POLICY BRIEF III
MAIN CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE WHITE BOOK
MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY IN PORTUGAL

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1. OBJECTIVES

The main objective of the White Paper Men and Gender Equality in Portugal (Wall et al., 2016) is to summarize relevant information on men, male roles and gender equality and to help identify challenges and recommendations in this area, to be discussed and weighed up by all bodies and social actors interested in promoting gender equality in Portuguese society.

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2. MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY:
RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND APPROACHES

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

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

However, as is emphasised in a number of recent documents and studies, gender equality applies to men as much as to women (World Economic Forum, 2015; European Commission, 2012; Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012; OECD, 2012; Norwegian Ministry for Children and Equality 2009; EIGE 2015; Gornicks, and Meyers, 2008; Connell, 2003). Men spend less time with their children and in performing household tasks, and this negatively affects women’s participation in the public sphere. Men also have lower life expectancy, are at greater risk of accidents, are over-represented in the crime statistics and under-represented in professions traditionally allocated to women (teaching, social services, nursing, etc.), and more frequently drop out of secondary education. Nevertheless, men still occupy most positions of power in society, have higher incomes than women and are the main initiators of violence in the public and the private spheres.

The need to take into account men’s contribution to gender equality is of course not an entirely new question. It was placed on various national agendas (e.g. in Norway) at the beginning of the 1990s and also on international intergovernmental agendas, at least since the 4th UN Beijing Conference on Women in 1995. But it is undoubtedly in more recent years, particularly since the beginning of the 21st century, that it has emerged as a key element in gender quality policies in several different European countries and also at the EU level. The first EU conference on Men and Gender Equality took place in 2001, under the Swedish presidency. There was a second conference in 2006, during the Finnish presidency, and in the same year the Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities between Women and Men pointed out that both men and women may benefit from gender equality, in particular through: better balance in decision-making, less
The third and final approach relates to the historical and macro-social context: male and female roles have to be analysed in the light of historical changes and policies which promoted different gender arrangements. In Portugal, the rapid integration of women into the labour market and the introduction of gender equality policies after the 25 April 1974 revolution were key moments for promoting a family division of labour model based on dual earnings, even for couples with small children (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012). In this connection priority was given to the status of women and reconciling female employment and family, to some extent neglecting the participation of men in private life. As a number of studies and data have shown, these developments led to dualism and inequality, a situation in which women took a larger part in the labour market than men did in unpaid work. In addition, it is only recently that men have been included in the public debate and in gender equality policies in a more systematic way, obliging them, and society as a whole, to rethink traditional male roles. The focus on men has been more on policies which safeguard paternal interests, but also covers the right to reconcile work and family life for all individuals, thus opening up significant breaches in the way men and women see themselves and live their lives.

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

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

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

- Outline of how attitudes to gender roles have evolved, including a specific module on public comprehension of gender equality policy, by carrying out the Family and Changing Gender Roles survey of the International Social Survey Programme. In order to assess recent changes in men’s roles and gender disparities in work-life balance in Portugal, a comparison was made of the results of two editions of the survey: ISSP 2002, which was applied to a representative sample of the Portuguese resident population aged 18 and over (1092 individuals); and ISSP 2012, carried out in Portugal in 2014, using the same sampling criteria (1001 individuals);  
- Analysis of secondary data and developments in national policies, in order to identify the principal trends in men’s roles and gender differences in various domains of life in society, in particular in the family and the labour market, but also in education, health, and violence. The following databases were used: Censos INE, Inquérito ao Emprego (Employment Survey) INE, ISSP Family and Gender Roles Survey 2002 and 2014, PORDATA, PISA Programme 2003/2012, DGECEC Education Statistics, DGE National Exams, Eurostat, EU-SILC, Time Use Surveys 1999 and 2015, National Health Survey 2014, Social Security Statistics, EUROFOUND EWCS and Quality of Life Surveys, OECD Family Policy Database. National and international reports, research projects and studies on this topic were also consulted, together with recent national legislation, particularly that on leave policies. Over the last ten years more attention has been paid to men’s place in gender equality, both in terms of public policies and research work;  
  - A qualitative case study on the impact of leave policies, in particular the introduction of shared initial parental leave in 2009, on how paternity is experienced and on how gender roles are structured following the birth of a child;  
  - Consultation and dialogue with gender equality specialists and representatives of interest groups (social partners, civil society associations, political decision-makers), with a view to capturing their views on the topic and identifying possible recommendations, by means of focus groups (discussion groups), an interview, and a parliamentary hearing;  
  - Holding two international seminars and the final project conference in collaboration with the project partners; the first international seminar, on Men and leave policies, took place in May 2014 and the second, on Men and Gender Equality: Analysis of secondary data, in November 2015;  
  - Drafting of a preliminary version of the White Paper on Men and Gender Equality in Portugal, submitted and discussed at the final project conference (October 2016);  

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

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

The data collected and results outlined in the White Paper, together with the views and recommendations of experts and representatives of interest groups consulted throughout the project, in particular during the final conference, are the foundation on which to define the challenges and make proposals for recommendations for improving men’s roles in gender equality in Portugal. The ideas, challenges and recommendations are directed at political decision-makers and all actors and bodies seeking to design and implement gender equality policies which take into account the role of men, on the unshakeable assumption that this objective can only be realized with the contributions of men and women and with measures which benefit both sides and are never to the disadvantage of one or the other.
4. MEN’S SITUATION IN A GENDER EQUALITY PERSPECTIVE

4.1. Men, family and reconciling work and family life

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

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

- **Regardless of age, men take a larger part in household work.** Men today devote a greater number of hours to most routine household tasks, among which only “doing the laundry” is the exception, in that it is the task which is most resistant to male involvement;
- **The conjugal division of work has moved towards greater equilibrium,** above all in couples of an age at which it is more common to have small children. The generational group most involved in these changes is those aged between 30 and 44. The men in this group were those who, in 2002, were least involved in performing household work and most involved in paid work;
- **There is an increasing perception, among men and women, of fairness in the division of household work.** This is a characteristic of how attitudes have moved in line with changes in practices. While older men (aged between 45 and 64) have not followed this trend, it is also true that more conservative attitudes to gender roles are becoming blurred among individuals of all ages;
- **A caring masculinity is being disseminated.** This can be seen especially in the consolidated growth in the take-up of leave – most men take paternity leave not only for the compulsory days, but also for the optional days. Sharing of the initial parental leave, which enables the father to stay alone with the baby, has also seen sustained growth. A number of studies have shown that this caring masculinity leads to greater autonomy and empathy in the couple, and to the deconstruction of merely gender-based practices. Take-up of leave by the father goes hand in hand with the mostly receptive attitude of those surveyed regarding the compulsory nature of leave and the option to share it, with younger men strongly in favour of measures which encourage a genuinely early involvement in paternity;
- **Popular attitudes are in line with the egalitarian principles promoted by leave policies.** In effect, male and female attitudes to a genuinely early involvement in paternity are well suited to a policy which seeks to achieve gender equality, the well-being of the child and the harmonization of responsibilities all at the same time. The majority of individuals interviewed believe that a father’s taking up leave not only has positive effects on the father’s and mother’s relationship with the child and the harmonization of responsibilities all at the same time. The majority of individuals interviewed believe that a father’s taking up leave not only has positive effects on the father’s and mother’s relationship with the child and the conjugal and family dynamic, but also contributes to the well-being of all members of the family, to equality between men and women, and to the mother’s involvement in the labour market;
- **Clear evidence of changing gender roles in the family is observable.** The perception has gained ground that the man has as much responsibility as the woman in the conduct of family life, and there is a prevailing conviction among men and women that the child’s well-being is adversely affected when the man is not involved in providing care.
Attitudes and practices regarding men’s participation in family life, and their role in balancing work and family life, have changed significantly in recent years, suggesting that the ongoing implementation of gender equality policies has played an important part in those changes. But those attitudes and practices also show there is a long way to go in achieving full equality between men and women. In effect, the results analysed here also reveal norm-induced behaviours and values which are a barrier to gender equality. In the period under study, there is an identifiable set of practices and attitudes which run counter to the observed changes. Those practices and attitudes, by insisting on a differentiated division of work based on gender difference, are resistant, if not opposed to, greater male participation in family life:

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

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

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

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

• **To promote gender equality, parental equality and the right of the child to live with both parents after a divorce, encouraging shared physical custody. To suggest a public debate on establishing shared physical custody in law as the default option.** Divorce and separation are increasingly common events in men’s and women’s lives. Despite reforms in post-divorce parenthood regulations from the early 1990s on, culminating, in 2008, in the generalised principle of “joint responsibility as far as the most important questions for the child are concerned”, the practice of children staying with the mother persists, and it is the mother who takes on “the exclusive responsibility for day-to-day life of the children”. This frequent practice, which is often uncontested by fathers and mothers or decreed by a court decision, is based on the conviction that men and women have specific and complementary responsibilities in parenthood, based on “natural” gender roles, which consider that it falls to the mother to care for the baby under one year of age’ – thus showing they are more apprehensive about the possible negative effects of the mother’s participation in family life, even though that perception may be in decline;

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

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

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

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

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

• To assess the effectiveness of leave policies by devising and implementing tools which will make it possible to produce and disseminate statistics on the take-up of leave, in official Social Security reports and statistics. To produce tools for gathering data (social and demographic variables, activity sector and labour conditions) to enable us to know which fathers take up leave, and whether they take up the compulsory or optional leave, and in which sectors;

• To develop leave policies with a view to strengthening its basic principles – the well-being of the child, the harmonisation of parents’ occupational and family responsibilities, gender equality – and eliminating the legal barrier to father’s take-up of initial parental leave.

In the current leave framework there persists the principle that the mother is the main target of the measures, while the possibility of the father taking leave is contingent on the mother being eligible. This obstacle to take-up of initial parental leave by men needs to be eliminated. Likewise it is necessary to make the underlying principles of this policy effective by abolishing, possibly progressively and without prejudice to acquired rights, the gap between mother’s and fathers’ periods of leave, whether in compulsory or optional days. The new leave policies should be inclusive, recognizing the diversity of family contexts in which children are born and grow up, with no discrimination against same-sex couples;

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

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

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The fact that men in particular take on a more prominent role in family, associated with contemporary masculinities; earning continues to be the hallmark of more women's male-female equality: the conjugal dynamic itself.

4.2. Men and the labour market

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

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

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

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

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

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

• Despite the attenuation of some asymmetries between men and women in the labour market, women are still offered less favourable and disadvantageous contract terms. Job insecurity, vulnerability to unemployment and low earnings continue to be the hallmark of more women’s working lives than of men’s. These inequalities reflect a highly gendered and androcentric labour market, which goes hand in hand with vertical and horizontal segregation;
• **Vertical segregation contributes to income disparities and unequal access to positions of power and leadership.** In 2013 men’s incomes (average monthly earnings) were 25% higher than women’s, mainly due to differences in men’s additional income (allowances, bonuses, overtime). Little has changed between 2005 and 2015 in terms of high-level decision-making positions, visible moves towards equality having only occurred in middle-ranking department head positions in the civil service, where women have made gains; • **Alongside vertical segregation, horizontal segregation helps to explain inequalities between men and women, in particular income disparities.** Salary discrimination arises not just because men occupy the top positions, but also on account of the differentiated gender structure in less well qualified occupations in the second and third sectors of the economy. Women continue to be over-represented in the services sector, in which the jobs (especially the less well qualified jobs in health, education, personal services and cleaning) are generally less well paid than jobs in industry and construction, still predominantly male. The two sectors of activity where there is the greatest occupational segmentation – education and human health/social services - are predominantly female and include work in some way connected to caring for others; • **Curiously, horizontal segregation in the labour market also has negative effects on men,** as demonstrated by the financial and economic crisis of recent years. In effect, unemployment affected the more male-dominated sectors, like construction and industry, to such an extent that in 2012 the unemployment rate for men exceeded that of women. Even though the labour market continues to absorb unskilled male labour, younger men and those with lower educational attainment are more vulnerable to unemployment in times of economic recession; • **The attitudes of the Portuguese population to legislative incentives for gender equality in the labour market show there is an overwhelming support base for equal pay measures (91%).** Although the situation of men and women in the labour market is still characterized by significant differences in terms of salaries and segregation, there is less consensus when it is suggested there should be quotas for women in positions of leadership and decision-making and for men in the more feminized occupations, with men adopting more conservative attitudes when it comes to combating horizontal segregation.

Despite some favourable trends, the gender inequality in paid work suggested by these results, which operates to the detriment of women, takes place against a backdrop of conservative attitudes among employers which cut across all European countries. The prevailing work culture in Portugal encourages workers to do long hours and a great deal of overtime, even though it is well known that long hours do not necessarily improve productivity. The dominant organizational culture continues to observe gender norms in prescribing behaviours and managing expectations in the workplace, thus showing up the gap between rapidly changing social attitudes and the labour market’s actual ability to adjust, by adopting equivalent criteria for men and women in connection with working hours, types of contract, salaries and career progression. Employers can and must take on a key role in bringing about change, especially as far as vertical segregation is concerned. It is known, for example, how important it is to provide women with more opportunities to gain access to high-level decision-making positions. Some studies, for example, outline various reasons why boards of directors with a better gender balance improve business management. On the one hand these boards have a broader view of possible approaches, origins, experience and skills when dealing with problems. On the other hand, women in top management jobs, who are under-represented in traditional networks of male work colleagues, may bring a more independent approach to board meetings, thus reinforcing the board’s control functions. In addition, women are better at using leadership skills more than men, in particular through personnel development, bonuses, role models, inspiration and joint decision-making (Desvaux, Devillard and Sancier-Sultan, 2011). Moreover, it has been shown that their presence on boards of directors improves attention to detail in managing conflicts of interest (Brown, Brown and Anastasopoulos, 2002).

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

• **To encourage change in organizational culture and management models,** by introducing communication programmes for employers and employees, to deconstruct perceptions and stereotypes regarding male and female roles, and awareness programmes to achieve fairer distribution of caregiving tasks, given that those responsibilities often prevent women in their careers from having the “critical experiences” which give access to management jobs. In this connection we recommend that innovative projects of various types be devised for the private sector, the implementation of new gender equality rules, introducing the notion of “workplaces friendly to caregiver parents” and finally, Human Resources management tools to be devised to provide support to professionals in this field. All these measures to promote a more gender-equal workplace better oriented to the lives of workers as a whole should be encouraged in the public sector so as to provide an example to the private sector;

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

• **To encourage employers to adopt best practices in terms of the balance between men and women in responsible positions, helping women to access those positions** by valuing their individual skills but also, from the outset, through recruitment and career development processes, including salary and promotion policies, with the aim of avoiding any bias which adversely affects women. The European Commission suggests that Portugal, like most European countries, could benefit from a combined system of quotas and awareness initiatives to reduce vertical segregation in management and among workers of both sexes, encouraging debate on the advantages men would derive from such a system of quotas (less pressure, greater diversity, better balance be-
between work and family life, etc.). It is also important that the social partners value and implement such measures, so as to ensure parity in terms of representation, given that they too are key actors in the promotion of those best practices;
• To develop positive discrimination measures to encourage parity in male- and female-dominated sectors, adopting co-ordinated strategies with social partners to avoid treating salary increases in a typical and uniform way, given that recurrringly granting the same salary terms perpetuates salary differentials;
• To develop initiatives to support careers for men in traditionally feminized sectors. It is recommended that, in conjunction with employers, men be recruited to professions dominated by women, for example, by undertaking social projects which encourage boys to choose female-dominated professions, through special study scholarships or internships, and undertaking campaigns to raise the status of educational and above all health professionals, promoting the notion of “care” as a fundamental skill in organizations, without it being any longer necessarily “female” or “male”, in other words, as a key skill for business efficiency and success which should therefore be included in quality systems (such as the ISO system);
• To ensure the fundamental right of men to reconciliation (of work and family life) and involve the Authority for Working Conditions (Autoridade para as Condições no Trabalho – ACT) in the prosecution of this aim. There is already broad recognition of situations of discrimination of women in the enjoyment of the right to that reconciliation. It is important to generate awareness of the situation of men who provide care, protecting them from employers’ reprisals when they choose to take compulsory or optional paid leaves, miss work to assist family members (children or other dependents), work shorter hours or work part-time. Some European countries, in particular the Nordic countries, have adopted pioneering models of development in the labour market which encourage men to work fewer hours, thus promoting reconciliation between work and family life;
• To provide support to the business sector in respect of the costs involved in employees’ reconciling their work and family lives, by measures such as the setting up of a common fund for compensation to firms which find it difficult to meet such costs. The Portuguese business fabric is essentially made up of small and medium-sized businesses, some of them in highly segmented sectors. Currently it is those firms which employ traditionally female labour that are most penalized by work-family reconciliation arrangements, not only because of lost productivity when a female worker takes parental leave, or leave for feeding or family support, but also because the costs of these last two types of leave are borne by the employer. The redistribution of those costs thus involves not only the sharing of responsibilities between the father and the mother, but also the setting up of a common fund;
• To involve men, especially political decision-makers and employers, as active participants and agents of change. The promotion of gender equality could benefit from the example of male public figures from politics or business arguing publicly in favour of men’s right to be caregivers (to children, partners who are ill, dependent parents) and to structure their working time with a view to reconciling their careers and family lives. Such an approach could have a strong impact on public opinion and on attitudes of other employers and employees;
• To counter the effects of the crisis, particularly on younger, less well qualified men, committing to social projects aimed at men who are excluded from the labour market;
• To implement European-wide programmes to support interchanges between businesses to disseminate and adopt successful good practices. It is important to undertake international programmes, given that employers all over Europe have conservative attitudes;
• To promote research and devise support materials based on the results – in particular action guides and teaching manuals which will encourage awareness of parity and respect for male and female employees. This may help to make businesses aware of both the costs of gender inequality and the dominant masculinity policies, and of the benefits of gender equality for workers of both sexes, and of the value added in terms of the financial return on their investment in equality policies.

4.3. Men and education

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

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

Both nationally and internationally, education is a key sector for promoting equality between men and women. The fundamental importance of education in the realm of gender equality is demonstrated by the fact that this sector was the highest recipient of financial support allocated to promoting gender equality in 2010 by the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD (OECD, 2012).
The following specific points emerge from the results of this analysis:

• **Men in Portugal have lower educational attainment levels than women.** In the context of a population with low levels of attainment generally (basic schooling), men mostly have basic and secondary schooling and are found in lower numbers among those with university degrees;

• **School failure among boys increases the higher the educational level.** Boys have higher grade retention levels and are less likely to complete basic and secondary schooling. In 2014/2015, the majority (58.3%) of boys aged 18 had not finished secondary schooling;

• **Early school drop-out rates have fallen over time, but are still significant, particularly among boys.** In 2015, 15.6% of boys aged 18 to 24 (five points more than girls) dropped out of school early, giving up studying before completing secondary schooling. Even so, and despite the extension of compulsory schooling, some 5% of boys in 2015 were not in school of any sort and did not have a job (NEET);

• **The influence of stereotypes on student performance persists.** As in the rest of the OECD countries, school performance varies according to gender, particularly in mathematics and reading; boys are better in the former and girls in the latter. The tendency in this gender disparity, both in Portugal and elsewhere in the OECD, has been to the detriment of boys, whose reading and Portuguese language performance has deteriorated in comparison to girls, who for their part are achieving levels ever closer to, or even higher than those of the boys in mathematics. In addition, 15% of boys, and 10% of girls, failed to reach the minimum level of competence (up to level 2) in any of the main PISA exams. On the other hand, the probability of academic success in the various disciplines simultaneously is the same for both sexes: the disparities practically disappear when comparing high-performing girls and boys (level 5 and level 6) in mathematics, reading and science exams at the PISA2012/OECD level;

• **The influence of gender stereotypes on students’ occupational and vocational choices is persistent.** In secondary education, boys tend to prefer courses associated with rationality and objectivity, and are under-represented in languages, humanities and visual arts courses. In higher education, men are more likely to choose fields such as Engineering; Manufacturing Industries and Construction; Services (Personal, Transport, Security and Environmental Protection). Alternatively, they are less likely to choose fields like: Education; Health and Welfare; Social Sciences, Business and Law;

• **Occupational and adult courses in basic and secondary schooling are mostly a male option.** In 2014/2015, almost half of secondary school pupils chose these options, the number of boys being 13.4% higher than the number of girls. In adult education, men are in the majority in the third cycle of basic schooling and in equal numbers with women in secondary education;

• **Young people entering the labour market very early and having precarious jobs are often the result of early dropout and low-level qualifications.** Even though the school leaving age was raised to 18, and despite the increase in unemployment as a result of the financial crisis, the percentages of those dropping out and starting work early remain significant, particularly for boys;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

• **To continue to combat school dropout by strengthening awareness initiatives to point out the benefits of compulsory and higher education to families, children, young people and adults individually.**
• To encourage schools to get back young adults and older adults who dropped out. There has been an observable increase in the number of men in basic schooling (third cycle) and in secondary education. This is indeed a significant incentive, given that completing specialized training at the secondary or university level, even late in life, may, together with early job experience, practical knowledge, and the ability to adapt to new and challenging surroundings bring considerable advantages in the labour market.

• To include a gender perspective in combatting school failure and dropout, involving social partners in this type of action. Despite the positive effects of educational measures adopted to deal with school failure and dropout, gender disparities remain, and place boys at a disadvantage. In this connection, including a gender perspective in programmes to counter school failure and dropout – involving crossing the effects of several factors (e.g. socio-economic ones) with gender effects, would make it possible to strengthen the positive trends in this indicator so that it reaches values closer to the more desirable targets. In addition, working together with the social partners could lead to concerted action against the typically insecure and low-skilled jobs into which those who drop out of school early are placed.

• To make the school culture and education system more attractive, so as to promote academic success amongst boys in school. To include more practical, challenging and autonomous education strategies and encourage boys to perform and be successful in their school trajectories.

• To design and develop socially inclusive learning strategies and teaching styles that enhance the capabilities, interests and skills of boys and girls, even those which are not formally recognized (experimentation, civic involvement, music, artistic expression, etc.).

• To undertake more in-depth studies on teaching styles and school textbooks, with a view to better identifying the impact of teaching strategies on gendered practices of teachers and on pupils’ school performance and vocational preferences.

• To explore educational strategies which develop the capabilities and inclination of boys to reading in digital form with a view to developing their interest in reading. Boys and girls not only differ in their propensity to read, but also in types of reading: girls read more lengthy and complex works, fictional or otherwise, while boys read more comedy. But gender disparities are attenuated in digital reading, given that men tend to prefer reading books in digital form.

• To promote the inculcation of reading habits in boys at school and at home. To make parents and teachers aware of the need to encourage boys to read, making materials available to them which address themes more likely to interest them. Longer and more complex works, which today continue to attract girls more, can only really become appealing to boys once the reading habit is ingrained.

• To make less stereotyped vocational and occupational choices more appealing to boys and girls. It is recommended that examples of professional men and women in non-stereotyped fields be given as models, that gender stereotypes in school textbooks be removed, and that more appealing materials and evaluation methods be used for boy and girl pupils.

• To encourage boys’ interest in higher education by making them perceive the advantages of a university education. It is important to sound out boys’ attitudes to higher education and how they assess its advantages and the types of course offered at polytechnics and universities. In actual fact, the government’s EF2020 target of 40% for the percentage of degree-holders (in the 30 to 34 age bracket) is still far from being achieved, and progress so far has actually been in the higher number of women graduates than men. Boys’ lesser interest in higher education may one the on hand reflect the persistence of gender norms which prescribe the male breadwinner family model, with boys themselves incorporating from an early age the expectations associated with the male provider role and, on the other hand, be a side-effect of boys’ failure in school.

The aims of a second set of recommendations include the dismantling of norms which, in the form of male and female stereotypes, underlie parental and institutional education practices, conditioning learning trajectories, student choices and adult careers and social life and thus perpetuating gender inequalities.

• To define gender equality as a topic for study and debate between teachers and students at all levels of schooling (from pre-school to higher education), with a view to achieving equality of outcomes, in addition to equality of opportunity.

• To promote training programmes for teaching and non-teaching staff to make them aware of the presence and effects of gender stereotypes in their practices. To make teachers aware of the implications of gender stereotypes, in verbal and non-verbal communication, for children and young people.

• To promote more equality in the numbers of men and women teachers in the teaching and non-teaching staff in schools, taking into account the importance of having people of both sexes in all contexts of socialization of children and young people.

• To include in the school curriculum, alongside skills learned in traditional disciplines, gender equality, civics and caregiving as personal and social skills to be developed in a new curricular discipline as part of schools’ educational plan, with specific course units and evaluation criteria.

• To promote the setting up of a national gender equality programme in crèches, kindergartens and the first cycle of school. To act early on jointly responsible institutions and secondary socialization actors through teams of qualified professionals to go into schools. These actions will embody games and recreational activities, with a view to building in children and educators/teachers more egalitarian identities and deconstructing the gender roles and stereotypes incorporated or interiorized from an early age.

• To explore co-operation strategies between the State, schools and businesses with a view to establishing measures to promote gender equality. For example, employment fairs and career opportunities in schools which are aimed at students and their parents should seek to awaken girls’ interest in subjects related to science, mathematics, engineering and technology, and boys’ interest in subjects related to the social and human sciences and the arts.

• To commit to disseminating comprehensive information on the impact of stereotypes on society. From childhood onwards, gender stereotypes define trajectories and choices for boys and girls. These choices are also reflected in later vocational and occupational choices. In effect, it is still girls who opt more frequently for fields with access to occupations with more flexible hours, above all in education and public adminis-
4.4. Men, health and violence

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

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

- **Average life expectancy for men is lower than for women, but increases the higher their level of educational attainment.** Men with basic schooling have a life expectancy 5.1 years lower than that of men with higher education, and 7 years lower than that of women with basic schooling;
- **Men die younger more often than women, but have fewer health problems over the course of their lives and have a more positive assessment of their state of health.** Deaths of men aged between 15 and 64 are at least double those of women in the same age group. Women have more health problems over the course of their lives, particularly chronic illness. In 2014, 57.9% of men reported that their state of health was good or very good, as against 45.5% of women;
- **The probability of suicide is greater among men.** Men are three times as likely to commit suicide as women, and at least one in ten deaths of men aged 15 to 39 is the result of suicide. But suicide is more frequent among the elderly and those who live in rural areas, above all in the Alentejo, for reasons which have to do with social isolation, poverty, and the high incidence of chronic incapacitating illness;
- **Men are more affected by malignant tumours than women.** In 2014, men accounted for over 59.7% of deaths from malignant tumours. The probability of a death from malignant cancer of the lip, mouth cavity and pharynx is 5 times higher for men than for women, as is the likelihood of death from a malignant tumour of the oesophagus. The difference between the sexes regarding these two types of tumour increased between 2000 and 2014.

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

- **To develop more in-depth studies on the impact of social inequalities on men’s health and undertake awareness campaigns based on the social determinants of men’s health.** To pay particular attention to men with lower educational attainment levels, those who are poorer, and those who are less well qualified. As a rule, these men occupy a disadvantaged social position, take less care over their nutrition, make less use of professional healthcare services and are more likely to be found in high-risk occupations (such as civil construction). These trends place them at a clear disadvantage in relation to other men and to the population as a whole. Specific campaigns will be required to target these men, so as to make them aware of the need to look after themselves better, in a logic of prevention. It is particularly important that these campaigns be directed at the younger generation, in other words, to boys from disadvantaged social backgrounds, given the risk that health inequalities are likely to be socially reproduced.
- **To promote awareness campaigns aimed at young people in the 15 to 29 age group, alerting them to the risk of death due to external causes.** Most deaths in this age group are the result of external factors, above all traffic accidents, which account for some 25% of all young male deaths. The likelihood of a man dying in a traffic accident is some four times higher than for a woman (a figure unchanged between 2000 and 2014). These actions should be undertaken in schools, from the first cycle of basic schooling to secondary school, in partnership with associations representing those severely or irretrievably injured in traffic accidents;
- **To develop awareness campaigns on the effects of excessive alcohol consumption over the life-course.** Recent data indicate that young Portuguese males have a greater propensity for excessive alcohol consumption on a single occasion (6 or more drinks on a single occasion). Women consume less alcohol than men, but the behaviour of younger women (up to age 35) is closer to that of young males. The target age groups for these campaigns are young people of both sexes aged between 15 and 34 in secondary and higher education. They should be given information on the pathologies and causes of death associated with alcohol consumption;
- **To adopt urgent measures to combat suicide.** It is necessary to break the link between male gender and suicide, promoting greater gender equality in access to specialised health care, in particular psychiatric help, and also psychological follow-up visits. For older men, it is important to ensure the improvement of diagnosis and therapies for depression.
in primary health care, while also adopting measures to combat social isolation and to provide psychological and financial help to those facing financial hardship. As far as young people are concerned, it is recommended that more wide-ranging psychology support offices be made available. The implementation of measures promoting the setting-up of more community teams for mental health, coming from public hospitals and working in articulation with professionals from the Primary Health Care sector, is also recommended, so that it is not just family doctors who monitor people (men/women; boys/girls) with ideas of suicide;

- To promote specific campaigns aimed at men, on the use of male contraceptive methods such as condoms and vasectomy, regardless of sexual orientation. In Portugal, because women’s use of the pill as the contraceptive method of choice became very widespread, and the way family planning consultations were implemented in Health Centres after the April 1974 revolution, sexual and reproductive health came to be seen mainly as matters for women. But it is necessary to address the issue of male contraception, bearing men’s interests in mind first of all, but also those of women, in so far as they will have a greater range of contraceptive choices when couples decide to have no more children;

- To include sex education in the curriculum of various disciplines and to create a specific discipline entitled Education for Health and Citizenship, to include issues relating to sexuality. Law 60/2009 of 6 August 2009 established the system for applying sex education in schools (public, private and co-operative primary and secondary teaching establishments) and provided for each child and young person to have a minimum number of hours’ sex education in each year of schooling – 6 hours in the first and second cycles and 12 hours in the third cycle and in secondary education. It was complemented by regulation 196-A/2010 of 9 April 2010, which defined the content of sex education for each cycle of primary and secondary schooling. In 2012, non-disciplinary curriculum areas – Civics, Projects and Accompanied Learning - were abolished. This was a serious obstacle to implementing sex education in schools. When the 21st constitutional government, headed by António Costa, took office, discussion on the adoption of sex education in schools resumed, at various levels, as part of the curriculum for the discipline entitled Education for Health and Citizenship;

- To include the Human Papilloma Virus (HPV) vaccination for boys in the National Vaccination Plan. In 2008, Dispatch 8378/2008 (2nd series, issue 57) made the cervical cancer vaccine available for young women on the National Health Service (SNS - Serviço Nacional de Saúde). Although the HPV vaccine for boys is available on the market, its cost is not subsidised by the State. Nevertheless, HPV is among the probable cause of death by malignant tumours of the lip, mouth cavity and pharynx and malignant tumours of the oesophagus;

- To ensure that men and boys take advantage of the services and healthcare available to men on the National Health Service (Serviço Nacional de Saúde). To publicize what services and healthcare are available to men on the National Health Service (Serviço Nacional de Saúde - SNS). To this end it is essential to promote awareness campaigns aimed at men to bring home the importance of information on issues relating to sexual and reproductive health throughout life. The 5th National Equality Plan (2014-2017) envisages the production of technical reference material (Measure 24) and including the gender perspective in health programmes relating to STDs, Non-transmittable diseases, Sexual and Reproductive Health and Violence throughout life (Measure 25). There are, however, no practical measures to influence men.

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

- Men are the main perpetrators of violence, against both women and other men. Violence against women takes place in the private space of the home and takes the form of physical violence. According to the Observatório de Mulheres Assassinadas (OMA) (Assassinated Women’s Observatory), 43 women died as victims of domestic violence in 2014. In the vast majority of cases the men with whom they had, or had had, an intimate relationship in the past were the perpetrators of the crime;

- There has been an increase in the reporting and social recognition of domestic violence in which men are the victims and women the perpetrators. There are more and more allegations and accusations in which the victims of conjugal violence are men. Women’s violence against men is psychological violence, so that it is more difficult for men to accept that they are victims of violence, because they fear that this will be a sign of weakness which goes against the grain of that dominant masculinity embedded in the stereotype of being a man and in gender norms inculcated since childhood;

- Men are also victims of sexual harassment in the workplace, and the perpetrator may be a man or a woman. A recent national survey on sexual and moral harassment in the workplace showed that 9% of men and 15% of women reported having been victims of sexual harassment by managers, colleagues or clients. In the case of female victims, 95% of the sexual harassers are men and only 5% are other women; in the case of male victims, 65% of the sexual harassers are women and 35% are other men;

- Men are the main victims of violence between peers, which takes place above all in public (schools; nightclubs; in the street, etc.). Violence between peers is perpetrated by men on other men as a way of establishing hierarchy in male groups;

- Certain groups of men are more subject to violence by other men: ethnic minorities; sexual minorities (homosex-
The data on violence and the differences observed between men (mainly as perpetrators) and women (mainly as victims) suggest the following recommendations:

- **To gain more in-depth knowledge of violence in Portugal.** There is still very little official data on violence in Portugal. Although a significant number of qualitative studies point to male violence between peers as the most frequent form of violence in Portugal, there is insufficient data available on it. The debate on violence has focused on domestic violence, in particular male violence against women. But violence is a broader phenomenon, not limited to the private domestic sphere, and we need to understand it to its full extent and in all its complexity – preparing official statistics which will enable a proper assessment of the phenomenon of violence in its multiple forms (conjugal; against children; at school; between peers; etc.) and its different aspects (physical, psychological and sexual) – so that the right measures can be adopted to eradicate these situations;

- **To acknowledge men as victims of violence, in particular conjugal violence, in the national Plan for Combatting Domestic Violence (PNCVD - Plano Nacional de Combate à Violência Doméstica).** Despite the fact that the number of complaints of domestic violence lodged by men is low (approximately 15% of the total), men may also be victims of violence, and their visibility continues to increase, given the growing awareness of the topic of violence in Portugal;

- **To promote non-violent forms of masculinity from infancy.** To develop campaigns to make people aware of violence, in particular physical violence between peers in school, devising educational strategies which will encourage children to adopt non-violent forms of behaviour, especially boys in the basic schooling stage (1st, 2nd and 3rd cycles). Special attention to be paid to the implications of new technologies on violence between peers, as in the case of cyber-bullying, for example;

- **To promote training for teaching professionals to help them combat violence in schools.** To provide educators with sufficient information and knowledge so they may identify episodes of violence which have occurred in the school context, flag them and act on them, drawing up a guide on school violence in its many forms, and thereby enable educators to respond to violence while taking into consideration all those involved. The term “educators” is used here to include all those who work in schools: kindergarten teachers, school teachers, teaching assistants, free-time activities’ supervisors, operational helpers;

- **To adopt standards for monitoring victims of violence between peers at school,** in particular when the victims are immigrants or disabled persons or belong to sexual, ethnic or religious minorities. Boy victims of violence in schools often belong to one of these groups. It is thus necessary to devise strategic plans in schools providing basic schooling (1st, 2nd and 3rd cycles), with the support of psychologists, police and non-governmental organizations who work in the field of violence;

- **To combat the idea that sexual dimorphism is the cause of inequality between men and women.** To educate for equality in diversity and difference, from kindergarten up to secondary school. To bring in the study and analysis of the Guides on Gender and Citizenship produced by the Ministry of Education under the National Plans for Equality and Citizenship, in the various different higher education courses having a teaching option. It is necessary to deconstruct the stereotyped versions of masculinity and femininity which schools continue to promote, and it is the teachers, as front-line educators, who need to be enabled to undertake this work with pupils;

- **To promote a caring masculinity, more involved in fatherhood, as a way of combating domestic violence.** To seek to promote the value of the caregiver role for men and make them aware of its importance to the well-being of the child. In addition, the promoting of a caring masculinity can also be achieved by giving incentives to businesses so that they recognize and encourage caring fatherhood perspectives which embody the sharing of parental responsibilities;

- **To undertake awareness campaigns for the general public on how the cycle of violence reproduces itself.** To provide educators not to be violent with their children, and thereby promote the practical application of the 2007 change to article 152 of the Penal Code, which criminalized physical violence by parents against children;

- **To provide support to men who are the victims of violence.** Awareness campaigns are required to get men to denounce aggressors who harass others sexually or morally in the workplace. Businesses and other entities should be involved in devising these campaigns, so that employers’ policies and organizational cultures also change. Businesses and other entities should implement a zero-tolerance policy for these situations. In the realm of domestic violence, the system of safe houses for men should be extended to other parts of the country – like the safe house recently set up in the Algarve (September 2016).
5. CONCLUSIONS: THE PLACE OF MEN IN SOCIETY AND FACTORS WHICH PROMOTE GENDER EQUALITY

The aim of the White Paper is to point to factors and incentives which contribute to placing men in society in a gender equality perspective, in terms of both public policy and variables in the social context (work, family, education, etc.). In line with current research and debate on masculinity and gender relations, this study shows that abolishing inequalities between men and women involves profound changes not only in the condition of women but also of men, in particular in terms of identity and the ways of being a man in private life. Thus it is worthwhile highlighting the key aspects which have contributed to equality between men and women, based on the data and recommendations made in the White Paper (Wall et al., 2016), by breaking up the traditional patriarchal model of masculinity and putting forward a new model of masculinity which is more caring and egalitarian.

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

The second important aspect to highlight is the impact of a set of factors related to socialization and a number of variables like education, social class, position in the job market and the stage of life men are at (living as a couple or alone, with or without children, etc.). It never hurts to remember that identities and gender roles passed down to children and young people in the family, at school, in the media and even in patterns of consumption which suggest gender-differentiated toys and other products, internalize and shape from an early age the expectations and identities of boys and girls. In this process, family and school, which are the prime loci for learning and the inculcation of norms and stereotypes, take on a fundamental importance. This points to the essential role of certain forms of intervention and policy measures, in terms of both creating awareness and providing information and education and debate, aimed at parents, teachers, and other, often less visible actors such as teaching assistants, grandparents and publishers of school textbooks. It is essential to recognize that many of those involved find this unceasing construction of gender in the family and at school, which is embodied in daily gestures and interactions, often difficult to identify and, for this reason, difficult to recognize and modify.

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

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

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

PROGRAMME OPERATOR

CIG – Comissão para a Cidadania e Igualdade de Género
Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality

Equality between men and women is a basic principle of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic and it is the duty of the State to promote it. **CIG** is the national body responsible for the promotion and upholding of this principle, by seeking to respond to the profound social and political changes in the domains of citizenship and gender equality.

CIG’s mission is to guarantee the implementation of public policies in the field of citizenship, to promote and defend gender equality and to combat domestic and gender violence and the trafficking of human beings. It is also responsible for the coordination of the main policy instruments – the National Plans.

CIG is a central service belonging to the State administration services; it has administrative as well as financial autonomy, the latter restricted to the management of programmes funded by EU resources or international funds of the same nature.

CIG is integrated in the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, under the responsibility of the Secretary of State for Citizenship and Equality, as set forth in the decree establishing the delegation of powers of the Deputy Minister nº 660/2016, 5 January (Diário da República – II série nº 10, 115 January 2016).

Website: https://www.cig.gov.pt/
CITE was established on July 1979, on the basis of a government decision with the support of the social partners. CITE is a Portuguese equality entity with a tripartite and equilateral composition, having 4 members from the State, 4 members from the trade union confederations (CGTP-IN and UGT) and 4 members of the employers’ confederations (CCP, CIP, CAP and CTP), whose mission is the promotion and monitoring of equality and non-discrimination between women and men in labour, employment and in vocational training, as well as protection of maternity and paternity and reconciling work and family life, in both the private and public sectors, as well as the promotion and monitoring of social dialogue on gender equality.

As part of its responsibilities, CITE:

- receives complaints and issues legal opinions concerning equality and non-discrimination in labour and employment;
- issues a legal opinion (within 30 days) which employers must obligatorily request before dismissing any pregnant worker, any worker who has recently given birth or who is breastfeeding, or male worker during the parental leave (paternity leave);
- issues a legal opinion (within 30 days) which employers must request in advance when they disagree with part-time or flexitime work for male or female workers with one or more children under the age of 12;
- examines the decisions of the employers not to renew fixed-term contracts of pregnant workers, workers who have recently given birth or who are breastfeeding, or male workers during the parental leave (paternity leave);
- co-operates with the Working Conditions Authority in the application of legislation on equality and non-discrimination in labour, employment and vocational training;
- registers all legal decisions sent by the courts concerning equality and non-discrimination between men and women;
- answers individual and employers queries about applicable legislation (through personal contact, in writing, by telephone, fax and e-mail);
- examines whether or not employment advertisements comply with the rule which prohibits discrimination between women and men in the access to any profession or job;
- promotes studies and research, disseminates legislation and legal opinions concerning equality and non-discrimination in labour, employment and vocational training, as well as good practices for reconciling professional, personal and family life;
- awards the “Equality is Quality” Prize to businesses and employers that pursue exemplary policies regarding equality and good practices for reconciling professional, personal and family life, in partnership with the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG);
- develops and organizes training projects, awareness-enhancing activities and other initiatives, in the fields of equality in labour, employment and vocational training and of reconciliation of professional, personal and family life;
- promotes equality between men and women in employment, particularly among employers, through equality plans and by developing non-discriminatory policies with regard to gender in recruitment, selection, access to continuous vocational training, career advancement and managerial level positions, remuneration and in the fight against precarious contracts, in addition to the development of good practices for reconciling professional, personal and family life;
- takes part in the preparation and implementation of the National Plan for Equality;
- follows up on the questions regarding equality and non-discrimination between women and men in labour, employment and vocational training at the European Union and international organisations levels.

Website: http://www.cite.gov.pt/en/about_us.html
ICS-ULisboa, Portugal, is a leading interdisciplinary centre dedicated to research, post-graduate teaching and advanced training in the social sciences, with a staff of 80 senior research fellows from 7 disciplines (Sociology, Political Science, Social Psychology, Anthropology, History, Economics and Human Geography). Created in 1982, it is well-known for cross-national research and has an international reputation as top-level partner in EU comparative projects.

Its activities are organized into seven Research Groups:

1. Environment, Territory and Society;
2. Socio-Political Attitudes and Behaviours;
3. Identities, Cultures, Vulnerabilities;
4. Empires, Colonialism and Post-Colonialism;
5. Life Course, Inequality and Solidarity: Practices and Policies;
6. Power, Society and Globalization;
7. Regimes and Political Institutions.

The ICS-ULisboa is also highly experienced in providing research evidence to inform policy and practice decisions and hosts five Observatories informing on: the Quality of Democracy (BDQ); Family and Family Policies (OFAP); Youth and Schooling (OPJ); Environment and Territory (OBSERV A); Aging Issues (IE). The Institute publishes the oldest and most prestigious journal of the Social Sciences in Portugal, Análise Social, presently in its 200th number.

In this context, OFAP – Observatory on Families and Family Policies, established in 2010, has as its main aims to develop and disseminate knowledge on families and family policies in Portuguese society, by:
1. monitoring developments in family forms and dynamics, as well as their impact on demographic trends;
2. monitoring and disseminating changes in legislation and family policies, in other words, in governmental measures and other initiatives which regulate and support family life in Portugal.

Website: http://www.ics.ulisboa.pt/instituto/

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Website: http://www.ics.ulisboa.pt/instituto/
The [UAM](http://www.uam.es/ss/Satellite/en/home.htm) is a public institution focused on academic excellence and internationally renowned for both teaching and research. Created in 1968, the UAM hosts one of the largest scientific communities in Spain whose research meets international standards which is recognized as “Campus de Excelencia” that incorporates highly qualified research groups from the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC). The Department of Sociology at the UAM was also created in 1968. Its lifelong goal was to contribute, from a sociological point of view, to the best and most comprehensive training of students of very different degrees. Consequently its goal has been to conduct research of excellence, teaching assistance and specialized academic consulting. Teachers are leading specialists in areas such as Sociology of Economics, Administration Sociology, Sociology of Law, Sociology of Population and Family, Sociology of Knowledge and Science and Public Opinion and Electoral Sociology. Several members of the Department have served and continue to support the UN, UNDP or the European Union in electoral or judicial.


NNTU is Norway’s primary institution for educating the nation’s future engineers and scientists. The university also has strong programmes in the social sciences, and its cross-disciplinary research delivers creative innovations that have far-reaching social and economic impact. The Faculty of Social Sciences and Technology Management has a research and teaching profile that covers a wide range of subjects in a unique combination of social sciences, humanities, technology and natural sciences. This broad academic spectrum allows for cross-disciplinary collaboration and creative subject combinations. An international orientation is one of the declared aims of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Technology Management.

The Department of Sociology and Political Science offers bachelor’s and master’s studies in sociology, political science and sports science, as well as master’s studies in media, communication and information technology. Studies in sociology include courses in organization and working life, family and childhood, social inequality and welfare and media. Studies in political science include courses in international and comparative politics, public policy and administration and political theory and political behavior. The Department of Sociology and Political Science has an active research environment consisting of several research groups which work on local, national and international projects, and emphasizes the contact and collaboration with external institutions, such as industry and commerce, the public sector and voluntary organizations.

**Website:** [http://www.ntnu.edu/](http://www.ntnu.edu/)
CONSULTANT ENTITIES

**National and International Public Bodies**
Caisse Nationale des Allocations Familiales, France  
Directorate-General of Health, Portugal  
European Institute for Gender Equality, EIGE, Lithuania  
Ministry of Work, Solidarity and Social Security, Portugal  
National Institute for Health and Welfare, Finland  
Norwegian Embassy, Portugal  
Secretary of State of Citizenship and Equality, Portugal  
Subcommittee on Equality and Non Discrimination (from the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, Rights, Freedoms and Guarantees), Portugal

**National and International NGOs**
Association for Family Planning, APF, Portugal  
Association for Parental Equality and Children’s Rights, APIPDF, Portugal  
International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association, ILGA, Portugal  
National Confederation of Parent Associations, CONFAP, Portugal  
Portuguese Association for Victim Support, APAV, Portugal  
Portuguese Association of Women Jurists, APMJ, Portugal  
Portuguese Platform for Women’s Rights, PpDM, Portugal  
Promundo, Brasil  
Women’s Union Choice and Answer, UMAR, Portugal

**Social Partners**
CCP - Commerce and Services Confederation, Portugal  
CGTP-IN - General Confederation of Portuguese Workers, Portugal  
CIP - Confederation of Portuguese Industry, Portugal  
UGT - General Union of Workers, Portugal

**International Universities**
IOE - Institute of Education, University College London, United Kingdom  
Konan University, Japan  
Norwegian Police University College, Norway  
University of Geneva, Switzerland  
University of Iceland, Iceland  
University of Lausanne, Switzerland  
University of Paris I, France  
University of Quebec, Canada  
University of Stockholm, Sweden

**National Universities and Research Centers**
CES - Centre for Social Studies, University of Coimbra, Portugal  
CESIS - Centre of Studies for Social Intervention, Portugal  
CIES - Centre for the Research and Study of Sociology, ISCTE/Lisbon University Institute, Portugal  
CIS - Centre for Psychological Research and Social Intervention – ISCTE/Lisbon University Institute, Portugal  
FPCEUP - Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences – University of Porto, Portugal  
IE – Institute of Education, Lisbon University, Portugal  
ISCSP – Institute of Social and Political Sciences, Lisbon University, Portugal  
SOCIUS - Research Centre in Economic and Organizational Sociology, ISEG - Lisbon School of Economics and Management, University of Lisbon, Portugal
7. REFERENCES


NOTE: The complete bibliographical references and legislation that supported the elaboration of the White Book is available Wall et al., 2016. Available at: http://www.cite.gov.pt/pt/acite/projetos_eea_grants_002.html