 and 50. The sample was composed of 1700 people who were selected by means of a quota method based on a matrix that crossed sex, age, educational qualifications, professional activity, geographical localities¹⁰ and habitat/size of households.

Field work took place between April and May 1999 and relied on the work of interviewers especially hired for the effect from a data collecting firm. The interviewers were trained to do the job and were also given additional technical training by the research team in order to handle the survey more efficiently. Data was collected in direct, personal interviews in the homes of the respondents and in absolute privacy.

The sample was composed of 1700 people of whom 791 were men (46.5%) and 909 were women (53.5%). Only people aged between 20 and 50 were interviewed and the mean age of the sample population was 35 for the men, and 36 years of age for the women.

Apart from data characterising the respondents, data about their immediate families was also collected. It was found that out of all the households in the sample, 104 people lived alone (6.1%), 149 people lived with a partner in a childless family (8.8%), 1031 people lived in a family with their partner and children (60.6%), 146 people lived in lone-parent families (8.6%) and 270 people lived in families which bore characteristics other than those indicated in the study¹¹.

It was also possible to learn the sizes of the households: 26.2% of the respondents lived in households containing four people; 31.6% in households of three people; 16.3% in two-person households; 11.6% in households of five people and 8.2% in households containing six or more people. The remaining 6.1% were composed of single-person households.

It was our intention to find out who was living with whom in the event respondents had answered that they were cohabiting with the older generation. We wished to know whether they were living with their own relatives or with

⁹ Our research did not cover the autonomous regions of Madeira and the Azores.

¹⁰ Eight regions were covered in this study: the Northern Coastline, Oporto, the Central Coastline, the Inland, the River Tagus Valley, Lisbon, the Alentejo and the Algarve.

¹¹ In these cases, we include adults living with their parents and households composed of people living together who were not blood relations, households containing two or more immediate family units, grandparents with grandchildren, families with distant relatives, etc.

completed 12 years schooling (secondary schooling). Only 5.7% of the respondents had diplomas received upon completing their intermediate or higher studies (see the Table 3.1).

When looking at the question of schooling according to the sex of the respondents, it may be seen that with the exception of primary school education (4th grade), fewer women than men have received education up to the end of secondary schooling (12 years). Notwithstanding this fact, the trend is inverted at the higher levels of education where women are more highly qualified than men (6% as against 5.3%). Although the difference is fairly insignificant, these statistics nevertheless confirm the trends about gender and schooling presently being witnessed in Portugal.

The question about available family incomes studied in terms of average monthly incomes of the household as a whole, allowed us to calculate that most answers fell into the bracket indicated on the questionnaire as: «up to PTE 149,000 per month». Not more than 26.9% of the respondents indicated «between PTE 150,000 and PTE 249,000 per month». This means that 58.8% of the households have to live on incomes that are lower than PTE 250,000 and if the sizes of the families are recalled, this could mean that many households have to cope with serious difficulties.

Out of the data revealed by the survey, one of the most self-evident aspects about professional activity among the Portuguese shows that women occupy a large and ever-growing slice of the labour market.

Data indicate that out of the total sample population answering the survey, there is a high rate of male occupational activity (87.7% have a job; 4.8% unemployed). But women are also professionally active (66% have a job; 5.4% are unemployed). Data also show that 21.2% of the women are housewives although as we shall see later on, they are unevenly distributed throughout the social spectrum.

It is worth pointing out some of the relationships that emerge when taking into account work, gender and schooling. In both the case of men and women exercising a profession, it is seen that the more schooling they have, the greater the likelihood is of their holding down a job (Table 3.1).

In the case of women, the relationship between their schooling and their jobs is particularly noteworthy. In fact, if the case of housewives is taken as an indicator, the average amount of completed schooling increases as the number of housewives drops, although this fails to affect statistics at intermediate and higher levels of education.

In looking at the women who do not have a job and by taking into consideration their family contexts, we are able to decipher well-defined social groups. It is noted that there are a greater number of housewives among women married to blue-collar workers. In agreement with what recent studies have shown, there are two possible reasons explaining this phenomenon. In the first case, and if there are small children at home, there is a twofold cause. One of them is based on the type of job held by the blue-collar workers while the other is based on the cost of providing facilities for their children. Jobs may be stable and life may be adjusted so that it is both plausible and practical for the wife to stay

their partners' and whether it was the case of the older generation living with the respondent or the respondent living in the older generation's household. The data here showed that those situations occurs in 32,1% of all cases and that 89.2% co-habitation involved the respondent living in the older-generation's household (with their parents or in-laws). Only 10.8% of the households involved the older generation living in the respondents' home.

The simple explanation for this situation lies in the fact the sample was aimed at a relatively young population. Upon further analysis, and taking into account the age of the respondents, it was possible to see that co-habitation with the older generation is most frequent among the young (20 to 30 years of age). This means that these young people still have not left the parental home, which is highly feasible in Portuguese terms owing to the fact that no matter where, it is difficult to buy or rent one's own accommodation.

On the other hand, having the older generation live in the respondent's household (3,7% of all 1700 studied cases) usually occurs between the 41-50 age group. Here, the explanation is that for one reason or another, the parents have stopped living in their own homes and have gone to live with their son or daughter and the latter's respective partner.

Still on the subject about the composition of households, the respondents were asked how many children were living with them. The data showed that 43.6% had one child living with them, 39.1% had two children, 12.3% had three children, 2.9% had four children and 2.3% had five children. There was no register of more than five children living in the same household.

As for the ages of children living in each household, it was seen that 600 people (35.3% of the total sample) said that they had at least one child of less than 10 year of age living with them. Out of the respondents who answered that they had children living with them, 430 (25.3% of the total sample) said that they had at least one child who was less than 7 years old living with them.

When enquiring about the respondents' civil status, it was noted that 57.4% were married, 35% were single, 4.7% were divorced and 2.9% were widowed. As far as the respondents cohabiting with their partners were concerned, and it should be pointed out that this has nothing to do with civil status¹², it was seen that 5.5% of the respondents lived in *de facto* unions while 2.9% were separated.

In spite of the fact that the sample population was relatively young, the respondents' educational qualifications were, on an average, very low. According to the data we obtained, the large majority (62.5%) had no more than six years of schooling¹³. Out of this number, 3.9% had fewer than four years of schooling (incomplete primary schooling, called the 1st basic cycle); 37.1% had four years of schooling and 21.5% had six years of schooling (the complete 2nd basic cycle). Out of the remaining number of respondents, 16.1% had completed their nine years of basic compulsory schooling (the 3rd cycle) and 15.8% had

¹² Apart from the question «What is your civil status?», there was also the question, «What kind of partnership are you currently living in?»

¹³ The difference between the level of schooling done and the level of schooling completed needs to be mentioned. In the survey, the questions only asked about the level of completed schooling.

at home. As the price of socio-educational facilities is high and the educational and occupational qualifications of these mothers are very often poor, working outside the home does not compensate¹⁴. Another possible reason could lie in the fact that within these sectors of the population, the traditional view of women as housewives and mothers still prevails. This conclusion may also be reached through analysing other replies in the survey.

There is also a relatively high number of housewives located in the socio-professional group of *directors and executive staff*. On the one hand, some housewives here think that the child should be with the mother up to a certain age. In this case, they choose to stay at home albeit only temporarily. On the other hand, the group may include women who hold more traditionalist attitudes about the division of labour between partners.

Countering this fact, we find that women cohabiting with unskilled workers tend not to stay at home. Given the unstable, precarious monetary situation of this socio-professional group, probably the wages earned by such women would mean an extra income, vital for the survival of the household. There are almost no housewives in the group composed of the *intellectual and scientific professions, intermediate technical professions and administrative staff*. These groups tend to be constituted by households with double professionalisation.

Another way of expressing this distribution may be made. As shown in Table 3.2, most housewives have not completed their secondary school education. Confirming what was said earlier on, most of them have only completed their elementary education and are located in the lower income brackets.

In other words, the better the education, the less probability there is of being a housewife. But the relationship does not ring true for income. Though housewives are more predominant in the lower income brackets, there are actually more higher-income housewives than housewives coming from the intermediate brackets. Higher incomes, less schooling and a greater sense of responsibility about their children's upbringing, could make having an outside job less attractive to such women.

When going more deeply into the conditions in which the respondents exercise their jobs, another important factor revealing Portugal's unique position comes to light (and affects both men and women). There is very little part-time work even when taken on a nation-wide basis. As may be seen in the Table 3.2, only 6.1% of the total number of respondents said they had part-time jobs.

Opposite to what is seen in other EU countries where the rise in female employment is equivalent to a rise in part-time work, there are not many women in Portugal who are engaged in part-time jobs. The survey revealed that part-time work only covers 10.8% of working women. Although more women than men take on part-time jobs, the fact may be explained by restrictions, which have more to do with types of female employment than with each woman's choice.

¹⁴ When studying the bracket including housewives with regard to their school qualifications, we find that among the women who have only done their compulsory schooling, their excuses are of a practical and economic nature. They say «they couldn't find a job» or «it's not worth working outside the home». Women who have received secondary education (12 years) have normally chosen to stay at home and, in a certain way, this indicates that the household lives on a higher income.

Working fewer hours may mean earning a lower wage and in the end, the job may not be worth it. Needless to say, in Portugal, part-time work is generally associated with jobs which do not require any special qualifications or which fail to offer any stability (André, 1993). It is a fact that those who possess fewer qualifications, experience greater job instability, earn lower wages and resort more to part-time jobs.

Another particularly Portuguese feature applicable to both men and women in the labour market, that they don't interrupt their jobs¹⁵. The survey showed that taking a break from work usually occurred only very infrequently, even though women tended to interrupt their professional activity more often than men. Perhaps one of the most important data revealed that, apart from illness or incapacity, getting fired from the job¹⁶ was the most frequent reason leading to an interruption in their working life. It may therefore be safely concluded that stopping work was based more on labour questions than on family matters.

As has been pointed out in other recent studies, generally speaking, the data obtained in the survey show that there have been some deep-reaching changes in the fields of work and the family in Portugal. One of the results has been a steep rise in rate of female employment during the last two decades¹⁷. Notwithstanding, there is a differentiation between the men's and the women's situations in the labour market, as male and female employment structures have their own special characteristics¹⁸. Such differences appear in the various job categories, in ongoing jobs, in stable employment, position held at work, the slot occupied in the labour market and incomes. In academic literature, these effects have been called horizontal, vertical and transversal types of segregation in female employment (Ferreira, 1993:239).

The differences are immediately seen in mainland Portugal because there is a more even distribution of women throughout the various different occupational groups while there is a greater concentration of men in certain occupations. It has to do with the growing role of women in the labour market which has kept abreast of changes in employment itself (André, 1993). Such changes have witnessed the growth of the services sector, the decline of the primary sector and the retraction of the secondary sector. But there are also other phenomena present. On the one hand, there is a greater concentration of female jobs in categories often proved to precarious, badly paid and containing poor

¹⁵ In fact, 70.3% of the male respondents said that they had never had stopped exercising their professional activity, while 64.5% of the women said the same. Only 19.8% and 14.2% of the women said they had stopped going to work respectively once, or twice and more times during their working lives. Only 17.9% and 10.5% of the men said they had stopped working once or twice and more times. ¹⁶ From a wide range of answers about why they had interrupted their working lives, the main answer given by both men and women indicated that they had been sacked (46.1% men; 28.2% women). Among other reasons were illness or incapacity (M: 35.7%; W: 39.3%); «incompatible timetable» (M: 0.6%; W: 6.1%); «it was better for the children if I took care of them» (M: 1.3%; W: 6.7%); «maternity leave» (M: 0%; W: 11%).

¹⁷ In the 35-39 age group (most of the women interviewed are situated in this group which has an average age of 36); see also the rise in female employment in the 15 years elapsing between 1981 (49%) and 1996 (80%). ¹⁸ In 1993, in Mainland Portugal, the mean basic monthly salary of women was only 76% of the men's. (Silva, 1993)

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perspectives in terms of job stability. This tendency may be seen particularly clearly in the Greater Lisbon area. On the other hand, there are more women in sectors requiring good academic qualifications such as in professions demanding intellectual and scientific skills, although the latter categories involve a smaller group of people.

By referring at the data from the survey, we may also see the same type of thing happening throughout the other important groups of men's and women's professions (See Table 3.4).

It is precisely when comparing the distribution of men and women in their different professional groups that very specific features emerge about the labour market in Portugal. Women are evenly spread throughout the different occupational groups although a good percentage, 25.8%, work as «trade and personal service employees». However, the next category, «unskilled workers» follows close behind at 23.1%. Men, on the other hand, seem to be more concentrated into specific areas, the largest number of male workers being located in the sector, «industrial and transport workers» (41%)¹⁹.

A large number of women were also found in jobs demanding higher academic qualifications, such as in professions calling for intellectual and scientific skills. But this group involves about 14% of the women inquired in the mainland Portugal and about 12% of men.

4.1.1 Introduction

We have now reached the stage where it is possible to evaluate the data obtained in our study in terms of the articulation between paid work (professional) and unpaid work (household chores, childcare, care for the elderly, etc.) in Portugal. The survey allows us to present paid and unpaid work in absolute measures (number of hours spent on a particular activity) and in relative measures (the part or number of chores undertaken by members in household and/or by outside help).

In order to obtain data about paid and unpaid work in absolute measures, we asked the respondents to describe how much time they took doing certain chores throughout a normal day in the week²⁰ and on a typical Saturday and Sunday. Time was measured in hours spent each day. We multiplied the time spent during a week-day by five in order to get the equivalent time spent during a week, and then added on the hours spent on a Saturday and Sunday. As was to be expected, questions based on the perception of the respondent about his or her daily routine, sometimes ended up by describing days with more (or fewer) than the standard 24 hours. Usually, it was the description of the unpaid work that gave rise to these distortions as professional labour was accounted for in more objective terms.

4.1.2 Relationship between paid and unpaid work: absolute time spent

Regarding the division of paid and unpaid work between men and women, we could start by stressing the fact that one of the most decisive results of our research revealed that in Portugal, women do almost all of the unpaid work, even when working outside the home in a job that occupies less but even though approximately the same number of hours as a man's job (see Table 4.1)²¹.

Although men always spend more time at work outside the home than women, this affirmation should be completed by bringing into play the various different types of households (Table 4.2).

While in childless couples there is about a 12 hour difference between time men and women spend at paid work, in couples with children younger than 7 years of age it is about 20 hours difference. Also noteworthy is the fact that as the

¹⁹ It is important to point out that the survey revealed an extraordinary number of «managers and managerial staff» in the section on *professional categories* (see the table 3.4). In having asked for *activity* and not *profession* as a criterion when drawing up the survey, we believe this deviation in terms of what is already known about the population in general, is mostly due to the fact that sometimes, small and medium-sized entrepreneurs call themselves by these titles. It may explain the disproportionate number of people in this professional group.

²⁰ Owing to the fact that professional work is usually on a full-time basis in Portugal, we took a weekday to mean a working day.

²¹ For the more detailed study on the different kinds of chores, see Table 2 in the Annex: Distribution of household chores between men and women, as against labour expended – Mainland Portugal 1999.

children get older, so this difference decreases, not because the woman now spends more time at her job, but because men dedicate less time to their own jobs. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that Portuguese women do not increase the amount of time they spend at work as their children are growing up, simply because they never cut down on their type of working day when their children were born. What causes fewer hours to be spent on the job as we shall see later on, is marriage or cohabitation, precisely because it means converting paid work into unpaid work, into domestic chores. (Childless married/cohabiting women work about 5 hours less a week, outside the home, than women living alone).

On the other hand, the difference between men and women is less glaring in lone-parent families (where the men are at work only 5 hours longer a week than the women) and when people live alone (here the difference is 7 hours per week). These data do not vary from the nation-wide average differentiating between the number of weekly hours Portuguese men and women spend on the job. We may therefore conclude that in the case of couples (mainly ones with small children) it is not only because of gender but a combination of gender and the fact of being married/cohabiting and the stage at which the family life finds itself, that helps to increase the number of hours of paid work per week on the part of men, while serving to reduce them for women.

It is also necessary to stress that where women are concerned, marriage seems to go hand-in-hand with a slight *decrease* in the number of hours a woman works on the job (from 5 to 6 hours a week). In opposition to this, small children in the family usually mean also an *increase* of 6 hours a week that men spend on the job (see Table 4.2). We might say though that these differences between men and women are much less significant than those verified in the division of unpaid work. Let us see why.

As far as the distribution of men and women's unpaid work goes (i.e. cooking, laundry, cleaning the house, shopping and odd jobs around the home), as a rule there is a serious imbalance, where the workload falls on women's shoulders. In the main, the asymmetry is caused when a couple starts living together: married/cohabiting men do the least number of household chores (9 hours a week); married/cohabiting women do the most (29 hours a week). In direct opposition to this fact, single people invert the pattern. Men living on their own do far more household chores than married men while women living on their own devote fewer hours to chores than all the other women (about 15 hours a week for the men and 19 hours for the women). Having small children under the age of 7 does not mean any noticeable changes in this pattern: the marked difference between men and women continues although registering a slight increase in time devoted to household chores for both (2 hours weekly for men and 3 hours more a week for women). (see Table 4.2)

These are important data that allow us a better idea how gender factors and getting married or cohabiting tie in together. Taken as a man-woman relationship, or rather, a relationship between persons of different genders, it means that male and female roles in each of the couples have to be defined (and

redefined). There are more household chores to do in a newly-wed couple and it falls exclusively to the wife to see to all of them.

We may conclude that, on an average, chores to do with childcare necessarily take on more importance in couples with smaller children (younger than 7 years of age) although many more mothers, rather than fathers, are tied up with such chores (20.62 as against 10.99) (see Table 4.2).

Interestingly, women living alone with their children devote far less time to caring for their off-spring than women living with their partners (3.57 and 20.62 hours weekly respectively). Because we do not know the ages of the children in such families there are two likely explanations: either the children are no longer in their care, or, if they are, then their mothers seek other solutions so as to make up for the extra hours they need to work.

In terms of the number of hours spent sleeping, we note that generally speaking, there is no great difference between men and women in the various kinds of households in Portugal. Both men and women sleep between 50 and 55 hours per week. However, there are some differences between men and women in terms of time spent on leisure and personal care in the different kinds of households. If the number of hours is the same between men and women who live alone (about 27 hours a week), the differences start creeping in when a couple gets married. Married women without children spend about 4 hours less a week on leisure and on themselves than their partners, while men spend an extra 2 hours a week on these chores. However, when there are small children in the family, men have less time for themselves (5 hours fewer than childless men) while women have even less time (8 hours fewer) (see Table 4.2).

Time spent in caring for elderly dependants and with other kinds of family members who are ill, does not seem to take up a significant number of weekly hours. Be that as it may, in reality it is hard to believe that those who have to care for the elderly or sick members of their family spend so little time on them. An explanation could lie in the way the data are based on an average which fails to take into account who does or does not have other persons in their care. The number of hours only a few respondents devote to looking after the elderly or the sick has, therefore, become diluted in the overall data on this question (see Table 4.2).

The following figures illustrate the percentages of the reported time men and women from different types of household spend on their daily activities²².

²² On the following figures, "Work" includes time spent on paid work, education and travelling time; "Household" includes preparing meals, doing the dishes/laying the table, doing the laundry, cleaning and shopping; "Childcare" includes bathing, clothing, feeding, transportation, playing and reading; "Leisure" includes watching tv, going out, etc. and also includes personal care; "Other" includes care for elder or sick members of the household, voluntary work, repairs and gardening.

Figure 1 – Division of reported time of men and women living alone

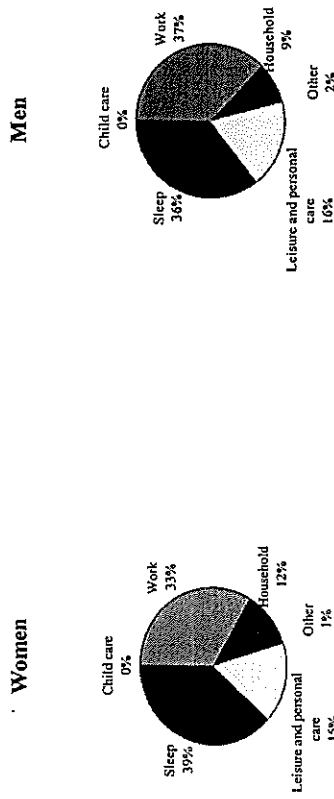


Figure 2 – Division of reported time of cohabiting childless men and women

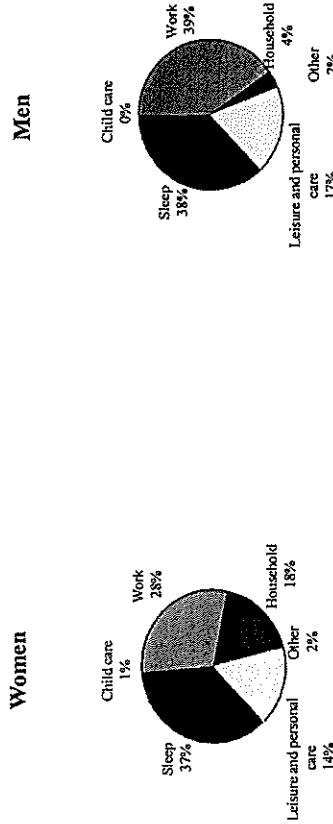


Figure 3 – Division of reported time of cohabiting fathers and mothers with at least one child

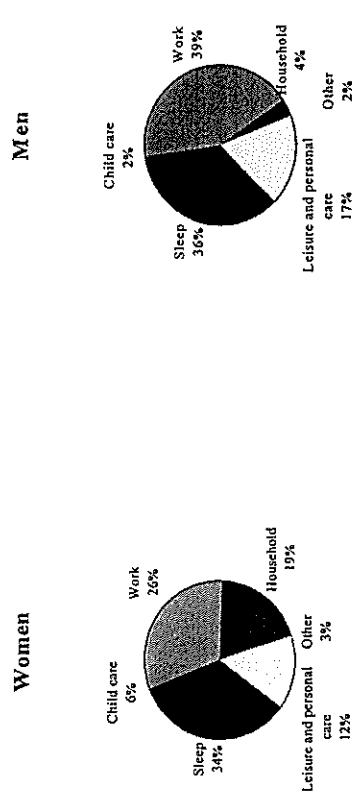


Figure 4 – Division of reported time of cohabiting fathers and mothers with at least one child under ten years of age

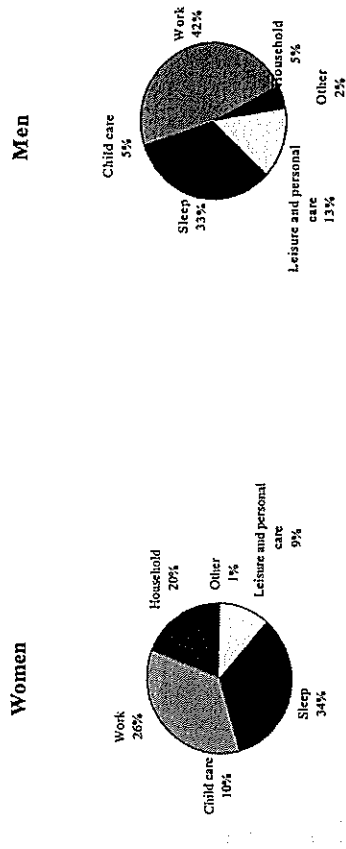


Figure 5 – Division of reported time of cohabiting fathers and mothers with at least one child under seven years of age

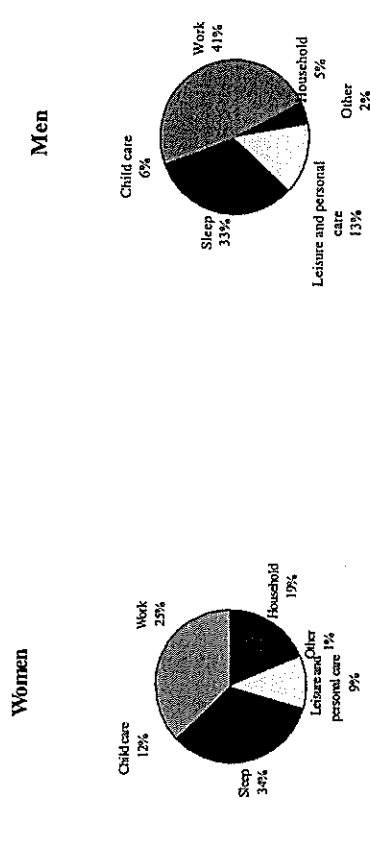
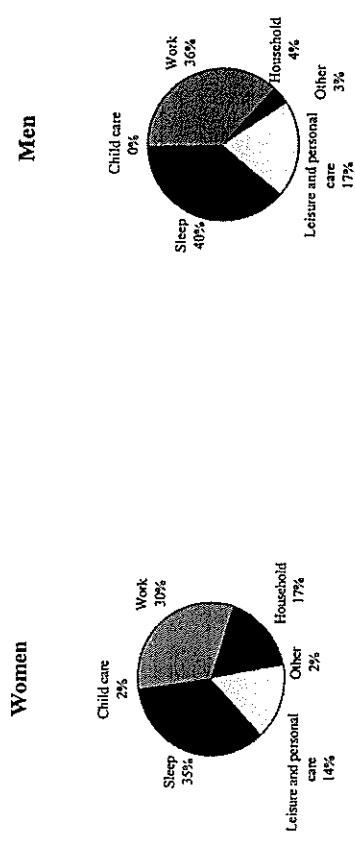


Figure 6 – Division of reported time of lone parents



4.2 Distribution of household chores – relative time spent

We shall now be looking at the division of labour in unpaid work in relative measures. This means the partial or whole number of chores done by members of a household (and/or by outside help). These chores include: preparing and cooking meals, laying the table, washing the dishes, washing and ironing clothes, cleaning the house, doing the shopping, gardening/repairs/handwork, looking after the car, bathing/dressing the children, feeding the children, taking them to school/doctor, etc., playing with/reading to the children, taking care of the elderly, caring for sick children, dealing with the household finances (paying bills, filling in tax returns, etc.), administrative matters (safety, contacting the authorities, etc.). We shall only be examining the relative distribution of these chores between men and women within each household (see Table 4.3).

Data in Table 4.3 were collected on the basis of the respondent's answers (whether male or female) about their own share in the chores as well as assessing what they do in the way of chores together with other members of the household. Whether in looking at the answers given by either men or women, we are able to see that paid domestic help (in the form of an employee) is not widespread as it should be expected when we considered the average family income. Nevertheless, in cases where the help of the domestic employee is available, there is a much greater help given in cleaning the house and doing the laundry. It seems that the heaviest, least gratifying work is usually delegated to the hired domestic help: more housework than child care, and more cleaning the house and washing/ironing clothes than other sorts of work.

It is interesting to note that the male respondents say that the hired domestic helps do more than their wives say they do (even if only slightly). However, the men say that their domestic employees do not help at all with the children, even when their wives say that they do, albeit in a very minor way. That help given by relatives, nevertheless takes on a slightly higher significance when we talk about household tasks. When compared with their partner's answers, an interesting point is revealed by the male respondents' affirmation that a lot of this kind of help is given in doing domestic chores in the strict sense of the term (for example, cooking, cleaning the house, the laundry, etc.). However, men's and women's answers do not vary from each other when they refer to unpaid work (done by relatives) in childcare. This help takes on greater importance when referring to caring for the elderly.

Fathers and fathers-in-law play only a minor role but one that is more appreciated by the male respondents. However, their role in helping with the domestic chores only becomes more significant when they are asked to do things which are not traditionally regarded as belonging to the female domain and when they involve activities such as gardening, handwork about the house, seeing to the car, and taking care of administrative and financial tasks. Moreover, the role of the older male generation plays in childcare and with the elderly is almost negligible.

Both men and women consider the help given by the mother or mother-in-law to be very useful, although the men tend to overestimate by almost double, the help which their wives/partners think the women give. Nevertheless, the men fail

to make this over-estimation when referring to childcare (with the exception of grandmothers taking their grandchildren to school). Men resume their highly favourable assessment when thinking about their mother/mother-in-law's care for the elderly, though.

Male respondents think that their daughters do very little around the house, although they do more than their sons. The women say the same. Nevertheless, in relation to what their husbands believe, the women tend to overestimate the help they receive from their children (whether they are boys or girls).

We shall also be looking at the relationship between cohabiting partners, and taking into account what the respondent him/herself thinks about his/her role in getting the household chores done, as well what he/she thinks about his/her partners' help²³. The male respondents always overestimate the help they give in doing the household chores, at least when we compare them with what their wives and partners think they do. The same goes for the women: they also overestimate their roles if their partners' opinions are taken into account. What are the chores which seem to lie at the root of such dissension? The men overestimate their role precisely in the chores they do the most. In other words, their overestimation is directly influenced by the amount of help they give and, therefore, seems to ring true. It makes sense to bestow importance on what they do and not what they say they do but do not. Nevertheless, the difference makes itself felt in three kinds of chores: caring for the elderly (24.3%), administrative duties (23.00%), managing home finances (23.3%) and gardening (22.1%). While «caring for the elderly» could possibly be the first of the chores which men exaggerate about, categories such as «doing the shopping» (17.2%) «taking the children to school/to the doctor» (16.4%) belong to a second group of chores which seems to give more realistic data particularly if we take into account what the women say about their partners (see Table 4.3).

The women also overestimate their role in doing household chores if we consider what their partners say about them. Curiously, the discrepancy is repeated here and emerges even more clearly than in what was said by the men when speaking about «caring for the elderly (44.1%), managing home finances (32.8%) and administrative chores (23%). A second group revealing an even greater difference emerges when speaking about domestic chores in the strict sense of the term. The group showing the least discrepancy is «childcare» and includes «feeding children» (8.2%), «bathing and dressing them» (9.6%), «caring for sick children» (7.3%), and «playing with children» (11.1%). The role played here is much lower than in chores like «taking the children to school/the doctor» (18.2%). (see Table 4.3) It could be ventured that the wider the discrepancy between what the woman says she does and what the man says she does, the wider the effective inequality between men's and women's roles. The female respondent gives greater importance to the chores where she feels she does *much more* than the man. It seems to us that the feeling she has about the

²³ Even though this table refers to the answers given by all the respondents and not only given by the married couples, it also includes the replies of those cohabiting with their partners and what the respondent thinks of his/her own role and the help he/she receives from the partner.

disproportionate number of chores she does may very well colour her perception of reality: if she does almost all of these kinds of household chores, she will probably say she does all of them. This may be one of the possible explanations shedding light on why the divergence of opinions is so strong between men and women when speaking about the chores mentioned above. This disproportion is only dispelled when «seeing to the car» is referred to. Here the opinions are the same.

The differences in the opinions expressed by men and women may not only be due to the different way in which the respondents assess their own roles and that of their partners in doing household chores, but also to the way the chores are delegated to other members of the family, for example, to the mother or the mother-in-law. This is, in fact, what we found when asking about household chores in the strict sense of the term (the first five categories of Table 4.3). The comparison between men and women's evaluation of help given as per the column entitled Mother/Mother-in-law, reveals that men overestimate the mother/mother-in-law's help while the women tend to underestimate it.

Therefore, in Portuguese society, both men and women do not indiscriminately take on domestic chores. It is even more interesting to learn from analysing the distribution of chores, the influences brought to bear by the level of education (see Table 4.4).

In terms of all household chores and regardless of the level of education, the trend persists, as women say they basically do all the domestic chores while the men reckon they only do a very few.²⁴ The imbalance is somewhat attenuated where better educated couples are concerned; more help comes from the men mainly where preparing mealtimes («cooking the food», «laying the table» and «doing the washing-up») as well as «doing the shopping» are concerned. Notwithstanding, these findings are not reinforced when it comes to helping out with house-cleaning, keeping the house tidy and dealing with the laundry («seeing to clothes, washing and ironing», «cleaning the house»). Here, even though more highly educated women may occupy themselves less with the latter type of chores, it fails to mean more help from the men. It simply means a more efficient delegation of the chores to paid help (domestic employees) or unpaid help (for example, the mother, mother-in-law and daughter).

We may, then, continue to stress the fact that the predominantly female household chores continue to be regarded as «non-negotiables»²⁵ (see for instance, chores to do with cleaning and tidying up the house and doing the laundry). Other chores are «negotiable» (such as preparing meals, looking after the children) and men may take a more active role. Nevertheless, where the childcare is concerned not all the chores involved point in this direction. If, on the one hand, a higher level of education means that fathers will play more with their

²⁴ The only exception to this lies in the «gardening, handiwork and car repairs» section where chores fall mainly to the men.

²⁵ We have taken the classification of household chores as «negotiable» when both partners do them, and «non-negotiable» in the opposite case where only one partner, either male or female, takes charge, from Bernard ZARCA: «La Division du Travail Domestique. Poids du Passé et Tensions au Sein du Couple», *Économie et Statistique*, 228, 1990

children, take them to the doctor's or to school and even feed them, other chores like dressing and bathing them involve only very few men (see Table 4.4).

4.3 Socio-educational solutions, childcare and social networks

4.3.1 Socio-educational solutions and childcare

Within the research project's broad guidelines, another focal point which received our attention had to do with socio-educational solutions and childcare.

Knowing at the outset from findings in previous studies²⁶ that Portugal occupies a unique position within the context of other European countries where the relationship between work and the family is concerned (we have a high rate of working mothers with very small children on a par with insufficient public facilities catering to socio-educational factors and childcare), the question arises if both parents work outside the home, where and with whom are the children placed.

Answering these and other questions coming to light during our examination of the survey results, confirmed certain ideas put forward in previous studies²⁷ while also raising new questions about the problem. The most interesting data emerging here concerns the high number of respondents who said that they were mothers but that, even as working women, they were also the main childminders. By looking at Table 4.3.1, we see that this category refers to some 30% of the children who are between 0 and 2 years of age, and 26% of the total number of children mentioned in the survey aged between 0 and 10. There are a couple of possible explanations here: either the children stay at home by themselves or they go with their mother to her place of work. Whatever the case, solutions such as these are always bad²⁸.

It is at this point that we need to clarify what we mean by the expression «family-type solutions». When we talk about members of the family being asked to help in childcare, we should bear in mind that in Portugal, most of such solutions are associated with *subsistence*.²⁹ The fact is that there are no other feasible solutions open to these parents. This is what seems to be the case with 30% of the mothers who are working outside the home and have children aged

²⁶ Cf. Torres and Silva, 1999.

²⁷ In a research project carried out in Greater Lisbon in 1997, about social policy-making, socio-educational solutions and childcare, it was concluded that, opposite to what had been defended in previous studies, the family network did not replace either the mother or the lack of public facilities. In other words, it was seen that relying on other family members, for example the grandparents, was only one of a number of possible solutions. However, it was not the most frequent solution when it came to childcare. On the contrary, it was precisely the solutions lying outside the sphere of the family, such as crèches, childminders, child-care centres, kindergartens among others that were most often used when mothers worked outside the home. (Cf. Torres and Silva, 1999).

²⁸ By going deeper into the study, we tried to learn what kind of professions were exercised by the mothers in these cases. Generally speaking, they were engaged in unskilled labour, which in turn meant short-term, precarious employment (office and hotel cleaning staff and similar kinds of jobs, street vendors, cooks, etc.). Added to this, is the fact that their jobs are not part-time as they are difficult to find in these activities. Thus, the solutions found by such mothers are even more unsuitable.

²⁹ In previous work we have defined that family used three types of socio-educational and childcare strategies: subsistence, shared and selective solutions (Torres and Silva, 1998).

between 0 and 2 (or with 26% if we wish to include mothers with children aged between 0 and 10).

Table 4.3.1 shows that the most common answer, 33%, is: «goes to the crèche, child day-care centre, kindergarten, etc.». If we add the childminder to this percentage, we then have 37% of the parents resorting to assistance outside the family. This makes it the most important solution even when set against 26% going to their grandparents and 10% to other family members. So looking at the country as a whole, leaving the children with the other members of the family is not as common as might at first be imagined.

These data reinforce what previous studies have already concluded, namely that more socio-educational and care facilities are required in order to satisfy the needs of such families. The results obtained in different kinds of studies all indicate this necessity. Beside, the respondents are largely in favour of readily available services and facilities outside the family which cater to their children while they are away at work³⁰.

Apart from being manifestly insufficient, the uneven distribution of these sorts of facilities in Portugal is clearly evident. In other words, there is a fairly serious mismatch between areas of the country where such services are most needed and areas enjoying a higher offer of public facilities or State-subsidised services. At times, there is an uneven distribution of these services at local and regional level resulting in an imbalance between supply and demand.

The picture we have been describing is a particularly sensitive one. On the one hand, absorbing more women into the labour market has become a general reality in Portugal today³¹. It means that the data we are presenting in this report does not merely refer to a specific segment of the population. On the other hand, the imbalances registered as far as providing facilities are concerned, make part and parcel of the country's framework and shows that Portugal has one of the highest rates of female employment in Europe.

4.3.2 Social networks

Another question our research intended to uncover was learning about what possibilities households had in calling upon the family network, friends and neighbours in particular moments of difficulty. Briefly, results indicated that despite the existence and the nature of mutual family aid, contrary to what we had expected, fewer respondents said they would turn to the family for help³². We shall be looking more closely at this problem later on. It was further revealed that the type of household which would most need this kind of help (lower

³⁰ When asked about what socio-educational services and childcare services would be ideal, the respondents' replies were both clear and consistent even though they differentiated between children of 2 years of age and under, and children of 3 and over. A large majority said the ideal solution for a child up to 2 years of age was for it to stay with its mother, or father or both (87.6%). For children over the age of 3, respondents answered that they thought crèches, child day-care centres and kindergartens were the best.

³¹ Cf. Almeida *et al* (1990); André (1993); Ferreira (1993) and Viegas *et al* (1998).
³² Taking into account the answers obtained in the survey and referring to the example «seeking help from the child's mother/grandmother» in unexpected situations requiring childcare services, 45.5% of the respondents with children younger than 10 years of age said they could never depend on any help coming their way from these sources.

incomes earners) were precisely the ones which could depend less on receiving it from their families³³.

Apart from analysing the solutions families found in childcare and socio-educational facilities, we also wished to learn about what possibilities the households had of seeking help at particular moments.

We asked respondents with children who were younger than 10 years of age, if they had ever had to face an unexpected or unusual situation where they needed to seek the help of someone to take care of their children (for example, take or fetch them from school, kindergarten, crèche, etc.; feed them or take them to the doctor). The answer "yes" was given by 58% of the respondents. It is interesting to note here, that more women than men (61% as against 53%) said that they had already gone through moments where they needed help (see Table 4.3.2). This discrepancy is probably due to the fact that, as we saw earlier on, it is the women who take over the day-to-day running of family life and look after the children themselves.

On the other hand, those who ask for outside help usually have a higher level of education. When the respondents only have up to six years of schooling, their answers are usually negative in more cases than those who possess more schooling (Table 4.3.3).

This fact may be explained if we take into account a number of different factors. On the one hand, among the more highly educated there is a greater ability to handle unforeseen events (they normally react much faster and put into action inter-help networks, even paying for them if need be, etc.). On the other hand, the more highly educated are also more reluctant to leave their children alone and even in the case of need, they rarely or never do so.

Likewise, income exerts a great influence in being able to pay for someone to take care of the children. In the way that incomes rise, so the affirmative answers to this question in the survey also increase (Table 4.3.4).

But when help is needed who are the people really contacted? Effectively speaking, who make up part of the networks that people rely on when they are confronted by an unexpected situation?

In Table 4.3.5, it is possible to see that the persons who are most often asked to look after the children are, in overall terms, the partner and the mother. If we are to breakdown these overall numbers, it is interesting to note that the differences between the sexes are vital. If we add together «always» and «very often», which occur more frequently than the others, we find that while 46.5% of the men seek help from their partners, only 18.7% of the women ask their partners for help in the same situation. In other words, it is the men who turn to the women when they have children to take of, and not the other way around.

Similarly, differences based on the sex of the respondent emerge when looking at the way in which the mother is asked for help in minding the children. Here, women turn to their mothers more often than men. If the «always» and «very

³³ In arriving at this conclusion, we considered the graded incomes of each household. Basing our data on the question «seeking help from the child's mother/grandmother», there is a far more numerous group belonging to the lower income bracket that says it «never» or «only sometimes» asks for help from the mother in needy situations as against the group that says it «always» or «often» asks for the mother's help.

offers» are added together, we see that 31.1% of the women resort to this solution while only 16.6% of the men do so.

The structural difference in the way the «helping hand» networks are put into action is so distinctive that we are able to see an inversion of patterns when, in the event of something unexpected happening, women prefer seeking childcare help from people other than their partners. While most men answer that they turn to their partners for help, in the case of women, their mothers are by far, the person they most rely on. When examining the answers according to gender, the statement «nevers» amply confirms this tendency (see Table 4.3.5).

Another fact that strengthens the imbalance occurring in childcare is found in the data related to the parents-in-law. Men say that they resort more to their parents-in-law than the women: the parents of the children's mother are therefore doubly relied upon, as they seem to be called upon as much by the men as by the women.

In other words, generally speaking, we could say that the differences in the answers to these types of questions are based on a twofold conditioning factor involving gender. On the one hand, the sex of the respondent is closely allied to the very marked variations in the answers given. On the other, the sex of the person from whom help is asked is also important in determining the roles they fulfil in unexpected situations.

To sum, women have the central and main role in the networks that provide child care help. A paradigmatic example of this lies in the difference between invoking help from the father and the mother: the mother is more often sought than the father, as demonstrated in the kind of answers given. Numbers referring to the father's help are not only low in absolute terms, but mainly low when compared with answers focusing on the mothers. Moreover, it is interesting to note that women seek their father's help very infrequently – which proves what we have just stated.

Apart from the networks put into action regarding childcare, we tried to find out whether other kinds of problems (money, emotional, health or practical issues) caused the respondents to turn to someone else for help. The results showed that the majority of the respondents (86%) were able to depend on someone else in the likelihood of such things happening (Table 4.3.6). There were no significant differences between male and female answers. Nevertheless, the variations according to age-groups, income and educational levels are worth mentioning here. It is precisely the youngest respondents, the most educated and the ones who earn the most who say they have someone to help them if it is needed.

So, 90% of the youngest respondents (between 20 and 30 years of age) said they had someone to help them out as against 80% of the respondents aged between 41 and 50. We find the same large variation between the answers given by respondents with a lower education and those with a higher education: 82% of the former said they had someone to turn to as against 93% of the respondents with a better school education. Finally, we also found appreciable differences in answers if analysed according to incomes (Table 4.3.6). The percentage of respondents who answered they had someone to help them if something

unexpected happened varied between 81.2% for the lower income bracket and 93.8% for the higher income bracket.

What these data show, and particularly if we take into account educational levels and incomes, is that if we consider the networks as backup, rather like *capital loans* which people could apply for and use to their own advantage, the ones who have the most available networks open to them (in the light of owning other kinds of capital) are the ones who least need them.

When analysing each type of problem separately, the most common answer given by the respondents about who they were most likely to turn to if they had money problems, was the «father» (27.5%, see Table 4.3.7). It seems that according to their sex, more men than women said that they would turn to their fathers (34.6% as against 21.5%), although more women would seek help from their partners rather than the other way round (27.6% as against 10.4%).

Respondents' answers to the question about who they would turn to if they had health problems, indicated that they would go to their partners (35.5%). Nevertheless, the proportion is now reversed because more men would go to their partners (37.7%) whereas only 33.5% of the women would seek help from their partners.

Once more, generally speaking, the partner would be sought out in the event of emotional problems (34.2%). Again, it is a higher number of men who say they would turn to their partners (37.3%) while fewer women would follow the same course of action (31.5%). It is interesting to note the preponderance of gender in issues such as these.

With regard to practical problems, the partner is also chosen more often than others (33.5%). However, contrary to what is seen when other kinds of problems are involved, here, it is the women who most frequently turn to their partners rather than the other way round.

With the exception of women turning to the first person mentioned for help more so than the men do when practical problems come up, we see that men usually seek help from their partners more often than their partners seek help from them. In other words, men resort to women more than women seek out men's help.

If we take into account the three people who were referred to most often when respondents were asked who they would be most likely to contact in the event of any one of these problems happening, we see that answers are distributed among the partner, mother, father and a female friend (Table 4.3.8). This means that when they exist, the networks are activated within the family. There do not seem to be any kind of significant networks outside the family, except in the case of emotional problems where some respondents said they would turn to a woman friend. Again a clear gender line is seen to run through the answers: men say they turn more to their parents, brothers, male friends and children, while women tend to rely more on their mothers, women friends and daughters for help.

To sum up, we could say that regardless of the issues studied here, where the «helping hand» networks are concerned, gender is vitally important in providing the framework of inter-help patterns and family networks. Apart from this, in the event of these «helping hand» networks being activated, the data in the survey –

particularly about the income and educational levels of the respondents – shows that this help is regarded as a form of capital where people can apply for a loan and use it to their advantage. The respondents who have the least number of solidarity networks at their disposal are the ones who have more need of them. Or it is precisely the underprivileged sectors of the community who make up the majority of the overall population in numerical terms.

4.4 Use of policies

The answers concerning the use of policies have generally confirmed the hypotheses initially formulated about the Portuguese situation. Namely, they have confirmed the low relevance that this variable holds in the explanation of the division of paid and unpaid labour in households when compared with other European countries, basically, because policies with effects upon these matters either do not exist or are still not fully developed.

This is shown by the fact that most of the policies included in the list display low levels of use. The exception to this situation is the family allowance, a financial transfer that corresponds to a relatively small amount of money and which has some importance especially important to families with low incomes (and, in fact, according to data its use is higher exactly among the population under those conditions).

Other measures displaying levels of use which are not merely residual include the use of childcare services, paid parental leave and tax reductions to deal with childcare expenses. All the other measures tend to present residual values – and among these are measures with close implications to the matters of compatibility, such as flexible working hours and reduction of working hours right the birth of a child. This does not imply, however, that there is no demand for these policies; given their scarcity, the declarations of use are in fact high when compared with the existing supply – which is clearly the case of childcare services.

Besides these general tendencies, it is also important to stress that the use of these measures is clearly higher among women. This means that the gender structure of the use of policies seems to mirror the asymmetry observed in the actual division of labour: somehow, apparently women are not only responsible for family obligations but as regarded as well as being responsible for the use of family policies.

Another issue worth looking at is the fact that, with the exception of the family allowance, it is the social groups with higher qualifications who make greater use of policies. This clearly seems to point to “information” issues and to the complex, bureaucratic and opaque nature of the Portuguese state, leading to a situation where often the ones who are in greater need of measures turn out to be the ones that cannot fully use them, following a logic of exclusion that favours privileged social groups.

4.5 Values and attitudes about work and family life

When dealing with the values and attitudes held about work and family life, the conclusions we have reached differ substantially from data described in the foregoing section. Nevertheless, despite the fact that findings do not run in a

consistent line as we shall see later on, they are far from being contradictory when looked at from within the general framework of the division of labour.

In overall terms, it could be said that statements expressing attitudes have a strong tendency to reflect modern values. For lack of a better term and regardless of the disagreement it might cause, when talking about gender relations, we shall be referring to the expression, modern values, in a broad sense and as being synonymous with current ideas of parity, equality and balance between men and women, rather than merely referring to patterns arising in the division of labour.

Before proceeding, it is worth noting that when undertaking a Principal Components Factor Analysis, the respondents' answers may be relocated on either side of the fundamental dividing line between statements based on traditional values and on modern ideas whenever data processing reveals forked associations in the answers.

Even in a preliminary examination, the results were seen to follow a twin logic. On the one hand there was the topic-based logic that was a constant. On the other, there was the logic emerging from a cross between clearly differing opinions where one represented more traditionally-minded sentiments – family-based and asymmetrical – while the other tended to be more equality-minded and symmetrical. By undertaking discourse analysis aimed at tapping the two different sets of information, we had the notion that undoubtedly our study would take on added interest by adopting an ideological-based criterion. It was clear that ideology, or *habitus* in Bourdieu's terms, dictated as the organising criterion of discourse groups. However, without jeopardising this affirmation, there was also an extremely interesting grey area indicating ideological consensus or neutrality which lay away from this two-pronged fork.

This is why we were so keen to analyse discourse, mainly discourse produced within the context of the questionnaire's attitudinal scales, which would allow us to carry out a more thorough-going, evenly-handled job of data processing. We would start by taking into account the definition of the topic segments that were likely to provide valuable information about precise questions. We would then proceed with our study by relying on an analytical grid based on the data obtained from the ideological division we had managed to identify.

As a start, when we made a study the respondents' positions about children and childcare, one of the discursive segments which contained a higher mean number of answers – clearly belonging to the «neutral» set of opinions where the subject matter took precedence over ideological viewpoint – we reached the conclusion that what we had here was a kind of open-ended family arrangement. Or rather, despite the fairly prevalent views about the role of not only the mother in childcare but also the family, another position emerged quite clearly and indicated that childcare also relied upon help obtained outside the family. Nevertheless, all these answers scored well, the resulting coexistence being in perfect agreement with the different practices observed where there was a balance between childcare located within and outside the family unit.

It should be mentioned that where attitudes seem to emerge quite clearly, the view valorising the family in childcare occupies a more relevant place particularly among the less educated. In this case, the dominant view – mitigated

or, if we like, open-ended – is a telling indication of the educational level of the respondents, witnessed in the rejection of such commonly held opinions as «sometimes having children is just not worth it», or when they choose to accept or dispute statements like: «only children bring a couple happiness» and «a woman who doesn't want at least one child is an egotist».

On the other hand, if in the answers respondents gave about the relationship between the family and their children we found the emphasis on the family network to be quite strong, as far as ideas about working outside the home went, traditional views were entirely lacking. As an abstract value, the great importance attributed to the different reasons leading to a job is, in itself, a true indication of the distance separating modern-minded attitudes from traditional ones. However, we need to mention the fact that the main motivating factors leading to such valorisation, have more to do with material compensation of having a job.

This finding may be linked to the fact that salaries are low in the Portuguese labour market. As is commonly acknowledged, it is one of the factors explaining why there is such a high rate of working women in Portugal. It would seem to indicate the idea of *modernisation with no emancipation*, as we have already mentioned. At least this seems to be the case among the less educated women. Among the more educated working women, the material benefits of having a job only comes third in the list of reasons given by the respondents.

Furthermore, among the more highly educated working women, it is the job itself that is the most important. More so than in the case of the less educated working women and more so than better qualified men. On the contrary, men who have received less schooling esteem their jobs more than other better education men and more than women who have also received less schooling. In other words, there is an inverse relationship between men and women when taking into account levels of education and the overall esteem they have for their jobs³⁴.

Another dimension covered by this study is based on the adjustment between paid and unpaid work. Only one global conclusion may be reached by analysing the data at hand: it may be possible to make the two compatible even in situations which seem to be the most problematic, such as in cases where both partners work. The agreement with this position is particularly high precisely in which this twofold activity is the rule.

As may be seen in the data collected from answers to the statement: «even if both parent have full-time jobs, work and family are compatible», which is the most generalised item in this section, agreement is fairly widespread. Moreover, most of the very well-educated women agree with it. Once again, in terms of these questions, findings prove to be quite revealing about the differences among various social sectors.

With regard to more circumspect questions about the effects of double activity in the couple, we see that there are appreciable differences in the kinds of answers given. The greatest degree awareness about its negative consequences is

³⁴ The only exception to the rule lies in how women regard the material benefits. But even here, as the level of schooling increases so its importance decreases.

thought to affect the relationship between cohabiting partners. Contrary to this, there is less recognition about any negative effects on the children. Whatever the case, on an average, the more highly educated respondents say that this sort of twofold activity does not intimidate them.

These data are confirmed, and in fact, strengthened, by the answers given about statements such as, «even if we are heavily involved in our careers, we still have enough time to devote to a serious emotional relationship» and «parents who are heavily involved with their jobs can't possibly be good parents or good mothers». As we may see in the data, either one of the items portray the respondents' very clear refusal to be fatalistic and accept any harmful effects a job may possibly have on family life.

It is also interesting to see how domestic work is given some recognition for the value it has, more so among women than men and particularly among non-working women.

But it is also true that when comparing the working woman with the housewife, the former always has a more favourable reception and having a job is regarded as an essential step in women obtaining respect from society as well as their independence.

However, this tendency becomes a lot clearer and much firmer above all among the better educated respondents. It gives rise to a distinct dividing line between the less educated sector which, although is modern in its attitude about having a job, is not yet emancipated, and more highly educated sectors which recognise to a greater or lesser degree the emancipation accompanying more modernised modes of work.

What sort of relationship do men have with unpaid work? First and foremost, according to the respondents' answers, they should «take an active role on a daily basis» in educating the children. However, there are few answers, albeit positive ones, about the question of doing their fair share of the household tasks. This opinion finds a much higher echo among the female respondents. On the other hand, all respondents say that men should not cut down on their involvement with their jobs after the birth of a child – here most of the answers are negative.

We believe that these answers give important leads into the attitudes underpinning the practices observed. The truth of the matter is that no one expects a man to devote less time and effort to his profession after he becomes a father – a symbolically important moment and, above all, a time when the family has to adapt to the new arrival and work much harder at home. If men fail to devote more effort to caring for the home at a time like this, when would they do so at other times? The answer to this question probably lies in the statements they make about what they do which gives evidence of deep-lying asymmetries.

In terms of chore sharing and the balance between men and women, therefore, we come up against a somewhat traditional view mainly about the man's job taking precedence. The attitude which is reflected in everyday life is that men should do their share on the domestic front although their jobs come first.

In his innovating work about modernising gender relations, Künzler (1999) identifies four directions in which gender relations may be modernised. One such direction means men taking an active part in domestic life. Given current

behaviours and modern attitudes about women and work, as well as the high number of working women, this vector is essential if gender relations are to be modernised in Portugal³⁵.

The picture would be complete if this were to take place because, as a rule, in terms of paid work, men are not recognised as being superior to women.

Thus, if we take into consideration the set of values – and it is precisely at this point that the scale, which is generally more modern than what actually happens in practice clearly intersects behaviour – we may conclude that the main focus placed on traditionalism has to do with men joining the domestic world. Not because this is what people say but rather because the effect of expressing *reservations* about these issues is materialised into the asymmetries we have observed in the division of labour.

³⁵ Although this situation is not strictly linear on the attitude scale, we believe that breaking down the results obtained in the survey points in this direction, as we have already mentioned.

Chapter 5

Division of paid and unpaid work between men and women in Portuguese society: some interpretations

We know that whether or not they have outside jobs, Portuguese women take on the entire burden of doing the household chores, minding the children, and caring for the elderly and the sick. As we have already seen, if more highly educated women take a less active role, it is not because their partners do more but because they get the hired domestic help to do it. We can therefore insist that there are some household chores which women do that continue to be «non-negotiable»³⁶ (for example, cleaning and tidying up the house, doing the laundry), although in doing other «negotiable» chores (mainly connected with preparing meals and childcare³⁷), the men's share tends to be a little more obvious.

Even when women delegate the chores to someone else in the family who does not get paid to do them (mothers, mothers-in-laws, daughters), or to someone who does (hired domestic help), the female sex is always the variable determining factor. When Portuguese women carry out most of the domestic chores and take care of the children, they are basically acting according to the roles cast for them³⁸ or, more simply speaking, living up to the kind of expectations our society has about how female should behave³⁹. Owing to this, the working woman will always be worried about proving that she is good at her job but mainly, that she is an excellent mother and capable of managing her household. The responsibility falls to her but never to her partner, to make her working life compatible with her family life. In order to appreciate the full significance of this state of affairs, we need to consider gender relations in the working world. Let us turn to this question, then.

It is mainly the women who bear the brunt of unemployment, part-time work and unstable jobs in precarious conditions. These factors continue to indicate that there are significant inequalities in the labour market⁴⁰. The constraints making themselves felt in life outside the home must also affect the couple's relationship

³⁶ We have taken the classification of household chores in «negotiable» when both partners do them, and «non-negotiable» in the opposite case where only one partner, either male or female, takes charge, from Bernard ZARCA: «La Division du Travail Domestique. Poids du Passé et Tensions au Sein du Couple», *Économie et Statistique*, 228, 1990.

³⁷ Although in terms of childcare, not all chores point in this direction. For example, if a higher level of education means playing more with the children, taking them to school or the doctor or even feeding them, other chores such as bathing and dressing children indicate a lot less activity on the part of the fathers.

³⁸ Pierre Bourdieu (1998) *La Domination Masculine*, Paris, Seuil.

³⁹ T. Parsons, R. Bales (1955), *Family Socialization and Interaction Process*, Glencoe, Free Press.

⁴⁰ Cf. M. Segalen (1999), *Sociologia da Família*, Lisboa, Terramar, and also, Virginia Ferreira, «Os paradoxos da situação das mulheres em Portugal», *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, n.º 52/53, 1999, pp. 199-227, when assessing the complexity of the Portuguese situation.

whether in terms of daily cohabitation or in extreme conditions (for example, during child birth). The negative aspects of the female partner's unstable, badly-paid job would therefore make the male partner's income even more valuable, as it is the main source of the family's livelihood, while the woman's job would become devalued. Owing to this as well as to other reasons (and apparently in the name of a pragmatic principle and the maximising of utilities), the external objective constraints of paid work effectively become a legitimate source of asymmetrical unpaid work within the couple's relationship. The family ideology is based on the man's role as the provider of his family, where he exerts an instrumental or active role while the woman occupies the space reserved for the home and children and takes charge of running things in it⁴¹. These ideas are also reflected in an enterprise culture in which there are different sets of expectations held about masculine and feminine roles: women always have the family while men only have it sometimes. Nevertheless, if this is the entrepreneurial perspective, it is certainly not shared by most of the women who work in Portugal.

The qualitative studies we have undertaken have demonstrated that the old idea of a woman having to work outside the home because she needs to, stands in direct contrast to the positive attitude expressed by Portuguese women. Indeed, they do believe that a job is a source of sociability and a means of attaining indispensable social identity and that it is not only a help towards improving the family's living conditions but acts as a way increasing the woman's bargaining power within the partnership or relationship.

Ideas, which are so favourable about full equality between men and women, can be explained at two clearly articulated levels: past and present ideas; practices and objective situations.

Firstly, before 25 April 1974, Portugal was politically hamstrung by old-fashioned ideas about the family and a woman's place in society. The 25 April revolution represented a significant turning point in these beliefs. It meant autonomy and the freedom to choose, as well a chance to gain financial independence. It opposed views that merely restricted a woman to her home and family and which were shot through with ideas of self-sacrifice, victimisation and dedication. Though these ideas began to be questioned particularly in the 1960s among the more educated circles, it was only after 1974 that they clearly began to lose their impact as egalitarian ideas about men and women gradually started gaining ground. It may be said today, that it has become unpopular to defend the idea that women should limit their activity to the home and family. But though equality is the "appropriate" discourse nowadays, it becomes clear that it is not actually put into practice. On the other hand, though the old ideas are losing much of their influence, they are still rooted in traditional views. But let us briefly look at other objective, economic factors which may have made a contribution towards furthering egalitarian ideology.

In the most underprivileged sectors, the indirect effect of emigration meant that a more active role was played by women. The women who stayed behind

had to make decisions on their own, deal with new situations, take action, organise and manage family life, and they enjoyed a certain amount of freedom. Women who left Portugal with their husbands, learned about other realities and it was harder for them to accept their former subjection, when and if they returned to the country. Through force of circumstance and acquiring knowledge of other worlds, the increasingly more active role of women, thus helped to create a new image of female competencies outside the home (Torres, 1995).

The colonial war from 1962 to 1974 brought changes to other more educated social circles. Although the relative economic boom towards the end of the 50s was responsible for opening up new jobs in middle and higher management, the colonial war and compulsory military service effectively acted as a four-year brake against hiring young men - that is, if it did not force them to leave the country or lead to other changes⁴². On the other hand, many young women who were university students or had completed their secondary school education, had either already met their future partners when these young men were completing their studies and degrees before being drafted, or had met them while they were on leave from war service. In the meantime, professional opportunities were becoming available allowing women to have compatible jobs in the civil service, in the teaching profession and even in business companies. They felt they had to wait too long for the men to return to civilian life and the possibility of occupying their time and earning money was attractive. The opportunities coming their way, therefore, were eagerly seized by many educated young women. Once they had entered the working world, they left it only very rarely. Making family and working life compatible in social sectors such as these was helped along by cheap, readily available domestic help⁴³. With the advent of the 25 April Revolution, the situation changed although not sufficiently to make it regress to what it used to be. However, the ideology supporting women's autonomy and independence was even given reinforcement.

The multiple effects of experience gained during these years are more deep-reaching than they at first appear to be. On the one hand, it has been recognised that the new ideas disseminated by the so-called urban middle-classes were eventually adopted and put into practice by the less privileged sectors (Almeida, 1990). On the other hand, the accumulation of this experience is likely to exert many more long-term consequences. Various research projects have concluded that transmitting behaviour from one generation to another has been very important. The fact that mothers have gone out to work has had an undeniable effect on the way daughters have been encouraged to join the labour market as well. Furthermore, the higher the mother's educational qualifications, the more the chance of it reflecting upon her children's academic achievement⁴⁴. From

⁴² Completing higher education did not mean they were exempt from compulsory military service - it only delayed it.

⁴³ With the decline of agriculture and the migratory movements of the population to other countries and to the large cities in the 1960s, there was a marked rise in the offer of unskilled female workers for domestic service.

⁴⁴ Authors such as Louis André Vallet, Claude Thélot and François de Singly quoted by Martine Segalen (1993:194), consider that professionalisation models are inherited. According to Vallet, the destinies of daughters depend more on the maternal than on the paternal stance, that is, when mothers work, their

this perspective, particularly in Greater Lisbon, mothers who completed their secondary and higher education in the 1960s and 70s and subsequently joined the labour market, may help to explain why there are so many young Portuguese women working today. Some of them would certainly be the daughters of these path-finders and may now be found occupying jobs in higher education and even in traditionally male sectors⁴⁵. Their wish would be to fully reconcile their professional activity with their family lives⁴⁶.

In other social sectors containing large populations, factors may also be found which help to explain the high number of working women. Research based on interviews that was carried out in Portugal when seeking to analyse the relationship between family life and working life, found that even in the most under-privileged groups resorting to fairly unskilled labour, female employment does not merely mean economic survival. There are various aspects which women value when they do paid work: greater autonomy and power in their partnerships, more occasions for sociability and an escape from the routine of housework. They signify factors leading to enhanced identity and are the result of having their competencies recognised socially speaking, while at the time giving them the chance to improve their buying power and break free of limiting life styles (Torres, 1995: 186).

It may be alleged naturally, that this type of appraisal makes a virtue out of necessity, particularly among the most underprivileged sectors of the female population. But there seems to be more at stake than this. There are also life-course effects. In many cases, these women feel that they have progressed and that their life has changed for the better when they compare themselves with their mothers, remembering the difficult economic conditions and sometimes mistreatment by men that no one dared question at the time. In fact, even though asymmetries still persist in the family today, the environment is more democratic and masculine domination is less oppressive. The direct and indirect contribution of women towards the support of the family has impact on this improved atmosphere. But it is evident that not enough has been done to bring about a fairer division of family responsibilities. In many instances, life continues to go on in much the same way, as if women still have to pay the price of their relatively greater autonomy. The price they end up by paying is by working twofold in a double working day, or by being affected with worries and feelings of guilt, as we have already seen.

Therefore, when taking the women in this study into consideration and checking upon the consistency factors we have already mentioned, we have failed to find any proof of women's attitudes that set an exclusive value on the role of women as mothers and housewives respectively, even when there are very

small children involved. For different reasons, men's attitudes are also the same, even when they feel reticent about accepting women on egalitarian terms. They are not in a position to defend such attitudes simply because they do not have the earning power to do without their female partner's income.

Due to all these reasons, then, the result is that women's work-load is doubled, having as they do, their jobs outside the home and their domestic chores. It is the price they pay for not turning their backs on the advantages they fell as a result from having a job. But this does not mean that, in the main, Portuguese women do not find working at household chores a burden, despite the fact that their attitudes may vary according to their social environments.

It should also be mentioned that domestic work is rated extremely poorly (if not ignored altogether) because, owing to the fact that unpaid work possesses very little social prestige, it has yet to be equated with paid work. As a result, and regardless of the work of feminist authors⁴⁷ calling for its due recognition and remuneration, the truth is that domestic work is (still) not considered to be socially relevant labour.

Another fact which may help us to interpret these data has to do with the specific nature of a couple's relationship as one based on love. Apart from the simple arithmetic of fairly sharing the household chores between the partners, there are also other emotional and sexual exchanges going on between them that are endowed with other meanings⁴⁸. Therefore, a situation which is unfair objectively speaking, cannot be acknowledged – let alone declared – as such by the couple involved in the relationship. If the couple's relationship were to be cross-compared the low opinion people have about household chores, it may well be that women do not admit to themselves there is any gross unfairness in the way they have to deal with a double amount of work.

⁴⁷ Danielle Chabaud-Rychter, Dominique Fougeyrollas-Schwebel and Françoise Sonthonnax. *Espace et Temps du Travail Domestique*, Paris, Méridiens, 1985, page 129.

⁴⁸ Jean-Claude Kaufmann (1992), *La Trame Conjugale - Analyse du couple par son linge*, Paris, Nathan.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

It is now worth summarising the most relevant features of social policies and the division of paid and unpaid work between men and women in Portugal.

Opposite to other European countries, as we have seen, Portugal has an extremely high rate of female employment although not in terms of part-time jobs. Independently of the age of their children or their marital status, working women mostly have full-time jobs. Long hours spent in paid work almost on a par with the men does not mean, however, that working mothers are able to rely on a well-supplied network of childcare facilities. Neither does it mean that domestic work and childcare duties in large numbers of households where women have outside jobs are more fairly shared between men and women. Could it be, then, that the family networks, the grandparents, lend a helping hand in childcare and the children's education, thus replacing mothers when they are working outside the home? As we have seen, this is not normally the case.

What happens, then? To put it briefly, it is the women themselves who are overburdened with both paid and unpaid work. It causes weariness and stress, typical in cases where family life and working life are intertwined. Where unpaid work is concerned, women accumulate domestic chores with caring for elderly dependants and the children. When women work outside the home, the only way they are able to cut down on their share of the household chores is by actually cutting down on the amount of time they spend in doing them, and not because the men are doing a fairer share of them.

It was also concluded that, through the role of the women, the family networks would appear to partially replace a dearth of outside facilities destined to alleviate care spent on elderly relatives. However, this situation does not include a significant number of elderly people living on their own and possibly having to make do despite the lack of help coming their way. It is well-known fact that there are enormous waiting lists for state-subsidised rest homes and other sorts of private social solidarity institutions providing aid to the elderly.

Nevertheless, the situation in which the children are placed is even more worrying. Not only is there a very deficient coverage and availability of facilities aimed at childcare but there is also an extraordinarily high number of women working outside the home in full-time jobs. Apart from the extra expenditure families are obliged to make when seeking private socio-educational measures and childcare services for their children, in situations where the family has extremely low buying power, it frequently resorts to more dubious or less acceptable solutions. This happens in 30% of the cases where children have to stay at home alone or spend the day with their mother at her place of work.

Another worrying conclusion we have come to is about the *inter-help* or the «helping-hands» networks within the family. We see that it is precisely the people earning the least and who, for this very reason, should receive the most help and

more family aid, who say they receive only very little of it or are not able to depend on it at all.

This global state of affairs bears witness to the erosion of a certain basic solidarity and may be associated with the rapid changes that have taken place in Portuguese society during the last 25 years. Together with these factors, we can add the specific problems of still having to deal with an *incomplete modernity*, where new tendencies are likewise displayed in other European countries (Machado and Costa, 2000).

As for paid work, apart from the different characteristics affecting men and women in the labour market which we have mentioned in quite some detail, it is necessary to stress two main tendencies. The first has to do with the very marked difference in personal incomes or earnings between men and women, where women are placed at a distinct disadvantage. The second tendency reveals that, regardless of a woman's marital status and the number of even very small children she has, they have no bearing on the amount of hours she works in her outside job.

If, on the one hand, an explanation for this situation may be found in the fact that in Portuguese society, in order to live decently, it is nearly always necessary to have two incomes in the family, it is also true, as we have seen, that there are other reasons capable of explaining why most women go out to work in the first place. In the low-income bracket, having a paying job may mean gaining more power and independence within the marital and family context, even though the woman has to pay the price by also taking on the bulk of unpaid domestic work as well. A full-time job outside the home, which is the most common case in Portugal, brings the better-educated woman who earns more, added responsibility in the form of having to take care of the domestic chores and the children, although both of them may be alleviated by paying the hired domestic help to do them.

The specific, complicated warp and weave of Portugal today, as well as its recent historical influences, may all help to explain why the Portuguese, contrary to what happens in other European countries, are very receptive to women taking their place on the labour market. Their approval was once again confirmed by the results we obtained in this survey. Although there is general agreement in favour of a modern symmetry between men and women, it is the younger better-educated women who are much more receptive to it.

In terms of social policies and the use they are given, in accordance with the limitations inherent in a disadvantaged Welfare-State, we may also conclude that where Portuguese people are eligible to benefit from the measures currently in effect, they do so, taking full advantage of them. This mainly happens with the 14 paid weeks of maternity leave and State-subsidised childcare facilities. This fact, together with the very clear views and wishes expressed by the respondents about the need to widen and improve upon such measures, confirms that not enough has been done and there is still a long way to go. Nevertheless, since 1995, there has been an increasing amount of public funding channelled into aid going to childcare and care for the elderly. Since things had to start from practically zero, current needs are still far from being satisfied.

Looking at the progress which has been made in overall terms, it is obvious that there is an asymmetrical relationship in paid and unpaid work between men and women. It is true that the difference between the two sexes as far as paid work goes is very much smaller than what we see in terms of unpaid work, where women always seem to be at a marked disadvantage.

We attempted to explain this situation by looking at specific characteristics in Portuguese society while at the same time, keeping in mind the global mechanisms that generally condition the division of labour between men and women. Indeed, there is a close relationship between the fact that women are, as a rule, employed in the worst-paid jobs which demand the lowest qualifications, and the fact that they also have to take on added chores like childcare, looking after the elderly and doing the housework. The social and sexual division of work not only gives rise to objective restraints because the two sexes are afforded different job opportunities on the labour market, but it also produces symbolic restraints because, in the households of these men and women, they go towards defining and reproducing which tasks ought to be done by whom in terms of hierarchical importance in each family context.

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Tables

Table 3.1 - Educational level (in percentage), N=1700

Highest completed level	N		Men		Women		Total
	791	909	791	909	791	909	
Less than 4 years of education			2.8	5.0			3.9
First level of elementary school (4 years of education)			36.4	37.6			37.1
Second level of elementary school (6 years of education)			23.4	19.8			21.5
Third level of elementary school (9 years of education)			17.3	15.1			16.1
Secondary school (12 years of education)			14.8	16.6			15.8
Intermediate studies			0.9	0.8			0.8
Higher education: technical variant			0.5	1.2			0.9
Higher education: university degree			3.7	3.9			3.8
BA or MA			0.1	0.1			0.1
PhD			0.1	-			0.1
Total			100.0	100.0			100.0

Table 3.2 - Respondents' jobs according to sex and schooling (in percentages)

	Men				Women				Total
	N	632	117	42	791	704	151	54	
Schooling									
Ele.	1.7	25.6	9.5	5.7	1.1	19.2	7.4	4.5	4.5
Sec.	86.9	69.2	88.1	84.3	64.3	66.9	85.2	66.0	66.0
High.	6.5	4.3	-	5.8	5.7	4.0	5.6	5.4	5.4
Has a job									
Unemployed	0.3	-	2.4	0.4	0.1	-	1.9	0.2	0.2
Looking for a first job	-	-	-	-	25.1	9.3	-	21.0	21.0
Housewife	2.8	-	-	2.3	2.7	0.7	-	2.2	2.2
Retired/pensioner	-	0.9	-	0.1	-	-	-	-	-
Compulsory military service	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Permanently disabled	1.6	-	-	1.3	0.4	-	-	0.3	0.3
Parental leave of absence	-	-	-	-	0.3	-	-	-	0.2
Other	0.2	-	-	0.1	0.1	-	-	0.1	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3.3 - Length of workday, according to respondent's sex (in percentage)

	Men		Women		Total
	N	668	602	1270	
Full time					
Part time	98.1	89.2	89.2	93.9	93.9
Total	1.9	10.8	10.8	6.1	6.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	668	602	602	1270	1270

Table 3.4 - Profession of Men and Women (in percentage) N=1196 (percentage)

N	Profession of Men and Women (in percentage)		Total
	Men	Women	
1. Legislators, senior officials & managers	11.7	14.6	13.0
2. Professionals	3.7	5.9	4.8
3. Technicians and associated professionals	4.7	2.9	3.8
4. Clerks	6.9	14.2	10.3
5. Service & shop & market sales workers	14.2	25.8	19.6
6. Skilled agricultural & fishery workers	4.8	1.1	3.1
7. Craft etc trades workers	32.3	9.9	21.9
8. Plant & machine operators & assemblers	8.6	2.5	5.8
9. Elementary occupations	13.1	23.1	17.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4.1 - Average number of hours per week (5 normal days in the week + a typical Saturday and a typical Sunday) spent on different chores according to sex.

	Average number of hours per week	
	Men	Women
Job/Studies	44.88	31.38
Cooking, cleaning house and laundry, etc	3.73	23.67
Shopping	2.43	4.87
Handiwork	2.54	1.25
Caring for elderly dependants	0.32	1.21
Caring for other sick family members	0.21	0.56
Childcare	2.80	7.53
Voluntary work	0.38	0.20
Personal care and relaxation	28.70	21.32
Sleeping	53.22	53.49

Table 4.2 - Average number of hours per week (week = 5 normal days in the week + a typical Saturday + a typical Sunday) spent on different chores according to sex and type of household.

	Living alone		Living together without children		Living together with children		Lone Parent		Living together with at least one child of 7 years of age or younger		Living together with older than 7 years of age	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Job/Studies	43.29	36.04	43.45	31.02	45.58	30.50	38.36	33.29	49.84	30.10	44.12	30.67
Cooking, cleaning house, laundry, etc	9.62	14.34	3.92	22.48	3.37	25.27	3.49	21.33	4.98	25.84	2.78	25.03
Shopping	3.39	4.20	2.84	5.37	2.38	5.09	2.44	4.77	3.34	5.29	2.06	4.93
Handiwork	1.93	0.70	2.73	1.74	2.58	1.13	2.77	1.65	2.93	0.93	2.47	1.25
Caring for elderly dependants	0.49	0.51	0.47	0.56	0.14	0.87	1.05	0.79	0.23	0.41	0.13	1.14
Caring for other sick family members	0.06	0.33	0.03	0.30	0.13	0.53	0.13	0.16	0.00	0.21	0.18	0.69
Childcare	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.46	3.88	9.27	0.78	3.57	10.99	20.62	1.36	3.16
Voluntary work	0.71	0.21	0.77	0.70	0.19	1.75	0.89	0.16	0.22	0.03	0.19	0.22
Leisure and personal care	26.92	26.55	29.21	24.86	28.02	20.53	28.46	22.82	23.85	17.25	29.50	22.17
Sleeping	53.03	55.20	54.47	54.13	52.70	53.64	54.74	52.17	51.52	53.26	53.09	53.83

Table 4.4 – Doing domestic chores⁵⁰, according to the respondent's sex and level of education—Mainland Portugal 1999 (in percentage)

	Compulsory (9 years of educ.)		Upper school (12 years of educ.)		Higher education	
	M	W	M	W	M	W
	1. Preparing meals	12.8	79.3	12.1	67.6	34.2
2. Laying the table, washing up the dishes	15.1	74.8	23.4	64.0	41.7	46.1
3. Laundry – washing and ironing	3.7	85.5	4.1	78.2	5.0	50.5
4. Cleaning the house	8.9	82.9	16.5	67.3	15.8	40.0
5. Doing the shopping	29.8	73.2	39.8	62.0	45.8	54.7
6. Gardening, handwork, taking care of the car	74.2	34.1	66.4	34.2	82.5	25.5
7. Children: bathing and dressing them	20.7	80.2	25.8	67.9	26.0	68.1
8. Children: feeding them	18.9	79.5	30.6	67.6	34.6	63.8
9. Children: taking them to school, doctor's, etc.	31.0	73.5	34.3	65.7	47.5	80.0
10. Children: playing with them	37.3	64.3	40.0	62.0	48.3	50.8
11. The elderly: taking care of them	16.9	86.6	0.0	90.0	0.0	80.0
12. Children: caring for when sick	21.9	71.5	20.8	51.4	45.0	75.0
13. Household affairs: money matters	61.4	51.2	56.8	63.2	63.3	37.9
14. Household affairs: administrative	66.4	46.9	60.9	60.0	56.7	36.3

Table 4.5 – Main socio-educational and childcare solutions involving the children of mothers working outside the home (in percentages)

Child's age group	0 to 2 years		3 to 5 years		6 to 10 years		10 to 10 years	
	years	years	years	years	years	years	years	years
Stays with mother	30	24	24	24	24	26	26	26
Stays with grandparents	28	26	26	24	24	26	26	26
Goes to a crèche, childcare centre, kindergarten	22	38	38	35	35	33	33	33
Goes to a childminder	9	4	4	3	3	4	4	4
Stays alone at home	1	-	-	3	3	2	2	2
Other situations outside the family	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other situations within the family	11	8	8	10	10	10	10	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 4.6 – Have you ever had recourse to someone to take care of your children in unexpected circumstances? Data according to sex. Base: has children (n=990)

	Men	Women	Total
Yes	53.4	60.6	57.9
No	46.6	39.4	42.1

⁵⁰ Once again, each particular chore done by the household as a whole or delegated (e.g. to the hired domestic help) is work 100% for each of the sexes.

⁴⁹ The sum of 100% means that the chore has been fully completed by the members of the whole household, according to each of the sexes.

Domestic chores ⁴⁹	Respondent		Partner		Daughter		Son		Mother/		Father-in-law		Other unpaid persons (paid)		Total	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Cooking	16.7	73.8	45.8	5.5	1.4	1.9	0.1	0.5	29.0	14.9	1.0	0.3	5.0	2.5	0.9	0.4
Laying the table, washing up the dishes	19.1	69.9	41.9	6.8	3.7	5.6	1.2	1.9	26.8	11.9	1.1	0.7	5.5	2.9	0.7	0.4
Laundry	8.1	76.3	50.2	2.2	2.1	2.3	0.1	0.3	29.9	13.5	0.2	0.1	6.1	2.7	3.4	2.6
Cleaning the house	12.7	73.9	45.9	3.8	3.1	3.8	0.4	0.7	27.8	11.3	0.4	0.2	6.2	2.9	3.6	3.5
Shopping	30.8	68.6	36.6	13.6	1.7	1.8	0.2	0.5	23.6	12.3	2.8	0.9	4.1	2.2	0.2	0.1
Gardening, handwork, taking care of car	66.9	34.4	12.3	44.8	0.4	1.4	0.8	2.5	4.6	5.6	11.6	7.7	2.7	2.3	1.3	1.3
Bathing children	21.8	77.3	67.7	10.3	3.1	3.3	0.5	1.9	3.6	3.5	0.3	0.0	2.9	3.3	0.4	100
Feeding children	20.9	77.1	68.9	10.6	3.3	3.7	0.5	1.6	2.9	3.4	0.5	0.0	2.9	3.0	0.6	100
Taking children to school, doctor, etc.	32.3	73.7	55.5	15.9	2.9	3.0	0.3	4.2	4.2	2.9	1.3	0.4	3.2	3.6	0.2	100
Playing with children	38.5	63.4	52.3	25.6	2.8	3.1	0.2	3.0	3.2	3.2	0.3	0.5	2.9	3.2	0.2	100
Caring for elderly	26.5	78.9	34.8	2.2	1.3	1.4	0.0	0.4	25.7	11.8	2.5	0.8	9.3	4.4	0.0	100
Caring for sick children	24.6	67.7	60.4	14.6	1.6	3.1	0.0	7.3	5.9	5.9	0.0	0.8	6.1	7.6	0.2	100
Household administration	59.3	45.9	15.4	36.3	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.8	7.9	6.2	14.1	9.0	2.6	1.4	0.3	0.0

Table 4.7 - Have you ever had recourse to someone to take care of your children in unexpected circumstances? Data according to educational level. Base: has children (n=990)

	Up to 6th grade		6th-12th grade		Intermed/Higher education.		Total
	M	W	M	W	M	W	
Yes	56.2	61.8	65.9	65.9	57.9	57.9	57.9
No	43.8	38.2	34.1	34.1	42.1	42.1	42.1

Table 4.8 - Have you ever had recourse to someone to take care of your children in unexpected circumstances? Data according to income level. Base: has children (N=990)

	Up to 150,000		Between 150,000 & 250,000		Between 250,000 & 350,000		More than 350,000 and 550,000		Total
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	
PTE	57.3	51.0	66.3	75.0	71.4	71.4	57.2	57.2	57.2
Yes	42.7	49.0	33.7	25.0	28.6	28.6	42.8	42.8	42.8
No	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 4.9 - Frequency whereby respondent seeks help from each of the people listed below, according to sex. Basis: Parents with children who have already asked someone to take care of them (N=573).

	Always			Very often			Sometimes			Never		
	M	W	Tot.	M	W	Tot.	M	W	Tot.	M	W	Tot.
Partner	14.1	4.3	7.7	32.2	14.4	20.6	10.6	8.6	22.3	43.2	52.7	49.4
Father	3.5	1.9	2.4	5.0	8.6	7.3	16.1	3.9	14.7	75.4	75.7	75.6
Mother	4.5	9.4	7.7	12.1	21.9	18.5	31.7	6.5	28.3	51.8	42.2	45.5
Sister	2.0	1.6	1.7	3.5	4.0	3.8	12.1	1.8	11.9	82.4	82.6	82.5
Brother	1.5	0.3	0.7	1.5	1.1	1.2	6.5	3.7	4.7	90.5	94.9	93.4
Daughter	0.5	0.3	0.3	2.0	1.9	1.9	2.0	3.2	2.8	95.5	94.7	94.9
Son	1.0	0.0	0.3	1.5	0.3	0.7	4.0	2.9	3.3	93.5	96.8	95.6
Parents-in-law	6.5	3.7	4.7	12.1	7.5	9.1	26.1	8.7	21.3	55.3	70.1	64.9
Female friend	1.0	1.1	1.0	2.0	2.7	2.4	8.5	11.8	10.6	84.4	84.5	85.9
Male friend	1.0	0.0	0.3	1.5	1.1	1.2	5.5	2.7	3.7	92.0	96.3	94.8
Female neighbour	1.5	.1	1.2	4.5	5.3	5.1	19.6	6.8	17.8	74.4	76.7	75.9
Male neighbour	0.5	0.3	0.3	1.5	1.3	1.4	8.5	4.0	5.6	89.4	94.4	92.7
Employees	0.5	1.1	0.9	0.0	1.6	1.0	3.0	3.2	3.1	96.5	94.1	94.9

Table 4.10 - Do you have anyone to turn to in the likelihood of unexpected problems happening? According to sex, age, education and income. N=1700, (16.2% 'Don't know/no reply')

	Yes		No	
	M	W	M	W
Sex				
Male	84.8	84.8	15.2	15.2
Female	86.9	86.9	13.1	13.1
Age				
20/30	90.1	90.1	9.9	9.9
31/40	85.9	85.9	14.1	14.1
41/50	80.8	80.8	19.2	19.2
Education				
Up to 6th grade	81.8	81.8	18.2	18.2
6th - 12th grade	92.8	92.8	7.2	7.2
Intermediate/Higher educ.	92.7	92.7	7.3	7.3
Household income				
Up to PTE 149,000	81.2	81.2	18.8	18.8
150,000 - 249,000	89.7	89.7	10.3	10.3
250,000 - 349,000	91.8	91.8	8.2	8.2
350,000 - 549,000	92.6	92.6	7.4	7.4
More than 550,000	93.8	93.8	6.3	6.3
Total	85.9	85.9	14.1	14.1

Table 4.11 - Do you have anyone to turn to in the likelihood of unexpected problems happening? According to sex, age, education and income. N=1700

	Money problems			Health problems			Emotional problems			Practical problems		
	M	W	Tot.	M	W	Tot.	M	W	Tot.	M	W	Tot.
	Partner	10.4	27.6	19.7	37.7	33.5	35.5	37.3	31.5	34.2	23.0	42.5
Daughter	0.7	1.9	1.4	1.3	4.7	3.1	0.9	5.7	3.5	0.7	3.3	2.1
Son	0.7	2.2	1.5	0.7	3.0	2.1	1.3	3.0	2.3	1.6	3.4	2.6
Mother	16.6	21.4	19.1	27.7	30.6	29.3	15.9	21.9	19.2	7.6	11.9	9.9
Father	34.6	21.5	27.5	11.2	6.8	8.8	4.0	3.4	3.7	15.2	8.9	11.8
Brother	9.7	4.4	6.8	5.1	3.4	4.6	6.4	3.0	4.6	7.9	3.7	5.6
Sister	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.0	3.8	3.4	5.2	7.5	6.4	2.8	3.8	3.4
Female friend	0.6	3.5	2.2	0.4	2.9	1.8	4.6	12.2	8.7	2.4	7.1	4.9
Male friend	7.6	2.2	4.7	3.3	1.1	2.1	14.3	3.0	8.2	17.3	3.5	9.9
Neighbour (female)	0.1	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.4	1.5	1.0
Others	10.0	6.7	9.3	7.0	5.7	6.3	2.4	2.8	2.6	9.2	4.9	6.9
Don't know/no answer	5.8	4.6	5.1	2.2	3.9	3.1	7.5	5.6	6.4	11.8	5.4	8.4

Table 4.12 - Persons most likely to be contacted in the event of problems

	1st person most referred to	2nd person most referred to	3rd person most referred to
Money problems	Father 27.5%	Partner 19.7%	Mother 19.1%
Health problems	Partner 35.5%	Mother 29.3%	Father 8.8%
Emotional problems	Partner 34.2%	Mother 19.2%	Female friend 8.7%
Practical problems	Partner 33.5%	Father 11.8%	Mother 9.9%

Appendix

Table 1 - Labour market participation of men and women by type of household, N=1267 (percentage)

	Men		Total
	667	600	
Living alone	83.6	81.4	82.7
Lone parent	73.7	70.8	71.9
Living together without children	89.9	65.7	78.5
Living together with a least one child of 6 years of age or younger	95.2	66.3	77.9
Living together with at least one child	84.1	64.2	73.4
Living together with one or more children older than 6 years of age	80.2	63.1	71.5
Others situations	87.1	65.6	74.8
Total	84.3	66.0	74.5

Table 2 - Distribution of household chores⁵¹ between men and women, according to their jobs outside the home - Mainland Portugal 1999 (in percentage)

Domestic Chores	Men		Women	
	exercising a profession	exercising a profession	exercising a profession	Housewives
1. Preparing meals	13.2	73.9	87.0	
2. Laying the table, washing up the dishes	16.7	67.9	82.5	
3. Laundry - washing and ironing	3.4	80.4	92.0	
4. Cleaning the house	9.3	75.1	90.1	
5. Doing the shopping	31.5	68.7	79.8	
6. Gardening, handiwork, taking care of the car	75.7	28.8	46.8	
7. Children: bathing and dressing them	21.4	75.7	86.6	
8. Children: feeding them	20.6	74.1	87.7	
9. Children: taking them to school, doctor's, etc..	32.5	70.7	80.5	
10. Children: playing with them	38.3	61.1	67.6	
11. The elderly: taking care of them	14.7	82.8	93.1	
12. Children: caring for when sick	21.6	65.3	76.5	
13. Household affairs: money matters	63.7	51.5	56.9	
14. Household affairs: administrative	67.7	47.3	52.3	

Note: Owing to the fact that the chores specified in the table include childcare, the data only take into account households with children under 10 years of age.

⁵¹ Each particular chore done by the household as a whole or delegated (e.g. to the hired domestic help) is 100% work for each of the sexes. The numbers in the table therefore indicate the mean percentage of men/women's share in getting the chore done.

Table 4 – Attitudes towards maternity and childcare by sex and education.

1. No one can take care of a child as well as their own mother.
2. Professionals like staff of day care centres can very well take care of young children.
3. Professionals like nannies can very well take care of young children.
4. Apart from the parents other relatives, like grandparents, can also very well take care of young children.
5. Only children make a marriage happy.
6. There are times when children are really not very rewarding.
7. Women who don't want at least one child are selfish.

	Aspects related with work and family life						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Education							
< 7 years of education	4.30	3.54	3.46	4.00	3.46	2.76	3.24
7 to 12 years of education	4.03	3.61	3.50	3.95	2.98	2.71	2.91
Higher education	3.80	3.54	3.59	3.63	2.83	3.07	2.54
Total	4.18	3.56	3.48	3.97	3.27	2.76	3.10
< 7 years of education	4.33	3.64	3.47	4.03	3.43	2.66	3.17
7 to 12 years of education	4.03	3.64	3.52	3.85	2.92	2.72	2.84
Higher education	3.74	3.52	3.33	3.78	2.94	2.61	2.69
Total	4.20	3.63	3.48	3.96	3.24	2.67	3.04
Men							
< 7 years of education	4.30	3.54	3.46	4.00	3.46	2.76	3.24
7 to 12 years of education	4.03	3.61	3.50	3.95	2.98	2.71	2.91
Higher education	3.80	3.54	3.59	3.63	2.83	3.07	2.54
Total	4.18	3.56	3.48	3.97	3.27	2.76	3.10
Women							
< 7 years of education	4.33	3.64	3.47	4.03	3.43	2.66	3.17
7 to 12 years of education	4.03	3.64	3.52	3.85	2.92	2.72	2.84
Higher education	3.74	3.52	3.33	3.78	2.94	2.61	2.69
Total	4.20	3.63	3.48	3.96	3.24	2.67	3.04

Table 5 – Attitudes towards maternity and childcare by sex and occupation

1. No one can take care of a child as well as their own mother.
2. Professionals like staff of day care centres can very well take care of young children.
3. Professionals like nannies can very well take care of young children.
4. Apart from the parents other relatives, like grandparents, can also very well take care of young children.
5. Only children make a marriage happy.
6. There are times when children are really not very rewarding.
7. Women who don't want at least one child are selfish.

	Aspects related with work and family life						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sex							
Men	4.20	3.53	3.46	3.94	3.31	2.75	3.14
Women	4.15	3.61	3.48	3.96	3.17	2.69	3.00
Total	4.17	3.57	3.47	3.95	3.24	2.72	3.07
Exercising a profession							
Men	4.12	3.75	3.60	4.11	3.08	2.79	2.88
Women	4.29	3.68	3.46	3.96	3.37	2.64	3.12
Total	4.24	3.70	3.50	4.00	3.28	2.68	3.05
Not Exercising a profession							
Men	4.20	3.53	3.46	3.94	3.31	2.75	3.14
Women	4.15	3.61	3.48	3.96	3.17	2.69	3.00
Total	4.17	3.57	3.47	3.95	3.24	2.72	3.07
Exercising a profession							
Men	4.12	3.75	3.60	4.11	3.08	2.79	2.88
Women	4.29	3.68	3.46	3.96	3.37	2.64	3.12
Total	4.24	3.70	3.50	4.00	3.28	2.68	3.05
Not Exercising a profession							
Men	4.20	3.53	3.46	3.94	3.31	2.75	3.14
Women	4.15	3.61	3.48	3.96	3.17	2.69	3.00
Total	4.17	3.57	3.47	3.95	3.24	2.72	3.07

Table 3 – Scale of attitudes, percentages and mean scores

	%					Mean
	Strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	Strongly agree	
1. No one can take care of a child as well as their own mother	2.9	7.6	7.2	31.8	50.4	4.19
2. Professionals like staff of day care centres can very well take care of young children	1.2	11.9	21.5	56.4	9.0	3.60
3. Professionals like nannies can very well take care of young children	2.4	12.6	26.4	52.1	6.5	3.48
4. Apart from the parents other relatives, like grandparents, can also very well take care of young children	1.4	6.9	10.8	56.4	24.3	3.96
5. Only children make a marriage happy	7.2	21.1	25.1	32.4	14.2	3.25
6. There are times when children are really not very rewarding	15.0	31.9	26.6	20.1	6.2	2.71
7. Women who don't want at least one child are selfish	11.1	24.5	25.2	25.6	13.4	3.07
8. Work is important because it provides money for the family	4.4	4.6	8.3	43.1	39.6	4.09
9. Work is important because it gives me independence and autonomy	6.0	6.4	13.2	41.8	32.6	3.89
10. Work is important because it allows me personal fulfilment	5.1	7.6	15.5	44.3	27.5	3.82
11. Work is important because it provides me with contacts outside the house	6.1	10.3	21.3	42.6	19.4	3.60
12. I would continue to work even if I could receive an income equal to the income from my current job without having to work for it	10.8	24.8	27.6	27.4	8.8	3.01
13. Household work is just as important as paid work	3.6	10.4	16.4	48.1	21.5	3.74
14. In general, there is not enough time left for common interests when both partners work	6.1	23.2	33.0	31.4	6.3	3.09
15. A woman's life is incomplete without a career	7.2	20.7	28.6	34.9	8.4	3.18
16. Highly career-oriented and ambitious men should not have a working wife	8.7	34.2	29.2	21.5	6.0	2.84
17. Working women are, in general, more interesting and stimulating people than housewives	8.2	24.3	29.7	30.9	6.6	3.04
18. A man should be willing to reduce his own occupational interests for the sake of his wife's/partner's career	5.8	29.5	31.8	28.2	4.3	2.97
19. A man's occupation is more important to him than a woman's is to her	14.6	34.6	22.4	23.0	5.2	2.70
20. In general, working women are more self-confident than housewives	5.4	17.8	22.2	43.2	10.9	3.39
21. A relationship is too heavily burdened when there are children and both partners work	2.3	11.9	27.6	46.2	11.8	3.54
22. Raising children is, in general, more rewarding for a woman than a successful career	2.6	17.3	44.9	28.2	6.1	3.21
23. A man should not reduce his professional obligations because he has a child	4.2	21.7	27.2	36.9	9.8	3.27
24. In general, even a strong concentration on job and career leaves enough time to be involved in a close relationship	3.0	12.4	31.5	46.3	6.6	3.42
25. In general, women are not as committed to their careers as men are	9.5	31.2	24.6	28.9	5.7	2.91
26. Men should take a daily role in all aspects of their children's education	3.2	5.1	11.0	48.6	31.9	4.02
27. A working woman is more easily accepted and respected in society	5.8	21.2	29.3	35.6	8.0	3.20
28. Men should reduce their professional involvement after the birth of a child	7.6	32.5	30.8	25.9	3.1	2.85
29. Only working women are truly independent	6.1	20.2	26.0	35.3	12.1	3.28
30. In general, men should do half of the housework	3.9	15.1	24.6	37.1	19.2	3.53
31. Parents who both work full-time do this at the expense of their child's development	4.6	24.4	29.5	33.8	7.6	3.16
32. A woman should not quit her job because she has a child	4.3	15.4	27.8	41.1	11.4	3.40
33. Even if both partners work full-time, work and family are compatible	1.9	10.6	25.4	51.2	10.8	3.59
34. In general, women are less suited for professional competition than men	12.9	36.4	24.9	21.5	4.0	2.68
35. Family life can function just as well when the woman works and the man takes care of the household and the children	5.4	17.7	28.8	38.9	8.9	3.29
36. For most women, being a housewife is an attractive alternative to lifelong occupational stress	4.3	17.9	42.2	30.0	4.6	3.17
37. In general, parents who are strongly committed to their work cannot be good mothers and fathers	11.7	31.7	29.1	23.3	3.8	2.77

6 - Attitudes towards paid work by sex and occupation

work is important because it provides money for the family.
 work is important because it gives me independence and autonomy.
 work is important because it allows me personal fulfillment.
 work is important because it provides me with contacts outside the house.
 would continue to work even if I could receive an income equal to the income from my
 current job without having to work for it.

	Sex	Aspects related with work and family life				
		8	9	10	11	12
exercising a profession	Men	4.12	3.99	3.95	3.73	3.05
	Women	4.05	3.95	3.85	3.65	3.04
	Total	4.08	3.97	3.90	3.69	3.05
Not Exercising a profession	Men	4.12	3.83	3.76	3.54	2.93
	Women	4.11	3.58	3.49	3.22	2.88
	Total	4.11	3.65	3.57	3.31	2.90
Total		4.09	3.89	3.82	3.60	3.01

7 - Attitudes towards paid work by sex and education.

work is important because it provides money for the family.
 work is important because it gives me independence and autonomy.
 work is important because it allows me personal fulfillment.
 work is important because it provides me with contacts outside the house.
 would continue to work even if I could receive an income equal to the income from my
 current job without having to work for it.

	Education	Aspects related with work and family life				
		8	9	10	11	12
Men	< 7 years of education	4.24	4.02	3.93	3.71	3.05
	7 to 12 years of education	3.94	3.87	3.90	3.71	2.99
	Higher education	3.71	3.83	3.88	3.41	3.07
	Total	4.12	3.96	3.92	3.70	3.03
Women	< 7 years of education	4.13	3.82	3.71	3.43	2.90
	7 to 12 years of education	3.99	3.81	3.74	3.59	3.12
	Higher education	2.69	3.83	3.98	3.83	3.20
	Total	4.07	3.82	3.73	3.51	2.99
Total		4.09	3.89	3.82	3.60	3.01

8 - Attitudes towards the relation between paid and unpaid work by sex and education

household work is just as important as paid work.
 in general, even a strong concentration on job and career leaves enough time to be involved
 in a close relationship.
 in general, parents who are strongly committed to their work cannot be good mothers and
 fathers.

	Sex	Aspects related with work and family life		
		13	24	37
exercising a profession	Men	3.59	3.47	2.80
	Women	3.74	3.40	2.73
	Total	3.66	3.43	2.77
Not Exercising a profession	Men	3.68	3.46	2.79
	Women	4.05	3.36	2.78
	Total	3.95	3.39	2.79
Total		3.74	3.42	2.77

Table 9 - Attitudes towards the relation between paid and unpaid work by sex and education

13. Household work is just as important as paid work.
 24. In general, even a strong concentration on job and career leaves enough time to be involved
 in a close relationship.
 37. In general, parents who are strongly committed to their work cannot be good mothers and
 fathers.

	Education	Aspects related with work and family life		
		13	24	37
Men	< 7 years of education	3.63	3.45	2.89
	7 to 12 years of education	3.60	3.52	2.63
	Higher education	3.39	3.24	2.83
	Total	3.61	3.46	2.80
Women	< 7 years of education	3.97	3.37	2.80
	7 to 12 years of education	3.62	3.38	2.65
	Higher education	3.78	3.56	2.80
	Total	3.85	3.39	2.75
Total		3.74	3.42	2.77

Table 10 - Attitudes towards double activity by sex and education

14. In general, there is not enough time left for common interests when both partners work.
 21. A relationship is too heavily burdened when there are children and both partners work.
 31. Parents who both work full-time do this at the expense of their child's development.
 33. Even if both partners work full-time, work and family are compatible.

	Education	Aspects related with work and family life		
		14	21	31
Men	< 7 years of education	3.11	3.63	3.14
	7 to 12 years of education	2.97	3.43	3.07
	Higher education	3.07	3.32	2.98
	Total	3.06	3.55	3.11
Women	< 7 years of education	3.24	3.54	3.26
	7 to 12 years of education	2.93	3.51	3.59
	Higher education	2.80	3.48	3.00
	Total	3.12	3.53	3.21
Total		3.09	3.54	3.16

Table 11 - Attitudes towards double activity by sex and occupation

14. In general, there is not enough time left for common interests when both partners work.
 21. A relationship is too heavily burdened when there are children and both partners work.
 31. Parents who both work full-time do this at the expense of their child's development.
 33. Even if both partners work full-time, work and family are compatible.

	Sex	Aspects related with work and family life		
		14	21	31
Exercising a profession	Men	3.07	3.57	3.14
	Women	3.07	3.48	3.18
	Total	3.07	3.53	3.16
Not Exercising a profession	Men	3.02	3.41	2.94
	Women	3.20	3.64	3.26
	Total	3.15	3.57	3.17
Total		3.09	3.54	3.16

Table 12 – Attitudes towards female participation in the labour market and domestic roles by sex and education

	Aspects related with work and family life						
	15	17	20	22	27	29	36
Education							
< 7 years of education	3.01	2.98	3.22	3.32	3.09	3.07	3.27
7 to 12 years of education	3.26	3.24	3.50	3.03	3.25	3.26	3.06
Higher education	3.29	3.22	3.49	3.17	3.24	3.05	2.98
Total	3.10	3.07	3.36	3.22	3.15	3.13	3.19
< 7 years of education	3.15	2.95	3.37	3.32	3.21	3.43	3.18
7 to 12 years of education	3.39	3.06	3.45	3.04	3.29	3.41	3.07
Higher education	3.44	3.43	3.69	2.96	3.31	3.35	3.35
Total	3.24	3.02	3.41	3.21	3.24	3.42	3.15
Total	3.17	3.03	3.37	3.21	3.19	3.27	3.16

Table 13 – Attitudes towards female participation in the labour market and domestic roles by sex and occupation

	Aspects related with work and family life						
	15	17	20	22	27	29	36
Sex							
Men	3.10	3.05	3.34	3.22	3.12	3.12	3.19
Women	3.38	3.11	3.54	3.15	3.29	3.51	3.08
Total	3.23	3.08	3.43	3.18	3.20	3.30	3.14
Men	3.13	3.18	3.49	3.22	3.28	3.19	3.20
Women	2.96	2.83	3.15	3.33	3.15	3.24	3.30
Total	3.01	2.93	3.25	3.30	3.19	3.22	3.27
Total	3.17	3.03	3.37	3.21	3.19	3.27	3.16

15. A woman's life is incomplete without a career.
17. Working women are, in general, more interesting and stimulating people than housewives.
20. In general, working women are more self-confident than housewives.
22. Raising children is, in general, more rewarding for a woman than a successful career.
27. A working woman is more easily accepted and respected in society.
29. Only working women are truly independent.
36. For most women, being a housewife is an attractive alternative to lifelong occupational stress.

Table 14 – Attitudes towards the role of men at work in the family by sex and education

	Aspects related with work and family life				
	23	26	28	28	30
Education					
< 7 years of education	3.38	4.03	2.67	2.67	3.13
7 to 12 years of education	3.17	3.97	2.83	2.83	3.48
Higher education	3.05	3.68	3.20	3.20	3.27
Total	3.29	3.99	2.75	2.75	3.25
< 7 years of education	3.36	4.04	2.91	2.91	3.71
7 to 12 years of education	3.08	4.03	2.99	2.99	3.88
Higher education	3.02	4.04	3.11	3.11	3.96
Total	3.25	4.04	2.94	2.94	3.78
Total	3.27	4.01	2.84	2.84	3.53

Table 15 – Attitudes towards the role of men at work in the family by sex and occupation

	Aspects related with work and family life				
	23	26	28	28	30
Sex					
Men	3.32	3.97	2.74	2.74	3.25
Women	3.20	4.02	2.94	2.94	3.86
Total	3.27	4.00	2.83	2.83	3.53
Men	3.15	4.11	2.81	2.81	3.28
Women	3.34	4.06	2.96	2.96	3.62
Total	3.28	4.07	2.92	2.92	3.52
Total	3.27	4.01	2.84	2.84	3.53

23. A man should not reduce his professional obligations because he has a child.
26. Men should take a daily role in all aspects of their children's education.
28. Men should reduce their professional involvement after the birth of a child.
30. In general, men should do half of the housework.

Table 16 – Attitudes towards men and women at work by sex and education

	Aspects related with work and family life				
	16	18	19	25	34
Education					
< 7 years of education	2.95	2.77	2.95	3.14	2.93
7 to 12 years of education	2.72	2.87	2.60	2.85	2.59
Higher education	2.59	3.22	2.44	2.73	2.41
Total	2.86	2.83	2.81	3.03	2.79
< 7 years of education	2.95	3.09	2.76	2.90	2.68
7 to 12 years of education	2.62	3.07	2.32	2.64	2.44
Higher education	2.43	3.39	2.41	2.63	2.37
Total	2.82	3.10	2.60	2.80	2.59
Total	2.84	2.96	2.69	2.90	2.68

16. Highly career-oriented and ambitious men should not have a working wife.
18. A man should be willing to reduce his own occupational interests for the sake of his wife's/partner's career.
19. A man's occupation is more important to him than a woman's is to her.
25. In general, women are not as committed to their careers as men are.
34. In general, women are less suited for professional competition than men.

Table 17 – Attitudes towards men and women at work by sex and occupation.

	Aspects related with work and family life			
	16	18	19	25
Sex				34
Men	2.87	2.79	2.82	3.06
Women	2.71	3.13	2.51	2.75
Total	2.80	2.96	2.67	2.91
Occupation				
Exercising a profession	2.76	3.00	2.78	2.84
Not Exercising a profession	3.01	3.03	2.78	2.91
Total	2.94	3.02	2.78	2.89
Total	2.84	2.96	2.69	2.90
Total				2.68

- 16. Highly career-oriented and ambitious men should not have a working wife.
- 18. A man should be willing to reduce his own occupational interests for the sake of his wife's/partner's career.
- 19. A man's occupation is more important to him than a woman's is to her.
- 25. In general, women are not as committed to their careers as men are.
- 34. In general, women are less suited for professional competition than men.