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European Societies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713685208>

FAMILY AND GENDER ROLES IN SPAIN FROM A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Almudena Moreno Mínguez ^a

^a Departamento de Sociología y Trabajo Social, Universidad de Valladolid, 3 - Segovia, Spain

First published on: 23 September 2009

To cite this Article Mínguez, Almudena Moreno(2010) 'FAMILY AND GENDER ROLES IN SPAIN FROM A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE', *European Societies*, 12: 1, 85 – 111, First published on: 23 September 2009 (iFirst)

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/14616690902890321

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14616690902890321>

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FAMILY AND GENDER ROLES IN SPAIN FROM A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Almudena Moreno Mínguez

Departamento de Sociología y Trabajo Social, Universidad de Valladolid, C/Trinidad, 3 - Segovia,
40001 Spain

ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper will be to analyse changes in family and gender roles in Spain within the process of individualization in the European context. The focus is thus to evaluate the extent to which institutional factors (family policies) and individual factors interact in the development of cultural models that explain differences in preferences and family and labour strategies adopted by citizens. With the objective of determining to what extent a transition process towards an egalitarian family model is being made, socio-demographic factors that explain preference groups with regard to labour and family life-styles will be analysed in two countries with very different traditions of labour and family conciliation, such as Spain and Finland. Therefore, in a second part of the work, individual factors linked to population segments identified with the egalitarian model of family roles and with the traditional model of family in Spain and Finland will be clarified. This research has highlighted the fact that a difference between family life-styles is explained by variables such as education and marital status in Spain, whereas in Finland, analyses of segmentation have underlined that age is the best variable to explain differences regarding the desired role of females.

Key words: gender roles; family life styles; individualization; Welfare State

1. Introduction

Analyses of family change in Europe have revealed a clear interdependence between institutional frameworks, whereby family policies are developed, and labour and family strategies adopted by persons to integrate into the labour market.

In the Spanish Welfare State, connections between limited actions developed in the field of family policies and the reproduction of a cultural model linked to the traditional family in the social imaginary are evident, as highlighted by numerous researchers. These values and attitudes embedded in the so-called ‘familist’ cultural model have developed

towards traditional gender roles and labour and family attitudes that somehow explain low labour participation of females, as well as the gender gap in the distribution of home tasks; females face a moral dilemma regarding the acceptance of family responsibilities assigned to their gender role and the challenge of assuming economic costs of not entering the labour market within an institutional context that has not sufficiently favoured conciliation of work and family.

However, a deep analysis of the desired family ideals sorted by sex, age or level of education shows that a process of change has started in Spain; similar to the process which happened in Scandinavian countries in past decades. Therefore, effects that institutions have on the collective social imaginary with regard to processes of family change have a limited reach if we take factors such as age and level of education into account. Although it is true that we move in the field of preferences and these are partially determined by the effects of institutions and culture, preferences are not always an accurate reflection of behaviours adopted by persons. In the case of Spain, people's preferences in terms of family models and gender relations do not show real daily behaviours adopted by persons. Although they seem advanced in terms of the family model they wish for, they nevertheless reproduce traditional family models. This ambivalence can be explained as a result of social and institutional effects on individual actions. In short, this article's main objective is to explain, on the one side, differential incidence of family policies on the setup of values and attitudes regarding work and family in different European countries. On the other side, it tries to analyse, through the analysis of compared cases (Finland and Spain), how certain individual factors, such as the accumulation of human capital (education) and the positioning in the social structure through income or age, standardize and, at the same time, explain existing differences regarding values and behaviours in work and family in a better way than existing differences of institutional contexts or cultural determinism. Therefore, the article tries to highlight how factors such as age, income or education define preferences of individuals and how they homogenize behaviours in a global world (Mayer 2004; Blossfeld and Hofmeister 2006). In this paper I contribute to this debate by focusing on the women's family and labour dilemmas in Spain within the comparative context of the Welfare State. I suggest that the processes of individualization and changing gender roles in Spain should be studied in the institutional and cultural context of reduced family policies and the persistence of the traditional family. In order to explain this we have attempted to understand the attachment of individuals to traditional family values according to different socio-demographic characteristics in two different models of Welfare State such as Spain and Finland.

2. Understanding family, gender roles change and employment behaviour: individual choices versus social structure in the framework of Welfare State

As for the analysis of the complex factor framework that links fertility, family change and female employment in different European countries with regard to the process of individualization, many questions arise which have not been answered in economic and sociological analyses. In fact, new interpretations are made that try to include not only strictly economic and sociological factors, but also cultural factors such as preferences, values and differential use of time by family members from a comparative perspective.

The current debate on the nature of family change has centred on the concept of 'late modernity'. It is argued that 'new modernity' is characterized by increased reflexivity, and processes of individualization. *Individualization* is a term used by Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) and Bauman (2003) in the sense of a social process with the component of the individual choices, led by the personal motivation for the pursuit of new forms of intimacy, where the structural changes are not the fact to make the social agents react but they can really bring about the change by themselves.

In this context, 'choice biographies' emerge whereby individuals make decision about their own lives rather than following a predetermined (by class, gender, ethnicity) standard biography. The 'individualization thesis' has some implications for individuals and families. This characterization of late modernity opens a new type of family know as 'negotiated family', where domestic divisions of labour emerge form a process of negotiation of both genders which now co-exists with the 'traditional family' with its clearly defined gender division of labour based on prescribed roles (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Beck-Gernsheim 2003).

In this interpretational context, Hakim's (2000) analysis about family life-styles is interesting in a sense: in order to explain the differences observed in family change between countries. The theory of preferences tried to identify life-style preferences using the effects of gender roles on labour and family choices made by females and males in different European countries. This theoretical perspective identifies three distinctive groups of females: a big group of females named 'adaptives', that try to combine employment and family and do not permanently prioritize any of these two aspects, and two smaller groups, whose life is focused either on a professional career or on family and household. Most criticism for the typology created by Hakim (2005) is related to the difficulty of reducing female preferences to only three interpretation models, in a context of a complex reality that does not allow such classifications. Furthermore, critics point out that this type of classifications cannot rigorously apprehend the

complexity of gender roles, since they only reflect the institutional, cultural and social context where they were developed (Smart and Shipman 2004; Crompton and Lyonette 2005; Crompton 2006; Duncan 2006). Some research also shows that the individualization thesis is limited in the sense that individuals remain embedded in social and cultural networks – in the form of gendered beliefs about the proper thing to do – within which social actors make decision about their lives (Smart and Shipman 2004). According to Crompton (2006) embedded normative and material patterns still persist and have continuing power. ‘As far as women are concerned, one of the most significant elements of embedded traditionalism is the persistence of the ideology of domesticity, in which the work of caring is normatively assigned to woman’ (Crompton 2006: 10).

However, the perspective of Hakim is useful in order to explain to what extent family change is not only the result of social effects on individual actions, but also how individual motivations and aspirations developed to answer challenges created by the environment can, in many cases, contribute to modify their own social environment.

In any case, it is obvious that individuals define their individual strategies regarding work and family in contexts socially determined by actions of the States, their position in the social structure and the incidence of cultural normative contexts. Although these arguments are part of the theory of individualization, motivation and individual aspirations are considered more important when it comes to interpreting social behaviours than structural determinations, which has raised criticism. From my point of view the integration of both perspectives is not only desirable, but also essential to explain social and family change trends.

It is a context in which globalization affects, on the one side, individual options and decisions and, on the other side, causes the institutions in different national contexts to adopt diverse actions for similar challenges that are related to the demographic cost of declining fertility, the economic value of unequal distribution of family responsibilities, the availability of individual options to enter the labour market and the power to cope with the challenge of optimizing conciliation of family tasks and paid work (Mayer 2004). The opinion of researchers such as Pfau-Effinger (2004), who considers labour and family strategies adopted by females in each country as a combined result of culture, institutions and their own social practices is located in an intermediate position. In short, Pfau-Effinger’s ‘gender arrangement’ theory says that strategies adopted by individuals towards gender relations are the result of negotiation processes between individuals in historically determined cultural and institutional networks. The truth is that Pfau-Effinger refers to the fact that social behaviour is a ‘social building’, resulting from a negotiation of each individual with themselves, where culture and the institutional context play an important

role; the individual takes an individual decision, always in an institutional and cultural reference context. However, Hakim and her followers consider that, in modern society, individuals are free to choose and build their preferences without institutional determinism, although they do admit a certain influence of the cultural framework in the definition of preferences. Therefore, from this perspective, actors not only adopt strategies depending on rational action principles, but also depending on other factors such as cultural models (gender roles) and Welfare State policies. In fact, the role of the Welfare State cannot be underestimated, because it contributes to the reproduction and changing of cultural models associated with family, fertility, employment and families' division of work through the distribution of resources. On the other hand, Welfare State policies promote negotiations and interactions between groups in terms of differential access to resources provided by the State.

In any case, this kind of analysis requires inclusion of the 'gendered agency' (Shaver 2002), as this theory allows us to link individual strategies related to work and family and the changes of social policies to actions of social and political movements. In this research, this analysis is obviated, as it would imply a detailed analysis of the role of feminist movements in Europe in the definition of 'gendered agency', which is not the focus of this paper. However, it is necessary to highlight a brief analysis of the differences observed in this field between the familialism that characterizes Spanish policies as opposed to the individualized rights associated with the Finnish model. Such distinctions have led other authors to classify the two countries as still belonging to different care regimes – the public service model (coherent and optional familialism care regime) in the case of Finland, and the private family policy model (subsidiary and implicit familialism care regime) for Spain (Ferrera 1996; Rhodes 1997; Flaquer 2002; Mahon 2002; Lister 2003; Moreno Mínguez 2007).

With regard to the impact of family policies on female employment and fertility, Del Boca and Vuri (2007) and Del Boca and Locatelli (2006) have shown that, in this kind of analysis, it is important to take endogenous factors associated with family policies into account. In fact, similar policies have different effects on employment and fertility depending on the reference country (Ferrarini 2006). This is a result of the reciprocal influence of policies on preferences (Sjöberg 2004), since many times institutional decisions are a reflection of culturally determined preferences. The fact is that in northern European countries generous family policies are a consequence of collective preferences that demand gender equality, both in- and outside the household. However, in southern European countries, limited family policies can partially be attributed to the persistence of a traditional family model that has been historically in charge of providing services and support, perpetuating gender inequalities in family and

employment and not giving incentives to create social movements that promote childcare and gender family policies. In Spain there has not been a tradition of women's movements that were able to mobilize the citizenship and, therefore, with the capacity of defining and influencing social policies (Escobedo 2001). Despite agreement that women's movements are central actors in social policy change, few empirical studies have systematically examined the impact of women's movements on social policy change, but it is beyond the aims of this article.

This epistemological discussion is carried out in a process of growing individualization that characterizes modern societies, with individuals having to define their personal biographies beyond the inherited normative and institutional determinants that define culture. In short, as pointed out by Beck-Gernsheim (2003), Esping Andersen (2002) and López Blasco (2006), among other authors, we are in an ambivalent and contradictory process of family change, with people trying to adapt to the process of individualization in the new modernity. These changes require a new gender and intergenerational social contract that allows families, States and markets to adapt to the new economic, social and institutional environment.

The institutional process of familiarization of family policies in the southern European countries has led to a distinctive gender regime (with informal rules) in which females were considered caretakers in a traditional family role and a single-earner family was promoted (Saraceno 1995; Trifiletti 1999; Moreno Mínguez 2005). Thus, limited labour and family conciliation policies combined with a cultural context of intense familism that is dominant in these countries have led to a family model characterized by a traditional family with traditional family roles; dilemmas regarding conciliation of family and career are discussed in private. Therefore, the Spanish case allows the hypothesis that the difficulties involved in reconciling family obligations with a professional career are the result of limited family policies; and this conditions the options of females to access the labour market, as well as the chosen labour option.

Studies carried out in relation to desired family models agree in highlighting that the opinion of Spanish people tends to favour egalitarian families where both couple members do work and the roles are equalled. This seems to prove the fact that familist tradition and traditional gender roles culture have less and less importance in the creation of the ideals of family. However, these attitudes do not fit into the family practice of Spanish people, characterized by traditional behaviours in terms of sharing household tasks and incorporating females into the labour market. Quantitative and qualitative studies carried out in this field show the persistent polarization between attitudes and chosen life-styles (Tobio 2005; Navarro 2006).

The last hypothesis referred to the Spanish case is linked to the previous one and refers to the fact that globalization processes created by the market in terms of standard family and labour models are in contradiction with cultural and institutional models embedded in southern European countries, which leads to ambivalent processes in terms of attitudes and preference systems. At the same time, this process of globalization mostly affects young people, educational systems, etc., and tends to standardize behaviours and neutralize institutional and cultural differences between countries, depending on the educational level and the age group. In fact, we state the hypothesis that education and age homogenize motivations and behaviours regarding wished and chosen family and labour models across different countries, independently of the institutional and cultural context. But it is also true that this process of globalization has not managed to homogenize existing differences regarding attitudes and behaviours depending on the position in the social structure. The fact is that the incidence of culture and the institutional framework, as well as fewer possibilities to choose from, become visible for those that are in a disadvantaged position within the social structure in all national contexts. However, it is necessary to highlight that in those countries with a strong Welfare State, such as Finland, importance of education and income is not as great as in countries with a weaker Welfare State in terms of family policies, such as the case of Spain.

3. Family, childcare and gender roles in Southern Europe: the facts

This part will try to briefly explain, on a macro-level, how the articulation between family and employment, as well as the cultural building of gender relations varies according to the type of family policies developed by each national State (Sainsbury 1999; Hantrais 2004; Lewis 2006). Investigations into typologies of family policies coincide in underlining that the State's actions directed to offer family services constitute variables that partially explain causal factors and effects on behaviour, e.g., impact of childhood services on female employment and family culture (Crompton 2006: 116).

In this regard, a central characteristic pointed out when referring to families from southern Europe is a low female labour participation and, therefore, a small number of families with two earners. This fact has been linked to the lack of childcare in welfare regimes among southern European countries.

The analysis of the structure of spending in the field of social care benefits shows important differences between southern countries and the European average. While in 2005 average spending for family and childhood policies in the EU-15 as a percentage of the GDP was 2.1%,

in Spain it was 1.1%, in Italy 1.1% and in Portugal 1.2%. In contrast, Finland spent 3% and Denmark 3.8% of their GDP. It is interesting to highlight that Spain, as well as Ireland, are the countries that have increased more their social spending directed to families during the period 2000–2005, which shows that a process of acknowledgement in public institutions has started, which shows the importance of reinforcing family policies for the population (Table 1).

Although it is true that Spain, along with Italy, are the countries that invest less in family services, it is also true that during the last years Spain has substantially increased the percentage of children under three years old that go to state-funded childcare facilities. In spite of this growth, Spain is still one of the countries with the lowest percentage of children under three year olds in childcare facilities when compared to countries such as Finland or Sweden. The availability of childcare facilities does not answer the question of whether demand is fully met. The actual demand for childcare is influenced by the participation rate of parents (mothers), the levels of unemployment, the length of parental leave, the opening hours of school and the availability of alternatives like grandparents and/or other informal arrangements, such as in Spain.

TABLE 1. Public social spending direct to families/children 2005 (at constant prices)

	% TSB	% GDP	Family/Children social benefits increase 2000–2005*
EU-25	8.0	2.1	2.2
EU-15	8.0	2.1	2.2
Austria	10.7	3.0	1.9
Belgium	7.2	2.0	0.0
Denmark	12.9	3.8	2.4
Finland	11.6	3.0	2.1
France	8.5	2.5	1.9
Germany	12.9	3.8	1.2
Greece	6.4	1.5	2.7
Ireland	14.6	2.5	12.5
Italy	4.4	1.1	5.4
Luxembourg	16.9	3.6	7.4
Netherlands	4.9	1.3	4.2
Portugal	5.3	1.2	5.1
Spain	5.6	1.1	7.7
Sweden	9.8	1.3	3.9
United Kingdom	6.3	1.7	0.2

Source: Statistics in focus, social protection in the European Union, 2008.

*Note: Social benefits at constant prices, annual average rate of growth (family/children) for 2000–2005.

According to Table 2, in Southern European countries the percentage of children under three years who are in childcare is quite low compared with Nordic countries such as Sweden and Denmark, and it is characterized by the lowest public social spending on childcare. For this reason the extended family is very important in Southern Europe where it represents an important substitute for formal childcare. On the other hand, the low available childcare in these countries has important negative effects on women's employment and fertility.

Patterns of maternal employment vary widely across countries. On average, nearly 83.3% of mothers with one child and 78% of mothers with two or more children were employed in 2003 in Norway. However in Spain only 54.4% of the mothers with one child and 47.4% with two or more children were employed in that time. When the child is under the age of 6, maternal employment rates are lower in Southern European countries (OECD 2007). Increasingly, public policy aims to encourage both parents, and particularly mothers, to stay in paid employment for reasons that include promotion of gender equity, a better use of labour market resources, and poverty alleviation.

To some extent, these outcomes for children and their families have reflected the influence of social policy programmes in most European countries. In the case of the Southern European countries, the high rate of one earner families is partly related to the precariousness of the family

TABLE 2. Childcare in Europe for children aged up to three, 2002–2005

	<i>Children 0–3 years in regulated services (%) + C1^a</i>	<i>Public social spending on childcare (% OF GDP)^b</i>
Austria	9.0%	0.4%
Belgium	39.0%	0.1%
Denmark	62.0%	1.7%
Finland	35.0%	1.2%
France	29.0%	0.7%
Germany	9.0%	0.4%
Greece	7.0%	0.4%
Ireland	15.0%	0.2%
Italy	6.0%	N.A.
Luxembourg	14.0%	N.A.
Netherlands	39.0%	0.2%
Portugal	24.0%	0.2%
Spain	21.0%	0.1%
Sweden	41.0%	1.3%
United Kingdom	26.0%	N.A.

Sources: ^aOECD Family Database 2006.

^bOECD Social Expenditures Database 2007; Eurostat 2005.

policies and the difficulties that prevent women from being adequately integrated in the labour market.

The following diagram shows the different ways couples organize labour. In comparison with other countries, such as Finland or The Netherlands, Spain, Italy and France present high percentages of families with only one economic earner. This fact evidences the existence of structural factors (political and familiar) that contribute to promoting the permanence of this male breadwinner model in Southern European countries (León 2007). A comparison of the organization of labour schedules in families reveals important differences between the previously mentioned countries, with respect to family and labour strategies adopted to balance work and family (Figure 1).

In the Southern European countries, the institutional policies have contributed to reinforce the male bread-winner model. This family policy model has not only had negative repercussions on the children's life conditions, but also in the unequal division of the family work by sex. In fact, the scarce policies of labour and family life balance developed by these Welfare States, as well as the rigidity of the labour market and the salary inequality have discouraged women with children from entering the labour market. Even when the woman works she feels the moral obligation of taking care of the children and of carrying out the housework, while the man becomes the main bread-winner. This collective social vision has come out on an unequal distribution of the domestic work between men and women in the Southern European countries.

As it can be seen in Figure 2, women dedicate more time to household tasks than men in all countries. The average time women spend on household tasks is seven times what men do. The countries that seem to have a more equal division of labour between men and women in these

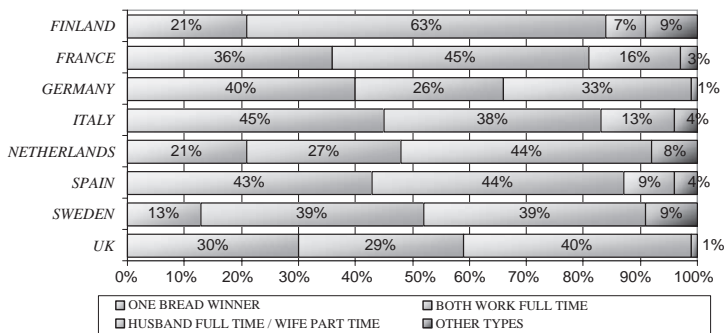


Figure 1. Families and kind of work by the members, couples aged 20–49 (2003). Source: European Labour Survey, 2003, Eurostat.

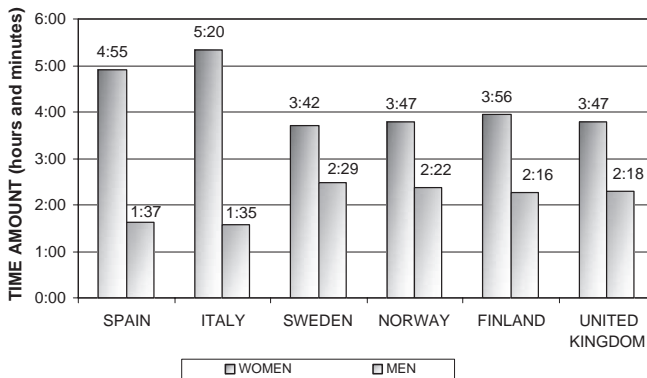


Figure 2. Breakdown of domestic activities for women and men aged 20–74.
Source: National Time Use Surveys, Eurostat, 2006.

tasks are Sweden, Norway and the United Kingdom, while the countries with the greatest difference in this division are Spain and Italy. Therefore, these data reveal the unequal division of family labour in the Southern European countries in comparison with the Northern European countries, suggesting a link between the Welfare State's policies on gender, female employment and family roles.

Therefore, these familist policies have contributed to reproduce a cultural model of family and gender roles based on traditional gender stereotypes that hinder the family change in the southern European countries. An indicator that shows this delay in the individualization process is the perception that women in these countries have with regard to their own role as workers and mothers. Comparative European data from the European Social Survey show that the most deeply rooted traditional family values are found among citizens living in what has been called a conservative and Mediterranean Welfare State. Only 17% of the Danish women and 17.8% of Finland women agree with the following expression: 'Women should stop working when they have a child', in comparison to 45.5% of the Spanish women, 56.2% of the Portuguese women and 38.1% of the Germans women interviewed in 2004 (Table 3).

Moreover, in the Spanish study, we can see the women's ambivalence towards their roles as mothers and workers. 19.6% of the women interviewed say that women should leave work temporarily in order to take care of their children. This percentage goes up to 27.4% when asking men. Most of these women (70.4%) prefer an intermediate formula of part-time employment in order to continue taking care of the children. Only 11.4% of the women interviewed think they should return to work as

TABLE 3. Agreement with the expression 'woman should be prepared to cut down on paid work for the sake of family' by sex (%)

	MEN	WOMEN
<i>NORDIC COUNTRIES/SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES</i>		
DENMARK	14.7	17.0
FINLAND	21.0	17.8
NORWAY	18.6	24.2
SWEDEN		21.6
<i>LIBERAL ANGLO-SAXON MODEL</i>		
UNITED KINGDOM	37.6	39.9
IRELAND	41.8	43.9
<i>CONSERVATIVE MODEL</i>		
AUSTRIA	36.6	34.6
GERMANY	39.7	38.1
NETHERLANDS	33.2	30.2
LUXEMBOURG	48.0	45.1
<i>CONSERVATIVE MODEL IN TRANSITION</i>		
FRANCE	30.7	31.6
BELGIUM	24.9	25.7
<i>MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES/FAMILIST MODEL</i>		
GREECE	33.6	29.5
ITALY		
SPAIN	43.0	45.5
PORTUGAL	54.5	56.2

Source: Author's calculations from the European Social Survey 2004.

soon as possible and take the children to childcare centres). There are no relevant differences by age, except for those under 35, where option #3 is similar for men and women (see Figure 3). These responses coincide with Tobío's interpretation (2005) on the ambivalence of working Spanish mothers, as well as with Hakim's preferences theory, on pluralism of lifestyles. These data demonstrate the impact of traditional values on the definition of gender roles in Southern European countries, thus also revealing their importance in family models.

In conclusion, and as a summary of this section it can be concluded that, regarding the Spanish case, the low level of spending on policies classified as 'family policies'¹ throughout the eighties and 1990s (as yearly Eurostat data shows) contributed to the reproduction of the familist

1. Regarding this, it must be pointed out that although the PSOE socialist government (1982–1996) increased substantially the social expenditure, it was no so much in the scope of the family policies.

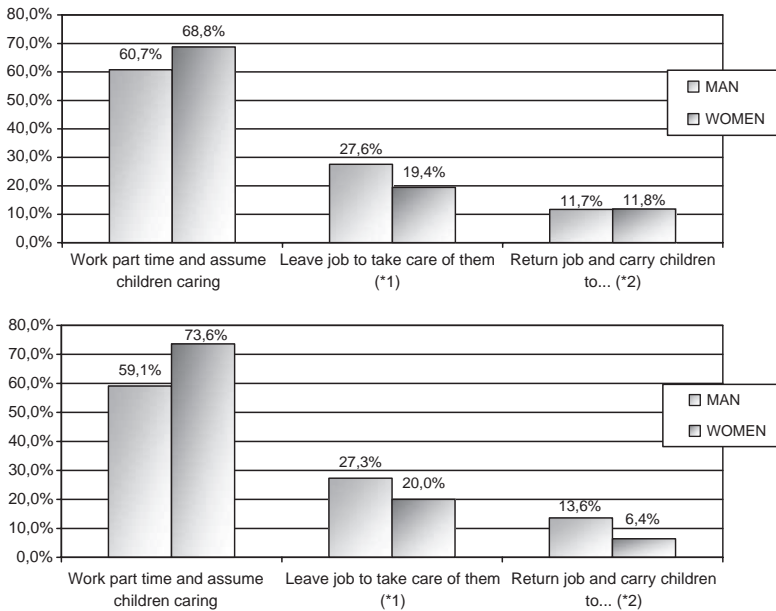


Figure 3. Opinion on: ‘mothers with small children should ... ’
 (*1) Leave job temporary to take full care of children until they are two years old.
 (*2) Return to job ASAP and take children to nursery or with a relative.
 Source: Employment and Family Survey, Spain 2006.

culture inherited from the dictatorship of the Franco regime in the context of the maintenance of the traditional family model, with a single salary earner and the role of mothers as main care-takers and socializing agents of minors. On the other side, this restrictive model of individualized family policies has reinforced an unequal gender relation model where family responsibilities fundamentally fall on females, which leads to an unequal distribution of domestic tasks between males and females within the family.

Therefore, the most expressive indications of the role played by institutional factors in the continuity of traditional behaviour models in Spain in the field of employment and family are the ambivalence and the moral dilemma in gender roles before the birth of the so-called ‘new negotiated family’. In the case of northern European countries, such as Finland, where a historical, institutional tradition of support for families with dual earners and working mothers exists, these dilemmas are nearly extinct. In these countries, ‘negotiated family’ seems to be more a reality than a wish, which does not mean that these countries do not have other kinds of problems related to the disappearance of ‘family solidarity’ in

favour of the ‘institutional family’, but this is not the study object in this article.

4. Family and gender roles in Spain and Finland: results of the comparative analysis of segmentation

In this section we want to analyse how attitudes and preferences regarding the ideal of family and gender relations converge depending on individual factors like education, age or income in very different cultural and institutional contexts, such as the Finnish or Spanish contexts. This would partly question cultural and institutional determination of preferences and values (Table 4).

Therefore, in this second part of the work, both the socio-demographic factors forming the segments of population that most identify themselves with the traditional model of family and the segments of population that are farther away from this prototype of family will be analysed.

For that purpose, analysis of segments has been carried out in two countries with very different traditions regarding their family roles, namely Spain and Finland. We used an exploratory technique that in this case allows us to estimate the best variables to categorize population in both countries depending on their level of agreement with the traditional model of family. An algorithm based on the Chi-squared is used, especially useful if the dependent variable is nominal, as in this case. This technique, as well as facilitating the selection of relevant variables to explain the answer to a given question, provides descriptions and offers results as useful as traditional statistical methods. This technique of hierarchical dependence between variables distinguishes variables whose distribution is to be explained and a set of nominal or ordinal prediction variables, with independent status, with the objective of establishing very differentiated groups. Taking into account these methodological clarifications, we will describe the analysis of segmentation carried out with data of the European Social Survey 2004 for Spain and Finland. These two countries have been chosen due to their very different characteristics, regarding the institutional context of the Welfare State, as well as family models and gender relations. This kind of comparative analysis can give us relevant information about individual factors that explain why different family models and gender roles are favoured.

The dependent variable that has been studied was classified by the values: agree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree with the following statement: ‘women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for sake of family’ (classified as traditional family role). The predictors or explanatory variables introduced into the analysis of segmentation are:

TABLE 4. Synthesis chart with regard to the answer trees on the opinion on the standard family role of woman

FINLAND									
Agree with the standard family role of woman, by segmentation groups									
	<i>Node 1</i>	<i>Node 2</i>	<i>Node 3</i>	<i>Node 4</i>	<i>Node 5</i>	<i>Node 6</i>	<i>Node 7</i>	<i>Node 8</i>	TOTAL
Agree	113	333	34	213	57	9	47	100	906
	55.9%	80.4%	35.1%	55.0%	50.9%	16.7%	32.0%	46.3%	55.6%
Neither agree nor disagree	32	53	18	80	21	9	42	54	309
	15.8%	12.8%	18.6%	20.7%	18.8%	16.7%	28.6%	25.0%	19.0%
Disagree	57	28	45	94	34	36	58	62	414
	28.2%	6.8%	46.4%	24.3%	30.4%	66.7%	39.5%	28.7%	25.4%
TOTAL	202	414	97	387	112	54	147	216	1629
	12.4%	25.4%	6.0%	23.8%	6.9%	3.3%	9.0%	13.3%	100.0%

Chi square: 231.804/Degress of freedom: 14/Statistical significance: 0.00/Cramer's V statistics: 0.267

FINLAND

Agree with the standard family role of women, by segmentation groups

	<i>Node 1</i>	<i>Node 2</i>	<i>Node 3</i>	<i>Node 4</i>	<i>Node 5</i>	<i>Node 6</i>	<i>Node 7</i>	<i>Node 8</i>	<i>Node 9</i>	TOTAL
Agree	27	56	95	61	40	38	42	43	86	488
	42.9%	22.2%	21.0%	23.7%	15.9%	13.1%	53.8%	37.7%	36.3%	24.4%
Neither agree nor disagree	19	68	115	71	74	61	26	35	68	537
	30.2%	26.8%	25.4%	27.6%	29.5%	21.0%	33.3%	30.7%	28.7%	26.9%
Disagree	17	130	243	125	137	191	10	36	83	972
	27.0%	51.2%	53.6%	48.6%	54.6%	65.9%	12.8%	31.6%	35.0%	48.7%

TABLE 4 (Continued)

FINLAND

Agree with the standard family role of woman, by segmentation groups

TOTAL	63	254	453	257	251	290	78	114	237	1997
	3.2%	12.7%	22.7%	12.9%	12.6%	14.5%	3.9%	5.7%	11.9%	100.0%

Chi square: 155.495/Degress of freedom: 16/Statistical significance: 0.00/Cramer's V statistics: 0.197

*Dependent Variable:**question "Women should be prepared to cut down on paid work for sake of family"**Independent Variables:**Age**Gender**Number of people living regularly as member of household**Highest level of education**Main activity last 7 days**Household's total net income**Legal marital status**Own children/adopted/foster/partner's, aged 12 or under live with you**Plan having child within next 3 years*

Source: Author's calculations from the data from the European Social Survey 2004 for Spain and Finland

age, sex, number of people living regularly as member of household, highest level of education, main activity last seven days, household's total net income, legal marital status, own children/adopted/foster/partner's, aged 12 or under live with you, plan having child within next three years. All the variables that a priori could be relevant to explain why a certain family model is favoured were introduced into the analysis.

Before we explain the analysis of segmentation, it is important to remember that although in Spain 55.6% of the surveyed people believe that females should leave the labour market to carry out their role within the family, in Finland only 24.4% of the people agree with that expression. These comparative data indirectly show substantial differences between both countries regarding family change, gender relations, division of work and family policy models developed by both countries.

The model of segmentation has discriminated segments for both countries depending on the level of agreement with traditional female family roles described by the dependent variable, defining 13 segments for Spain and 16 for Finland. As for Spain, the most important aspect of the analysis is the explanatory power of the first variable appearing in the segmentation and referred to the level of education. As shown in Figure 4, three much differentiated groups are distinguished depending on the level of agreement and disagreement with traditional female family roles. The first group, formed by people with lower educational levels, shows a higher percentage of people agreeing with the traditional female role (72.40%), whereas people with university degrees are the ones that disagree more with the fact that females leave the labour market due to family matters (39.46%). These results show the potential of education to explain the persistence of traditional stereotypes in the collective social imagination of a society with a familist tradition; a society characterized by a limited development of family policies. On the other hand, the data highlight the fact that the transition towards a post-patriarchal family model in Spain is linked more closely to education than to age. However, in Finland, where the Welfare State has promoted generous family and gender policies favouring the process of individualization, the best variable to explain existing differences between groups is age. In fact, people over 51 years old are the ones that show more support to the traditional female family role (39.86%), whereas only 20.2% of people under 51 years old agree with females giving preference to family instead of work. These comparative results coincide with trends highlighted by other researches. Education stands out as a fundamental explanatory variable when accounting for differences in employment rates of females with children in southern European countries. Also, the educational variable is important in explaining the existing differences between life-styles and preferences towards family models and gender roles. It is necessary to

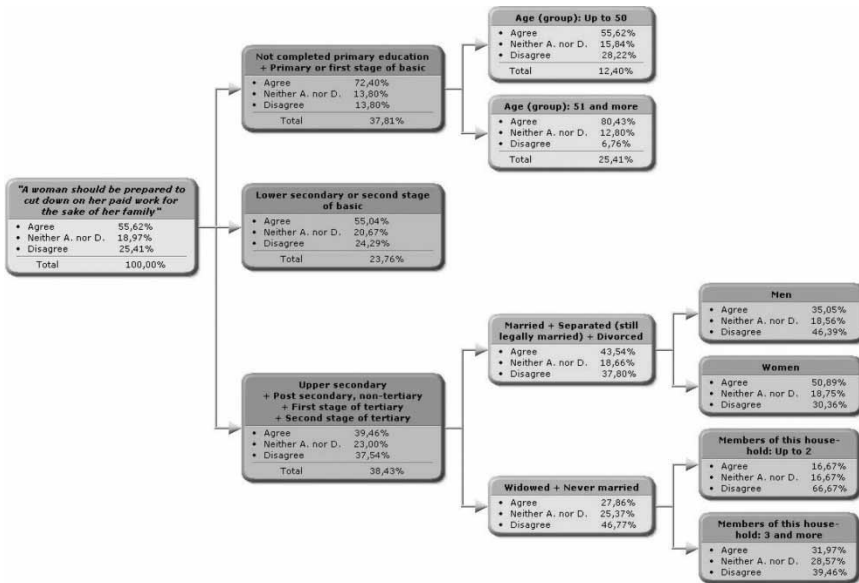


Figure 4. Opinion on the female work cut down – Spain.
 Source: European Social Survey 2004.

underline that the sex of surveyed people has no specific effect on answers in Spain.

Continuing with the analysis of segmentation, we see that from that first segmentation onwards, predictive profiles about the female role are created, which show very different socio-demographic characteristics for both countries. As for Spain, even if the surveyed person only has a low level of education, their percentage of agreement with the traditional female role is higher when they are over 40 years old (80.4%).

As for the group of people that has completed secondary education or higher education, there is a second sub-group defined by their marital status. In this case, singles are the ones that show less agreement with traditional female family roles. They represent 27.86%, whereas 43.54% of married, divorced or separated people do agree with females leaving the labour market to focus on the family. In a certain way, these results show different perceptions towards female roles among those who live or have been living in a couple and singles. This seems to indicate that married people have a different view about gender roles. It is a paradox that, among married and divorced people, females in particular agree with this role; precisely 50.8% of females, but only 35% of males. Regarding Spain, it is outstanding that in the last group, among singles and widows, those who agree more with the concept of females taking care of the family are those

who live in households with three people or more. This makes us think that they are people who live in family nucleus, as for example not emancipated young people or widows living with other relatives. Therefore, this information seems to indicate that family is an important ‘drive belt’ of traditional gender roles.

The results obtained for the Finnish case show substantial differences when compared to Spain (see Figure 5). In Finland, the best variable to predict factors regarding gender role and ideal family role is age. Taking into account that in Finland only 24.4% of surveyed people agree with the statement that females should leave their jobs to take care of the family, it is important to note that a higher percentage of people over 65 do agree with the traditional female role (39.8%). It is interesting to underline that in smaller segments, agreement with the traditional female role is higher among married males. These data seem to indicate that, among people under 65 years old, being married has a certain influence on their perception towards the female family and labour role, since singles and divorced people do not agree that much with the female family role. Following the interpretation, we see that for the segment of married population under 65 the variable that seems to define opinions regarding

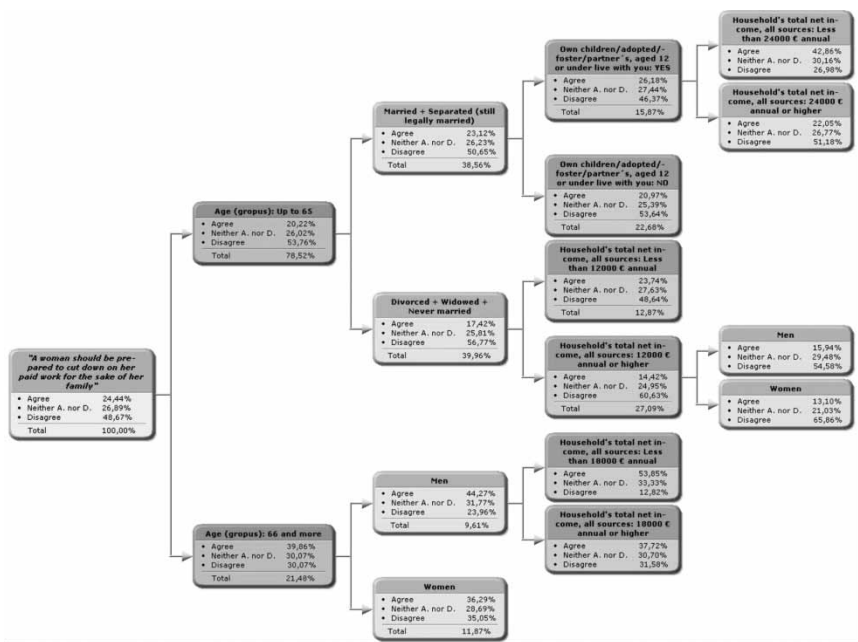


Figure 5. Opinion on the female work cut down – Finland. Source: European Social Survey 2004.

female role is *children*. Those with children consider that females have to leave the labour market to take care of the family in a somewhat higher percentage. Finally, it is interesting to highlight that among married people under 65 years old, the segment of population with children whose annual earnings exceed €24,000 shows lower percentages of agreement with the traditional female role (22%), whereas 42.86% of people with annual incomes under €24,000 consider that females must take care of the family. This shows that the household incomes have some kind of influence on the preferences regarding the gender roles.

It is interesting to highlight this information, as it shows similar patterns for the Spanish and Finnish cases: low incomes are related to lower educational levels that converge with attitudes and roles that are closer to the traditional family and allow for more traditional values, as happens in the Spanish case. In this regard, it is necessary to specify that Finland has longer parental leaves and better paid jobs, which could explain why having children is not a problem from an economic point of view in Finland, as they do not have to think about leaving the labour market, as it is the case for many Spanish women. In this specific case, low incomes would be more closely related to a low educational level, and therefore to the group of culturally determined preferences, where females are considered main care-takers, than in the case of an institutional context where parental leaves are equal for all citizens, independently of their level of income. In any case, in the first part of this paper it was decided to exclude comparative incidence of parental leave on attitudes and individual preferences for a certain type of family because, as shown in numerous studies, attitudes regarding employment, gender roles and family models do not depend as much on the duration and number of leaves as on the real possibility of re-entering the labour market without lowering promotion and qualification possibilities. For example, in the case of Spain, parental leave was extended to males a few years ago, but only few make use of this right, as males still consider themselves main earners of the family and believe that a long absence from work will hinder their professional career and promotion ambitions.

Continuing with the analysis of the segmentation in Finland, in the segment of divorced and separated population annual earnings are also a factor to take into account when it comes to interpreting differences observed regarding opinions. Surveyed people with lower incomes agree in higher percentages with the traditional female role. It may also be interesting to underline that with regard to the segment of people with higher incomes, males are the ones that, in a slightly higher percentage, think that females should leave the labour market to take care of the family.

Returning to the beginning of the tree, we see the group of people over 65 years old. In this group, differences are established depending on sex,

since males are the ones that agree in a higher percentage with traditional female roles. Furthermore, males with lower annual incomes within this group are the ones that most agree with traditional gender roles and family relations. Therefore, these results show that although most Finnish people accept the egalitarian model of family and gender relations, factors such as age, marital status and income are fundamental variables to identify the group of people that is against the egalitarian family model. This Finnish population group is composed of people over 65, generally males with low average annual earnings. As for people under 65, people agreeing in higher percentages with the traditional female role are married people with children and relatively low annual incomes when compared to average earnings in Finland.

To sum up, these results seem to coincide with the results obtained in other researches; they show that the family and gender model in southern European countries is completely different to the dominant model in northern European countries. In Finland, the egalitarian model of family and gender relations has been accepted and put into practice by the majority of population; only a minority of society, mostly older people, agree with the traditional family model. However, the analysis of segmentation in Spain shows that the situation in this country is much more complex. Education and age are some of the factors that differentiate values and attitudes towards family and gender relations. Spanish preferences or desirability towards the ideal model of family and gender relations are not as clearly defined as in Finland, where integration of females into the labour market is clearly favoured by people, independently of their family situation. As for Spain, ambivalence is what defines the desired ideal model of family; there is a struggle between the innate wish to accept that females can deal with family and work at the same time and the weight of familist traditions, where the family role is more important than the labour role.

In conclusion, the statistical analysis presented in this last part has shown that values and preferences regarding gender relations and family models are conditioned by individual factors such as age and education, which sometimes is in contradiction with interpretations explained by cultural and institutional determinations. However, cultural and institutional analysis are very useful in order to identify behaviour and preference trends on a macro-social or global level, and therefore the joint use of both perspectives is not only advisable, but desirable.

5. Conclusions

Most research carried out about the family change refer to economic and demographic factors. However, during the last decades, institutional and

cultural variables that link the access of females to the labour market and the change of gender roles, family policies and preferences have been introduced.

In the first part of this article we presented, on a macro level, how institutional effects (family policies) favour or limit the creation of new labour and family strategies linked to the development of preferences and values related to gender relations, female employment and family in different European countries. In the second part of the paper, we changed the perspective of the study, introducing the statistical analysis of segmentation in Spain and Finland with the aim of estimating the incidence of individual factors like age, education or income, among other variables, in terms of preferences for family models in two countries with very different institutional contexts (Spain and Finland).

In fact, the research presented in this paper points to the existence of substantial differences between two different Welfare States regimes (Finland and Spain) regarding processes of family change in the so-called 'context of individualization' in the late modernization. As for northern European countries, family change was defined by development of generous family and gender policies that have facilitated the incorporation of females into the labour market and the participation of males in household tasks. In these countries, the change in values towards family and employment and the change of the institutional context followed a parallel way. In fact, in Finland the transition process from a traditional model towards an egalitarian family model in the context of individualization has been accepted and put into practice by parents as well as by institutions, as reflected by the data regarding family policies and values and attitudes towards family, female work and household tasks. However, in southern European countries such as Spain, the transition process is ambivalent, since the weight of tradition and familist values is still relevant to the strategies adopted by people. Whereas slow progress is being made regarding gender policies and females are progressively entering the labour market, cultural values remain anchored in the traditional gender relation model, as the data related to strategies adopted towards division of household tasks, role of mothers and female workers and conciliation of family and career shows. On that issue, reciprocal effects of family policies on the shaping of preferences and values are to highlight. In fact, in Finland, family and gender policies are a reflection of collective preferences towards the egalitarian model of family and gender roles. On the contrary, in southern European countries such as Spain, weak family and gender policies put into practice until now could be both the cause and the consequence of the traditional life-styles still present in business practices, in conciliation strategies and in familist stereotypes regarding mother and female worker roles, division of household tasks and

expectations. This picture is completed in Spain with shortage and lack of childcare services and dependence of public administration.

The analysis of segmentation carried out for Spain and Finland, and presented in the second part of the article, highlights interesting conclusions related to the incidence of variables like education, age, marital status or income in relation to preferred family models in each country. In fact, analyses show that choosing a more or less egalitarian family model in terms of gender relations not only depends on the family policies developed by the State, but also on factors such as educational level or age. In the case of Spain, these findings are not new, as they were presented in a previous work through regression analysis with data from the European Community Household Panel (Moreno Mínguez 2007). The analysis presented in this article partially shows that individual factors neutralize the incidence of familist culture or restrictive family policies, as has been proven by the Spanish case. Here it is appropriate to note that education in Spain is an important asset (independently of the possible negative incidence family policies) that helps to create attitudes and preferences to favour the negotiated egalitarian family. The analysis of segmentation has shown that a higher educational level is linked to a higher percentage of people that favour the negotiated egalitarian family. However, the analysis carried out for Finland shows how important the institutional context is in shaping family preferences, as the existence of generous family policies directed to dual earner families has created consciousness among the population in favour of the egalitarian family, age being the best variable to explain different preferences, not education as in Spain. We can conclude by saying that education is a good example of capital and human resources accumulation to neutralize the effects of the reproduction of a familist culture in an institutional context that does not support the egalitarian family sufficiently; on the contrary, in Finland age shows that, thanks to the institutional support, most people participate in the idea of egalitarian culture, independently of educational level. The only exception is a small group of older citizens that, during the process of assimilation of social change, remained, culturally speaking, attached to the traditional family model of a single earner.

These results prove, on the one hand, the ambivalence of Spanish people towards processes of family change and, on the other hand, they reflect that an advent of the egalitarian family model is linked to high levels of education and marital status in southern European countries, whereas in northern European countries, where the dual-earner model is dominant, the agreement with the egalitarian family model depends on age as the main explaining factor for differences regarding the role of females.

As a final comment in this article, we could conclude by saying that the analysis of two cultural and institutional models that are completely

different, as the cases of Spain and Finland, shows that there are signs that existent institutional and cultural differences between European countries have started a process of convergence, where factors such as education or age acquire more and more relevance when it comes to individual's decisions regarding the chosen family model. This is especially important in the context of globalization and individualization, where individuals 'have to cope with the situation by themselves', with a given social structure and the available resources, and family models that have become more flexible and less solid. However, this fact is not contradictory nor mutually exclusive with the effects of determination that are linked to institutional actions such as family policies or culture in the context of decisions taken by individuals, beyond their real possibilities to choose. It is enough to say that both perspectives are needed and complementary in order to study the new reality of the so-called 'negotiated' family.

Acknowledgements

This research was co-funded by a grant of the European Commission under the VI Framework Programme's Research Infrastructure Action (Trans-national Access contract RITA026040 hosted by IRISS-C/I at CEPS/INSTEAD Differdange (Luxembourg). I also gratefully acknowledge the support granted by the Centre for Study of Populations, Poverty and Socioeconomic Policy (CEPS/INSTEAD) in Luxembourg. The author carried out most of the work on this paper while a visitor of the European Centre. I would like to thank to Philippe Van Kerm and staff for their support and technical assistance and Bernard Harris for his kind revision. Also to Enrique Crespo Ballesteros, for his help with the statistical analysis and the graphics.

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Almudena Moreno Mínguez took a PhD in Sociology from the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona in 2004 and she is currently Professor in Sociology at the University of Valladolid. She specialised in family issues, welfare state, public policy and comparative research on gender. She has taken part in several European projects on equality policies, gender and youth. She has written several books and numerous articles on these subjects. She was visiting researcher at the Universities of Oxford (UK), McGill (Canada), Göteborg (Sweden), Stirling (UK), Torino (Italy) and Chicago (USA). Her research work has been recognized with the International Award for Young Sociologists by the International Sociological Association in 1998, another research award by the Fundación Acción Familiar in 2004 and the extraordinary award of PhD in 2006.

Address for correspondence: Professor Almudena Moreno Mínguez PhD Sociology, Dept. Sociología y Trabajo Social, Universidad de Valladolid, C/Trinidad, 3 - Segovia 40001, Spain.
E-mail: almudena@soc.uva.es