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Final Report

Research Group Work Changes Gender:
"Work Changes Gender - Towards a new organisation of men's lives – emerging forms of work and opportunities for gender equality"
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0. Abstract

This interdisciplinary project researched the implications of changing working conditions on male employees in Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Israel, Norway and Spain. Standard work in the sense of full-time and non-temporary employment with social insurance is decreasing, and is possibly in a long-term process of erosion. Eurostat and other statistics prove that the unemployment rates of men and women have converged in the last decades, and the number of men in temporary positions is nearing that of women. The number of men working part-time in the EU has doubled since 1988, climbing from 3.1 to 6.1 million. At the same time, men and women's time use and household share is becoming more similar. Thus, the traditional breadwinner model is on the way to being dismantled, which has deep-rooted consequences for gender relations and the self-image of men. The purpose of this investigation was to identify men's strategies that both aimed at dealing with these changes and were oriented toward quality of life and equality.

In working life, it is not only women but also men not working a standard full-time schedule who are confronted with obstacles when seeking higher positions and careers.

Men who voluntarily deviate from the full-time norm are frequently exposed to social sanctions and devaluation, although differences across organisations and countries are also visible. A German employee who chose part-time work explained it this way: "The moment you decide to go part-time, you're dead career-wise. It would be naive to think or believe otherwise, to think that you still had a chance." These losses in potential standing, power and income are most often consciously accepted. The situation is different in some advanced organisations and countries and can be supported by a political framework. In Norway, for instance, one month of parental leave is legally "reserved" for men and is taken advantage of which is used 90% of the time. A lower assessment of the value of work and a higher one of family is experienced here as a source of satisfaction.

The predominant wish of fathers to be breadwinners and to raise their children can be supported by governments, is realized more and more by men, and is becoming a new model for fathers. One result of our interviews with men in caring situations is that the often new and manifold requirements and changes initially cause feelings of insecurity. Active fathers at the playground—"alone among mothers"—are viewed as oddballs, exceptions, etc. Their reaction is typically feeling insecure and "out of place" in their self-perception as men. Over the course of time however, this is dealt with through reflection and a change in social contacts and networks.

In Germany and Austria, men are subjected to a deep-seated traditional familial model combined with a gender-dualist division of labour. In these two countries, men have to fight against ideological stereotypes. In Bulgaria however, the men in this sample are very pragmatic about taking up caring duties in a society where women demonstrate a very pronounced orientation to professional work. This is not perceived as a threat to their masculinity concept.

Although they affirm and realize some elements of "new masculinity", many men are also representative, to some extent, of traditional masculinity concepts. Distinct new patterns of interpretation are not being integrated into a comprehensive understanding of a different, new masculinity. For men, this is not possible given current social circumstances. In many European countries, non-conventional individual self-perceptions held by men are not yet granted recognition. Thus, many men fall back on or persist in identifying with old role models that are, to a large extent, disconnected from the social reality around them. Nevertheless, contentment outside of the "normal work life" is possible if these forms of work and life are chosen by the individual. It is important to note that as long as flexibility is not combined with measures ensuring social security, the way towards reconciliation of work and family life seems to be obstructed.

Gender Mainstreaming in its conceptual form applies equally to men and women, but it is very difficult—even with this concept—for many actors engaged in equality processes to see men not only as "hinderers" or "supporters" of women-oriented equality policies, but also as a target group that is to be included and recognized as having its own requirements and interest in achieving equality. The men interviewed do not foresee equality policies as something that can potentially have an effect on them. Often they do not feel that they are addressed and that their interests will be heeded in the framework of equality policy. Thus they fall back on individual strategies.

Like women, men may require support, for instance in their search for part-time or family-friendly solutions, business contacts, and collective interest representation. Thus, the authors recommend an equality policy that offers a suitable framework for cutting down the background support for traditional and patriarchal – gender and masculinity patterns, in professional as well as in private life.

1. Executive summary

Important notes
A) The results will be presented in their entirety in the following publication:
Gärtner, Marc, Höyng, Stephan & Puchert, Ralf (Editors): Work Changes Gender. Men and Equality in the Transition of Labour Forms, to be published in spring 2005 by Barbara Budrich Publishers (www.barbarabudrich.net*);*
B) Quotations without reference are from the study's interview sample.

1.1. Background

Labour has become increasingly differentiated. In every European country, employment patterns have become very different from the traditional, normal labour conditions. In fact, less than fifty per cent of the workforce in Europe now have a full-time, long-term job with a traditional employment contract: patterns of employment vary widely across Europe, but the same trends are visible everywhere. It is noteworthy that this development has, to a large extent, resulted in changes in the characteristics of the male labour force. Up to now it has clearly been more common for men than for women to work under traditional, standard conditions of employment. But in recent years, the number of men facing discontinuities in their working career or working part-time is constantly increasing, and so does the number of women working full time.

Labour is a core part of masculinity and therefore changes in masculinities are connected to or dependent upon changes in working life. Work Changes Gender assumes that in a process where economic structures and values change, one can also expect a modification of the relations between the genders. This should, sooner or later, lead to a redefinition of the position of men in society as well as of the perceptions men have of themselves. These developments offer, however, an opportunity for improving the quality of life for both men and women.

An interdisciplinary team of different European regions - Norway, Spain, Austria, Bulgaria and Germany – and Israel run the research.

In a first step the team determined the influence of new forms of work on gender differentiation. The impact of gender differences in the labour force participation rates, the distribution on the different forms of work and unemployment rates were checked (WP 1).

In a second step, the institutional and organisational context of men's changes from two main angles was explored. By shifting the focus to institutions and organisations, new institutional patterns should be identified which have positive effects both on the equal status of the genders and on working life. These institutional patterns included new and viable forms of work, especially new forms of work organisation and new labour market adaptations. The aim was to determine factors playing a central role in defining 'what changes men' and to describe their features. The organisational research was carried out in ten companies. Here, expert interviews on different levels of the organisations, as well as in-depth interviews with employees in non-standard job arrangements have been conducted. (WP 2).

A third step contained a review of the various ways in which men cope with the growing frequency of discontinuous courses of employment. By in-depth interviews, connections between organisational/institutional structural conditions, individual background variables and self-concepts should be identified, particularly describe the framework for self-concepts leading to contentedness in the change (WP 3).

It is important to know that the sample of "men in transitions" is not representative, but strategic and explorative. We selected men who are interesting in terms of our basic questions, so we found evidence about this however disparate group of men: they are existing – in different regions and business lines, they have special requirements and face particular obstacles shown in the text below.

The following text shows the basic results of the project (1.2.) and gives policy recommendations based on our findings (1.3.).

1.2. Ways to changes

1.2.1. Labour market changes

The occupational relations of men and women in Europe approximate, in particular because male non-employment, unemployment and unstable work contracts increase. These unstable contracts, however, do not increase seriously. Even if part time work is still dominated by women, the men's share but rises above average.

On the labour markets researched, gender segregation is still strong. Connections with forms of occupation have to be tested more detailed. Up to now, we can only presume where there are professions and business lines with exceptionally significant changes for males.

Domestic and professional work are still unequally distributed between men and women, but couples seem to share the whole amount of work relatively equally. Some statistical factors increase the probability of men doing more chores, e.g. non-standard contracts and blue collar jobs.

Studies of typical sector balances and employment forms in Europe show considerable variation, exemplified by four main socio-geographical types of service-oriented economies, including work/family relations.

The structural changes in male employment have a significant influence on the emerging new patterns of the working life course of men. The trend for men seems to be moving in this direction: more men are in discontinuous employment through unemployment or higher professional mobility; men are working more in part time and temporary work, and men remain longer in education and retire earlier. As a result, some men have what was previously considered an exclusively female 'patchwork' biography.

1.2.2. What makes men change?

Structural changes

The labour shift from the production to the service sector is embedded in various life and labour changes, including the deregulation of labour law, social policy and tariff arrangements, which lead to growing social insecurity, the individualisation of social risks (cf. Beck 1986/1992) and a restructuring of life patterns in cases where traditional embedding structures like the family lose their cohesion.[1]

As global capitalism and markets lose their limitations, men increasingly face what Lothar Böhnisch (2003) calls "dis-limitation".[2] From this point of view, best practice resources such as the higher level of ambiguity tolerance shown by some of the men in the sample may represent a scheme of coping with growing insecurity in general, but also with the demands of a restructured work life, one in which the demand for "the whole man" is present.

This "holism" reveals an ambivalent process of increasing options for men on the one hand and growing demands placed upon them on the other.

The traditional "job only" focus of men may become weaker over time. The men in this sample show functional, adaptive strategies leading to higher life satisfaction while focusing less on their jobs. Although there are undoubtedly exceptions, these cases very much correspond to the more theoretical thesis of modernisation theory, in which men are divorced from their traditional breadwinner role (cf. Beck 1986/92, Böhnisch 2003). Work-life balance is becoming increasingly important in cases where the economic situation does not undermine self-determination. At least the preferences of men and women demonstrate this inclination (cf.: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions 2002: 92).

Diverse motives behind change

Initially, we developed three main criteria to give a direction for the change processes in masculinity and men's self-concept:

- Non-labour-based self-concept
- Gender equality
- Satisfaction with one's life

Although other criteria remained important, we focused heavily on a „work less/work differently" criterion. Among the men interviewed, there were a host of different motives for reducing their workload: partnership, realising caring duties or wishes, social commitment, or simply the "demand for a full life". The quality of life acquired in this way is consciously offset against a professional career.

A change in men's values is more clearly seen in the private sphere than in the professional world. In the European Union, a differentiation in the form of long-term relationships is taking place. The forms of life of the men interviewed were correspondingly diverse, ranging from single parents, singles, married couples, long-term relationships as well as communal living to homosexual and heterosexual "living-apart-together-pairs". These forms of life lead to different distributions of work in these communities and also to new forms of emotional reproduction.

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1 Sennett (1998) characterises the processes in post-modern societies with these key-words: high speed, deregulation of institutionalised patterns, social fragmentation, pluralized matrixes of interpretation. The longing for community is opposed by a hostile economic system (cf. Scambor & Scambor 2003).

2 German: "Entgrenzung" (Böhnisch 2003), i.e. breaking traditional limits of demands from outside, but also of options and potentials.

Differing male labour histories often are not due to voluntary changes, but due to pragmatic reasons. This is shown in the milieu of skilled workers (cf. Meuser 1998) or, in general, among blue-collar workers (cf. Ramos 2003). Here we see good household contributions or comparatively egalitarian partnership arrangements. In Bulgaria, our sample showed arrangements and gender relations in terms of household/job-relations, which also turn out to be rather egalitarian. The framework here was determined by economic instability and pressure on the concerned couples where a female partner was employed in better conditions than the male one. Nevertheless, the cultural resources of men are a very important prerequisite for an equality-oriented modification of the male self-concept.

Best practice examples show male life courses deviating from a model based solely on availability, breadwinnership and devotion to labour (in a one or one-and-a-half career couple), which are rather "non-ideological" and not driven by "longing for change" in terms of the male self-concept. It is not completely certain whether gender identities in these fields are very polarized or not.

These "patterns of difference" however, are not to be conceived of as a new concept of masculinity. It's more the case that it remains, to a great extent, isolated. It is often not connected with a demand for equality either. Most of the men we interviewed do not define the position of men in society in a new way. Although they affirm and realise some elements of "new masculinity"[3], many are also representative, to some extent, of traditional masculinity concepts. Distinct new patterns of interpretation are not being integrated into a comprehensive understanding of a different, new masculinity. For men, this is not possible given current social circumstances. In many European countries, non-conventional individual self-perceptions held by men have not yet been granted recognition. Thus, many men fall back on or persist in identifying with old role models that are, to a large extent, disconnected from the social reality around them. Nevertheless, contentment outside of the "normal work life" is possible if these forms of work and life are chosen by the individual. The sample, however, is not representative. It focussed on special types and individuals. It is clear now that they exist, even in regions and areas where there is scarcely a self-reflective discourse on masculinity (e.g. in Bulgaria).

Part-time workers and men in caring situations
Part-time work seems to shift from a phase (mostly in the early work biography) to a form of working life. It tends to cease being a transitory stage even for men.

In Germany - and here, above all, in the West - part-time has traditionally been a female concept within the male breadwinner marriage. In Spain, we see best practice examples of men choosing part-time contracts in order to balance their lives in a better way. It is not only men's modus of adaptation to structural changes that is the key to a work-life-change, but also the macro-cultural framework. Most of all, the organisational framework within a company— management, institutions supporting men in different work forms, and, not least of all, the informal culture—that is decisive here. It seems to work in such a way that "a willing man meets a willing company" to lead to the establishment of a more balanced form of employment. At the very least, an income attractive enough or sufficient for making a living is required.

1.2.3. Does work change gender or does gender change work?
In the course of this project, discussions arose about the question concerning the key to the change that leads toward gender equality: Is it more an issue of couple arrangements and the private sphere, or are structural changes in the labour sphere more important? From one perspective, men's household and private life relations were seen as primary,

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[3] *Types of men and masculinity differing from the traditional, patriarchal models.*

while working life and organisational structures were regarded as secondary. Households appeared as more dynamic than jobs, at least from a biographical perspective.

The other perspective states that the labour market tends to be rather flexible and demands flexibility from "working men" and employees. Organisations, on the other hand, tend to be inflexible. It proved to be difficult to find best practice companies in terms of the project's basic question. This was due to organisational aims and structures:

The sphere of labour in general (and, more specifically, companies) demand employees' availability, which historically has affected men to a greater extent (cf. Böhnisch 2003). It is the system of cultural sanctions stemming from the social surroundings (Holter 2003 calls this the "sprinkle system") as well as the male self-concept of expandability, availability and strength that still maintains the validity of the link between masculinity and labour.

1.2.4. What leads to changes in organisations?

In a very general sense, one can identify organisations as obstacles to equality-oriented changes among men:

- Professional segregation is internationally still high. What is remarkable but also mysterious is that while "male jobs" seem to be the same in all the countries we analysed, there were no identifiable "female jobs";
- Gender and organisational structure are closely related;
- Equality actors mostly focus on traditional models of masculinity;
- Expandability and availability are the premises of career options. This is not only valid for traditional masculinity and male life histories but still constitutes a very strong relation.

This leads to the question: What organisational logic promotes gender equality and the inclusion of a perspective regarding men?

Men have traditionally surrendered to labour and externalisation and often stand alone without institutional support when demanding "a whole life". Individually, they cannot adopt a new self-concept for themselves that is already in existence. Instead, they are forced to devise as best they can suitable individual strategies. Collective strategies seem hard to adopt.

Men showing a "lack of availability" and career-focus face not only a glass ceiling (usually described as a female career obstacle), but, because of their life choice, also effemination.

In general, the effemination of men is a cultural pattern of reproduction of masculine normality, shaped in the direction of hegemonic masculinity. But it also works through the economic sanctions or social devaluation.

The appearance of diverse strategies of men in our sample seems to show that the cultural pattern loses relevance, at least in particular milieus and perhaps in general; there are even social groups where "un-male" strategies of men (caring, emotionality) are more accepted than traditional masculinity. This is not caused by the differentiation of life styles. "Misplacement" can be described as a sort of temporary effemination. When social and economic devaluation becomes more and more of an individual risk outside of milieus and social groups, it should also become more and more de-gendered. This is indicated by the general decrease in standard work, a phenomenon that affects men at a proportionally higher level than women.

The quality of in-house gender equality policies seems to be only slightly dependent on the sector or the country, and more on the organisational culture. A pro-equality change among male employees on an organisational level appears to us to depend on three major points: the management, the informal organisational culture, and in-house institutions concerning men.

Best practice examples in the company sample, Coomundi and Hafner, are located in countries as different as Spain and Austria, which have different gender regimes and

cultures. Coomundi is situated in the field of social services and Hafner in classical production trade.

A gender policy concerning and including men needs change agents: "best practice men".

Political regulations can centralise marginal groups or change the labelling of egalitarian-oriented men from "exotic" to "quite normal". In Scandinavia for instance, the interest in gender equality was great enough to establish parental leave regulations that represent an unrivalled form of egalitarianism. Here, active fathers are not a marginal group, but normal.

Best practice men in this survey can be seen as change agents if their example were to be used in counselling processes and gender training. This process will lead them to become "change agents".

It is very important here to change the label of gender from "female" to "concerning both/all genders".

It is equally important to change the image of men from "the traditional standard" to "part of the gender system".

1.2.5. Men are gendered, not standard

Changes in labour and cultural patterns deeply affect gender relations, images and roles.

Masculinity is now in a field of tension between change, dissolution and persistence. In this situation, men often remain, admittedly, stuck in old models that are sharply divorced from social reality or, at the very least, are unclear. Thus, masculinity is distinguished by differentiation and, in relation to the real lives of individuals, by prominent aspects of everyday discontinuity and differing requirements (Gärtner & Riesenfeld 2004)

It is most of all a culture of work and policy based on gendered assumptions that prevents real changes in male life patterns or their perception.

Our study documents men who are content with their lives outside of standard employment conditions. There is a multitude of motivations affecting their decision-making process: partnership and family orientation, social engagement, caring work or simply the "demand for a whole life". At the same time, they face discrimination, being perceived and treated as exotics or exceptions.

The field of gender and the changes within it still seem to be mostly associated with women and femininity not with men and masculinity. By and large, political actors and organisational regulations still operate on the assumption of traditional models of masculinity. For men, the latter imply that they are committed to their jobs and careers. Adherence to these notions also causes men with alternative masculinities to be "marginalized" (Connell 1995), seen as exceptions, or are not perceived at all.

Many of these men seem to face varieties of effemination:

In terms of career opportunities, a glass ceiling prevents women as well as marginalized men from entering higher positions. Many men in caring situations seem to go through a phase of gender role irritation that makes them feel they are not "real men". These traces of effemination demonstrate the profound relation between masculinity and labour.

For a long time now, men have not been perceived as part of the gender system; they have simply regarded themselves (and were regarded) as the "human standard" (ref.: Walter 2004). Women on the other hand were regarded as the "gendered sex" (or simply as the exception from the male norm). This tradition helps to explain why men are not perceived as being addressed by gender policy in general and in organisations in particular. In our organisational research, we detected the following pattern: "Men in the company? They do not face problems" or "Men and equality? Never heard about it". At the same time, men are *the* labour standard gender, surrendering to work (cf. Böhnisch 2003, Gärtner & Riesenfeld 2004).

The "nothing wrong" attitude and the expandable male attitude compliment each other. These attitudes also reflect the entrenched notion of men being standard/not gendered. That

is to say, if men discursively leave the standard sector and "become more gendered", it should become more visible "what is wrong" in terms of work life (im)balance, one-dimensional life paths, stress, health and mortality, quality of life, etc. Perceiving men as gendered and men as problematic sex category causes what Ohlendieck (2003) –referring to Judith Butler - calls "gender trouble"—at least on an organisational level. This might be a necessary transitional phase in the process leading to equality.

1.3. Promoting pro-equality changes in gender relations and masculinity models

It was one of the major aims of this research project to point out "best practices" in terms of a pro-equality change among men in a work-life context. A triangle of good change criteria was developed, comprising "satisfaction", "gender equality orientation", and "distance from traditional masculinity standards". Individuals acting with new strategies and effecting positive change accounted for the majority of our documentation. On the other hand, there are lots of facts that describe a situation where men are left out of gender policy on a macro and organisational level. Starting with the thesis that "gender is female" and that men are traditionally seen as "standard, but not gendered", we argue for an different point of view in order to broaden the view of men and masculinities. In order to be effective, this perspective has to be implemented in several fields of policy and power structures.

"Good practices" were not a result of an ideological "break" with traditional identity nor an entire "new identity" or all-embracing "new masculinity" concept, but a sample of strategies pursued to cope with new situations in a good manner. Just because of these strategies depending on situations and contexts, conditional structures like state policy, labour regimes and organisation cultures, but also public discourses and cultural patterns build up a kind of opportunity structure[4] promoting a pro-equality change in gender relations. On individual levels and fields, we give recommendations, many of them derived from existing good practice examples. Thus, we can offer initiatives to be further developed as well as outlining ideas that describe what is currently happening.

1.3.1. Economy and state policy level
The labour market
Although, as we have argued, labour sphere changes promote beneficial modifications in gender relations and masculinity models, this not unequivocal. To some extent, changes can appear as obstacles or breaks. As we have shown, many pro-equality changes happen in the private sphere, while many companies remain neutral and passive to certain developments. Moreover, there are even real dangers for gender equality arising from labour market reforms, like in Germany. Here, social cutbacks and new job forms may lead to a re-traditionalisation of gender roles and arrangements (cf. Klopp 2003) (details).

A process towards pro-equality needs socio-economic security: Rühling/Kassner (2003) identify employment risks as the essential risk in the long-term practicality of new couple arrangements. Cultural developments in the West of the 1990s immediately suggest the conclusion that with the undermining of security, there is, in the course of the deregulation, a falling back on a purported basis of security that tends to rely on anti-modern concepts.[5]

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4 Opportunity structure as a term in the theory of action can be defined as a framework of rules people are encouraged to follow in order to achieve what is considered to be successful. In a structural sense, we might use it as a framework that provides opportunities for certain, intended processes.

5 Examples here are the boom in esotericism, nationalist 'sentimentalism' ('Rückbesinnungen') or gender representations that are based on a romantic critique of capitalism. For the discourse on masculinity, probably the most popular example is Robert Bly's *Iron John, A Book about Men*, published in 1993, but also Australian

As long as flexibility is not combined with measures for social security, the way towards reconciliation of work and family life seems to be obstructed. New flexible work forms are mainly chosen by men with either good financial or psycho-social resources or in case of great pressure or as a result of a life crisis (e.g. death of a partner, disease). Instead of promoting only flexibility among working people, the political institutions could foster security for employees in flexible working situations: German trade unions call this flexicurity. Adequate public compensation for the costs of bringing up children is necessary, so that financial losses do not have to be absorbed by over-work or taking on second and third jobs.

At this juncture, unions should step in and strongly demand a policy that reduces working hours across the board. Only this will allow for the work outside of professional employment to be done—namely, for the carrying out of the socially and individually necessary work of raising children, caring for the sick, and aiding the elderly. This would mean a shaping of the conditions of employment in accordance with their compatibility and coping with the vicissitudes of caring for those in need as well as dependents. The shaping of employment must not lead to a situation where discontinuous participation automatically relegates one to a career deemed to be inferior. Included here are measures that reduce the gender-related division of labour as well as the hierarchy of separate spheres of work.

Overtime hours should be cut back on or—contrary to current trends—made significantly more costly. Expenditure for children must be socially compensated so that financial losses are not made up for through more work (overtime, extra shifts, second jobs, etc.), which deny the employed 'individual(s)' an active presence in the family.

Although union representations of equal opportunity in relation to men are not sufficiently concrete or are marked by omissions,[6] their compatibility problems are increasingly being revealed in GM processes.[7]

Structural and family policy

Since gender models are a decisive factor for how men and women act and define themselves, it is not sufficient to limit initiatives to the socio-economic level. Normative questions concerning the family, parenthood and role behaviour (just to name a few areas) and corresponding measures aimed at degenderisation are necessary to render new and egalitarian models of gender-effective behaviour.

As in the past, German marital, familial and tax laws still support the image of the traditional housewife and female role model. This is clearly demonstrated in the case of divorce or the prohibition of marriage and adoption for homosexual couples. Beyond that, it is necessary to re-think custody laws in countries that emphatically favour the mother over the father, something that was reaffirmed in Germany to a considerable extent over the past year. To the disadvantage of both sexes, handed-down attributes (motherhood and inactive fatherhood) are being reaffirmed.

Biddulph (2003).

6 Cf.: Equal Opportunity. A Programm for Action of the DGB (German Trade Union Federation) and the Member Unions 2003/2004. Under 1. (field of action, occupational training/initial training) the culture of gender-specific career choice goes unmentioned and the perspective of an equality-oriented occupational preparation is totally unspecific. In advanced and additional training (2.) there is also no connection made to the area of men's problems. In any case, men are mentioned—albeit in a very general way—in connection with work schedules (3.) and (company) restructuring (5.).

7 The department in the service industry union Ver.di that is responsible for questions concerning gender and equal opportunity is working together with Peter Döge, a social scientist, on a study entitled: "Men Too Have a Compatibility Problem", (cf., Gesterkamp 2003).

Raising children is—as is the case with employment—not a personal pleasure but instead a socially necessary form of work. Based on these premises, it is important to make more funding and support available for child care facilities and all day schools and to construct the system of child raising along collective lines.

The Nordic regulations for father's leave should be considered seriously. Since 1993, 1 in 10 parental leave months has been "reserved" for fathers in Norway; since 1995, 30 of 450 days in Sweden; since 2000, 3 of 9 months are set aside for fathers in Iceland. This parity model was widely supported by the population at the time of its introduction.

Although one of this project's core recommendations, an equal parental law can only be a first step. We have also seen that fathers who reduce their working hours to spend time with small children almost always return to a full-time schedule after three years. Even with a better fathers leave system, policies fail in keeping active fatherhood without changing the work-life-relation of men. In politics and in campaigns, it is important that men are addressed in all their diversity. Men are taking different strategies to reduce working time or place work aside other components of life, and they differ a lot in their motives; we found caring-oriented (social) fathers as well as the socially obliged or the ones who want to have more time for partnership, others want to "stay alive", reflecting on the mental and physical risks of overwork. All these men may be door openers for change. Tax laws, where they promote the traditional breadwinner arrangement should be changed. At least in Germany, the spouses' tax splitting[8] reproduces a main income situation and fosters men's traditional role in the labour market.

Relevant indicators mentioned here should be included not only in gender-focussed management systems (like Gender Mainstreaming), but also in general labour and management standards like ISO 9001**[9]**. This is organised into sections like resource management, which includes the subsections human resources, infrastructure and work environment. All of these give space to include gender- and masculinity-focussed indicators, particularly human resources. In general, it deals with the quality and development of education, training, skills and experience.

We recommend three steps to be followed in this operation:

1. Review of existing indicators in human resources with special attention to increasing flexible employment forms and gender-equal opportunities for men and women.

2. Enriching of indicators about work-family balanced policies in the organisation.

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8 For spouses, both incomes are added, equally divided, and then the tax rate is determined. On account of this, one high earning person with one low earning marriage partner reduces their tax considerably (by thousands of Euros). A couple does not have to have children, but only be married to receive this benefit.

9 The mission of the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO) is to promote the development of standardisation and related activities in the world with a view to facilitating the international exchange of goods and services, and to developing cooperation in the spheres of intellectual, scientific, technological and economic activity. ISO 9000 is a set of standards for quality management systems that is accepted around the world. Currently more than 90 countries have adopted ISO 9000 as national standards. Many companies require their suppliers to become registered to ISO 9001 and because of this, registered companies find that their market opportunities have increased. In addition, a company's compliance with ISO 9001 insures that it has a sound quality management system, and that's good business. The standards apply uniformly to organisations of any size or description.

3. Enriching of indicators about flexible employment for men and women. Although it is not entirely possible to standardise equality and balance promoting measures, several standard indicators can be developed and evaluated in practice. By this, processes in organisations dealing with the discussed topics can be made transparent and controlled. This may be one step toward ending the "individual strategies only" structure we detected in companies.

Men in gender equality processes and the opportunity of gender mainstreaming
The perception of men's diversity documented in this sample may help to break up the stereotype of a uniform masculinity.

In most cases, interviewees had a positive attitude toward the equality paradigm. Experiences outside of the breadwinner model are part of these men's lives and are not only ideas they hold. It is reasonable to employ these good practice examples as possible strategies in public discourse and in gender-equality processes.

On the other hand, men often do not feel recognised in gender-equality processes[10]--not least of all because of the "women only" or "gender is female" paradigm. The traditional definition of gender-equality processes was to promote women's options in the male work world. Men willing to change had and still have to develop individual strategies ("find my own way"). The traditional role model of "a man who has to do it on his own" prevents the construction of solid collective structures.

A discourse on gender policy that integrates men's perspective will help men to change from an isolated situation to being "concerned ones among other concerned ones". This increasing self-awareness probably fosters solidarity structures used by men to change their situation.

The instrument of gender mainstreaming "involves both women and men" and "makes gender-equality issues visible in mainstream of society."[11] Taking men's issues more seriously would mean a particular promotion of change agents, integrating traditional female positions and activities such as child-care, part time work, or discontinuous work biographies. Occupational choices are often limited in a gendered way and therefore should be broadened. The limitation for men is very obvious in caring and educational professions. Men in these sectors would not only provide new experiences for men in general, but also new male role models integrating caring activities (see below, 1.2.3.).

1.3.2. Level of organisations
To a great extent, companies in this study's sample demonstrate a kind of gender equality rhetoric, legitimising the organisation's passivity in terms of including men in equality considerations and policies. The result is that men who are actively caring or leaving the "breadwinning track" are forced to take a solitary path. This might restrict changes to groups of men with well-working private networks. But we also detected the importance of organisational cultures. For instance, when fathers leave, or specific structures relevant to men are set up or at least accepted (or not discriminated against), they are taken advantage of by employees. Active management—

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10 At the Berlin conference "Forum Männer in Theorie und Praxis der Geschlechterverhältnisse" (on men's role in Gender Mainstreaming processes), July 9th to 10th, company and NGO gender experts confirmed that gender works as a "women only" issue; devaluing masculinity stereotypes were identified as obstacles blocking even willing men from taking part in these processes.

11 Cf. Council of Europe (1998): GENDER MAINSTREAMING. Conceptual framework, methodology and presentation of good practices. Final Report of Activities of the Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming (EG-S-MS), p.19.

highlighted in some of our cases—can clearly change the climate and increase the acceptance of caring men. Because of this, "good practice management" can be found in very different lines of business under different country-specific conditions. Austrian production company Hafner and Spanish social service organisation Coomundi demonstrate this point. Hafner's management argues that a reconciliation policy helps to realise the company's goals. Even in times of social cutbacks, a win-win situation is to some extent good for the company because it helps to achieve common goals.

Company-internal research on work satisfaction would be a good first step in improving an organisation's culture. It should focus on professions rather than gender, but analyse the data in a way that is gender-aware. It would be beneficial to use items like career options, availability limits, work-life balance, and stress. The relevance of the management role seems to confirm the top-down principle of gender mainstreaming. This makes the training of managers and decision-makers urgent: gender training in companies that leads to differentiated perspectives on men and masculinities has to start here. It is equally important that gender awareness be present at different levels in the organisations' hierarchies, as will be outlined in the following.

The company-institutional level

There are no existing contact persons for men nor any collective representations of their interests within companies. Due to this, problems and solutions become particularised, precarious, difficult and insecure. This mainly obstructs ways towards changes in gendered role models definitions and a collective social embodiment of these changes.

A basic precondition for improvement is to cast aside the traditional position of reducing men to "obstacles" to or "supporters" of gender equality. Men should be regarded as part of the company's gendered system and should be recognised as a group within the process, which has its own equality interests. Thus, all gender-relevant processes within the company and representatives steering these have to learn about the diversity of men in terms of living circumstances or models of masculinity and, through this, question their own stereotypes of masculinity and men. By doing this, the long-term reproduction of one-dimensional masculinity might be interrupted, enabling a wider spread recognition of different kinds of men and inviting men to be more a part of gender equality issues.

On a concrete level, men and equality have to become not only a "boss' issue", but also include works councils, human resources representatives, and department managers. Equality representative bodies should be composed of men and women to avoid a "women only" policy and atmosphere.

To support this process, further education in companies (or on an inter-organisational level) should focus on work-life balance, emphasising the relation between masculinity, work and health, which seems to be a topic worthy of specific treatment.

Public childcare should be complemented or supported by company kindergartens.

Working time accounts give employees more flexibility.

The reconciliation of work and life is not seldom seen as an expense factor, but it might be a win-win deal for employees and for companies.

The German-Suisse economy research institute PROGNOS has revealed some positive findings. Drawing upon "realistic" and rather "conservative" assumptions and exploring 10 German companies, they see a "25% Return on an Investment in Family-Friendly-Measures".[12] In optimal scenarios, this could reach 78%.

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12 Prognos 2003, survey by order of German Federal Department of Family, Seniors, Women and Youth on family friendly measures in companies: "Familienfreundlichliche Betrieb- Betriebswirtschaftliche Kosten-

The Prognos research group listed five central effects of family friendly policies:
- Reduction of staff turnover and a rise in the parental leave returnee quota
- Shortened absence periods directly following the end of maternity benefits
- Reduction of missed work and sick leave
- Improved personnel marketing
- Improved company image

1.3.3. The area of research and education

Educational policy

With regard to the individual attitudes and habitudes concerning labour, profession and life perspectives can be described as a product of a gendered socialisation. Boys and girls have traditionally been (and still are) taught to behave and act socially according to a gendered division of social spheres and work. Here, institutional education—most of all in schools—plays a major role. There are already some institutions and networks, e.g., the Network for Education Berlin/Brandenburg in Germany, that are becoming aware of the problem of gendered stereotypes in career choices and professional orientations, which are also strongly connected to gender inequality. First attempts have been undertaken in Germany to establish "boys' days" (derived from the already established concept of "girls' days"): projects which aim at giving boys the opportunity to act in "female" professional fields like health care, education and chemist shops (cf. Bentheim 2004: 6-10[13]). This might be a useful model to be implemented in other places.

According to UN-recommendations, more programmes should be developed "in schools and community contexts to provide boys and male youth with skills required for caring roles and domestic work" (UN Economic and Social Council: Thematic Issue before the Commission: The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality. Report of the Secretary-General, New York 2003).

It is nevertheless important to develop wide-ranging programmes which are not too normative and restrictive. A starting point could be a gender-related reflection in kindergartens, schools and vocational institutions on three levels:
- The structural and interactional biases within the institution: the gender of the leader, board and staff, gendered ways of interaction and career course stereotypes. Institutional role models are of particular importance for children and youngsters.
- Stereotypes and preoccupations in the minds of teaching and caring staff.
- Stereotypes and gendered models in educational and training media such as books, programmes, comics, puppets etc.

The aim would be to provide gender-sensible educational institutions, which work as a "companionship" for children and youngsters in preparing for their future. This may broaden the range of life options to include a multitude of life and labour models.

Gender research

Research can yield further contributions in the construction of a social world marked by gender equality.

Scientific research should especially focus on dismantling the static image of men and demonstrate deconstructively the cultural involvement and historical differentiation within formations of masculinity (cf. Holter 2003:197). Through this process, further and also purposive change will become conceivable, feasible and implementable. This also frees up

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Nutzen-Rechnung familienfreundlicher Maßnahmen".

13 Alexander Bentheim (2004): Die Boys und der Girls' Day, in: Switchboard. Zeitschrift für Männer und Jungenarbeit (Journal for Men and Boys Education), No. 166, Hamburg, October/November 2004.

gender research from the traditional feminist discourse about men, which is by and large static and in which men are designated as the problem. This traditional discourse—although a historically important impetus—opens up too few possibilities of change and does not offer enough movement and mobilization potential (cf. ibid: 93-101).

In the triangle of research, human resources development and gender policy, the cultural involvement and production of gender has to be understood more clearly, which calls for a transfer of knowledge of cultural studies and sociological evidence into practice. Within this process, an understanding of masculinity as historical, changeable, dependent from socio-structure and gender relations has to be broadened and deepened.

Without supporting anti-feminist backlash, investigations should be carried out focusing on the price of dominant masculinity concepts for men: Masculine socialization should also be perceived as a process of separation and repression; the theme of men as victims of violence should be taken up.[14]

Based on the development of survey methods, a new approach is necessary. Only a fraction of men and women live in a traditional nuclear family. Both families as well as employment have become differentiated. Unfortunately, a large part of empirical sociological research is still working with survey methods that presuppose a "normal family".

Critical modernization theories in gender research (e.g., Böhnisch 2003) can make visible the discontinuities in the work lives of men and women.

Gender research also implies that connections between structures in the work sphere and caring work[15] should not be restricted to women. Men too are caught in this compatibility dilemma and pay a high price for it.

1.4. Conclusion

Regarding labour market changes, new perspectives on the diverse forms of work will become important. A multitude of work forms is already the norm. This should be addressed and represented in politics in the context of what by now is referred to as "standard work".

Although not representing men in general, our "special focus sample" shows the situation, motives and problems of a particular (but disparate) group of men. However, in basic respects this group refers to the social situation of men and masculinity in general, which has an impact on gender policy: Having been established as "the human standard", men have developed into the "forgotten" or "hidden" gender subject. This is most apparent in the workplace. Organisations should evaluate and challenge their own demands and perspectives on men and women.

There is a perspective of a new work life balance for men that could foster all of society. In this perspective, men who demand a "full life", and those who are pragmatically dividing work in partnerships are not that far from each other. Beginning to take hold is the notion that sustainability—the opposite of dissipation of power, energy, work and maybe also lifetime—and resource orientation are both individually and economically a promising approach. Thus, human resources policy and work life balance can be seen as two sides of the same coin.

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14 Here, in particular, the northern European men research projects that are connected to NORFA (Nordic Research Academy) can serve as point of attachment and point of reference. The men research in the countries where it has been carried out shows just how political practice can be characterised by a strong orientation toward equality.

15 It is important to point out here that "caring work", in the narrow sense, means working with dependents (children, the elderly, the sick, handicapped people) and, in the broader sense, it also includes emotional reproduction, communication, relationships and partnerships.

This report cannot offer an instant remedy for social problems and challenges. But the authors think that urgent problems arising from restructuring of labour and the changes in life patterns require the recognition of the particular problems and perspectives of men.

Gender-equality policy and especially the European policy of gender mainstreaming can only be successful when these problems and perspectives are included.

It seems convincing that men in particular can take advantage of change processes. Their life expectancy in 1996 was 6.2 years less than that of women (Eurostat, Demographic Statistics, 1997). The suicide rate for men in the main employment age group in Germany was three and a half times higher than that of women (German Government Department of Statistics, 1998). During a series of conferences in Hamburg called "Men's Health" (1997), Jürgen Lüthje, president of the University of Hamburg, noted that men between the age of 30 and 50 are six times more likely to suffer a heart attack than women (Men's Health 1997). The connection between the general effects of men's habitus—and what's more, precisely risky behaviour—in the context of externalisation and separation is closer than assumed. Beginning to take hold is the notion that sustainability and resource orientation are both individually and economically a very promising approach, or as Berlin Interbank lawyer Georg H. put it:

> Yes, work and free time. When work and free time are proportioned in a healthy way --I can recommend that to anyone. Nothing is worse than when the people come here in the morning and are grumpy. They say: 'Ugh, I'm here again already.'.... If you say however: 'I'm here for three weeks and after that I have two weeks to live my own life,' that, that's so much more satisfying. It's because the end of this period of work is foreseeable. It's not just endless. People count: 'Ugh, my next vacation is in six or seven months! Until then I have to come here everyday, ugh. Only some kind of illness can save me.' That's a really shitty perspective on life.

2. Background and objectives of the project

Objectives of the project

The aim of this research was to improve our understanding of the structural changes that take place in European society, especially the new forms of work and their impact on gender equality. The study should describe the differentiated effect that new forms of work may have on the genders and define the best collective and organisational strategies for dealing with this change. It should pay special attention to the importance that discontinuity plays today in labour markets, whether in terms of temporary work contracts or part-time jobs. The aim was to determine the "best" ways of individually coping for men, for gender equality and quality of life.

Description of the project

An interdisciplinary team of different European regions - Norway, Spain, Austria, Israel, Bulgaria and Germany - run the research.

WP 1: With a first step the team determined the influence of new forms of work on gender differentiation. The impact of gender differences in the labour force participation rates, the distribution on the different forms of work and unemployment rates was checked.

WP 2: In a second step the research-team wanted to clarifiy the institutional and organisational context of men's changes from two main angles. By shifting the focus to institutions and organisations, it should identify new institutional patterns with have positive effects both on the equal status of the genders and on working life. These institutional

patterns included new and viable forms of work, especially new forms of work organisation and new labour market adaptations. The aim was to determine factors playing a central role in defining 'what changes men' and to describe their features.

WP 3: A third step contained a review of the various ways in which men cope with the growing frequency of discontinuous courses of employment. Connections between organisational/ institutional structural conditions, individual background variables and self-concepts should be identified, particularly describe the framework for self-concepts leading to contentedness in the change.

Expected results

The research team started with the hypothesis, that improving gender equality, the quality of life and the contentedness of individuals during such a transition will foster economic and social cohesion. Comparing practices of different individuals, organisations and across nations, the team wanted to suggest to transmit some advanced conditions of new constructive forms of handling work, home and reproduction choices and new self-concepts of men.

The present changes in working condition suggested that particularly men are developing a new culture in dealing with work and private life. There should be transitions in co-habitation and marriage, changes, that seem to be welcome in the terms of gender relationship. On the other hand the developments should cause, that hegemonic men concentrate even more on the job, and that the gender division home/ job get institutionalised again. As well contradictory should be the effect of changing in working life on the individuals. New masculinities should get more common, but the masculinity of successful businessmen and managers still should concentrate in the hegemonic positions of our cultures.

For the national and European social- and labour market politics it was expected to be important to realise the potentialities in combining the steering of the labour market and a policy that foster a better quality of life for men and women in a changing world. The research team aimed to spread according policy recommendations and perspectives in conferences, consultations and literature and internet.

Modifications from the original plan

WP 1: Following partner meeting discussions in 2001 and 2002, the consortium modified the goals of WP 1, Task 6. Rather than estimating the extent of discrimination in the labour market on the basis of the British Household Panel Data, a topic on which several studies have been already conducted, the participants decided to apply the technique of Correspondence Analysis to get a better picture of the main features of the new forms of work and of their implications for masculinity. The database will still be the British Household Panel Data. The Spanish team, which is in charge of this task, has just begun to work on the relationship between intrahousehold distribution of housework and employment forms.

WP 2: Task 2: Company accesses in the organisational research turned out different than expected. In Norway and Germany it was difficult to get access anyway, and in most countries the sample differed from a "best practice" perspective to a more average-oriented sample. This happened due to the fact that in terms of companies, masculinities and men are scarcely reflected.

3. Scientific description of the project results and methodology
(NOTE: Not designed for public dissemination – To be published soon)

3.1. Introduction

"In times of rapid change, men are hit by their weak spot: The central definition of a male life loses its basis, if labour is more and more socially devaluated or vanishes all together. The social cleavage between winners and losers of this process intensifies." (Lenz 2001: 384, translated by the editors)

1.1. Basic Ideas and Objectives

The rapidity of change and its unpredictability are among the most important characteristics of contemporary production systems. As a consequence, the forms of employment in Europe are also experiencing radical changes. Current European work regimes are characterised, on one hand, by a richer variety of life styles and by economically and socially beneficial developments, but, on the other hand, by insecurity, inconsistency and the risk of increased social marginalisation. Economically active individuals experience adverse pressures and uncertain outcomes. This has been accompanied by many changes in private life and gender relations. Therefore, in working life as well as in the private sphere, men face demands which are more complex and less foreseeable than some years ago.

The research project explored the main features of the changes that take place at work, to see how they may affect in a different way male and female workers, and hence how they ultimately will have an impact on equality between the genders.

Standard work is no longer normal

Labour is becoming increasingly heterogeneous, and the types of employment become more and more diversified. There is a profound modification in the way individuals, in particular men, live.

Up to now it was clearly more common for men than for women to work under traditional conditions of employment: the standard employee was male, had an unlimited labour contract, social security and worked full time. But in recent decades two main developments took place to challenge this model: the end of fordist regime of industrial economy and women's claims for economical and political power. As the predominant model of work faced a crisis, the traditional patriarchal model of masculinity did (cf. Holter 2003, Höyng & Puchert 1998).

As a consequence, the number of men facing discontinuities in their working career or working part-time is constantly increasing, while the number of women working full time increases. The inactivity rate of men and women is converging, and a large part of the fit for work males in Europe is now active in short termed, fixed term, reduced or precarious forms of labour or without labour at all. The male self concept used to be based on labour, but now a growing number of working biographies of men show discontinuity, insecurity or parallel jobs. A good illustration is provided by the city of Berlin, which, in this respect, may lead the way in the Federal Republic of Germany: here one can notice a 15.1% decrease in the number of men in standard work between 1991 and 1998 Only 40.3% fit for work males[16] age 15 to 65 in Berlin are now employed under standard conditions. The corresponding percentage for women in Berlin is 31.4%, with a decrease by 7.4% in the same period (Cf. Oschmiansky & Schmid 2000: 20ff).

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16 *We prefer this calculation base, because it - different than other studies – does not go from only the male work force, but for example includes unemployed men or students. By this, it shows that the concept of the full-time working breadwinner doesn't represent the whole social reality.*

The distribution of paid and unpaid work is relevant for gender relations. More precisely, the research project examined how the change of working conditions takes place.

Changes in work-life balance

Men's working lives cannot be adequately understood unless the job/home-relationship is addressed, with changes in the sphere of reproduction having a separate impact on working life. Analyses must relate changes in households of choice[17], utilisation of domestic time and family "time culture" to new ways of adapting to working life. In Western Europe, women's participation in wage labour rose from a however low level. Their rising share of the household income and the general societal and cultural impact of feminism and equal status politics have changed many men's views. The co-habitation/marriage sphere, like the sphere of wage labour, is in transition, and some changes have arguably occurred more rapidly here than in wage labour. New institutional patterns are emerging, with more diverse forms of masculinity[18]. associated with increasing equal status in private life which affect, among others, couples of either sexual orientation, parental duties, and rights following divorce. Especially in the area of caring and relational competence there is a growing emphasis on gender equality among men. These developments suggest that particularly men are developing a new culture in dealing with work and private life.

In terms of gender equality these developments involve risks but they may also open the way for an improved quality of life. There is a need for change among men in many areas of society, yet it is mainly in one area, concerning practical behaviour, where this change has so far been most evident: the increased time fathers spend caring for their children. However, the lack of men in caring roles, while less evident in the home and family sphere, has not changed much in working life, and today this is the primary reason for the continued segregation of working life in some parts of Europe.

Although new forms of work may seem to have beneficial economic and social repercussions, one cannot ignore the fact that at the same time there is a growing risk of social marginalisation and insecurity. Thus, if economic forces will result in new patterns of behaviour, one has to be aware of the fact that not all these changes are welcome by individuals in general, men in particular. There is likely to be a conflict between novelty and traditional stereotypes, whether they refer to the position of men at work or their role at home.

Male Change patterns

One may expect to observe a modification of the relations between the genders and this should, sooner or later, lead to "new types of masculinity", i.e., to a redefinition of the position of men in society as well as of the image they have of themselves. These developments include many risks for a social polarisation according to participation on work, but it offers, however, an opportunity for improving the quality of life for both men and women.

Current masculinities are based on gender relations and particularly the gendered division of labour (cf. Connell 1995). Masculinity is strongly linked to the "men as breadwinners" ideology. What is the concept of masculinity men have themselves? The "ability to deal with disequilibria" is more and more considered by economists as being in the modern world the essence of human capital. We ask, whether all the men are able to take an active attitude

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17 The term is used as an alternative to "family" or the heterosexual norm of partnership. It takes the multitude and diversity of partnership and household models or lifestyles into account, which have become more visible in the last three decades (cf. Adam 2004).
18 Cf. Connell (1995), who conceptualises masculinities as alternatives in forming up the masculine gender.

towards pervasive change or whether some, if not many of them, are content to passively react to pressures. And if different types of responses exist, what are the determinants of this variety of reactions and what should be done to promote such an "ability to deal with disequilibria"? How do changing labour markets affect the self image of males?

1.2. Current state of research on masculinities

Gender is about to get into mainstream of humanities and social sciences. It is a category describing social inequality, similar to ethnicity/race and class. It organises the social logic and culture (Kroll 2002: V). Masculinity in the sense of gender is not a biological destiny, but refers to society. Research on masculinity nowadays is part of an open, relational gender research. It is less a discipline but a cross section task, which reflects the seemingly gender neutral settlements in every science. Thus, it gives a part of the picture of gendered social relations.

Internationally most striking was the approach of Australian sociologist Robert W. Connell[19]. Looking for the connection between gender, power and action, he identifies a double way of male oppression: power over women and competing masculinities, which are various.[20]

Anthropologists and Ethnologists contributed to this approach by describing the variety of masculinities in comparing different cultures (Völger & Welck 1990, Gilmore 1990). In Germany; referring to Bourdieu's habitus concept[21], Michael Meuser (1998) looked for cultural patterns of interpretation of masculinity by men themselves. Male gender habitus refers to a pre-modern kind of identity, which seems to be inreflexive and inreflectable. Most potential of gender equality practice Meuser detects in the milieu of skilled workers.

In a church-funded representative survey in Germany, Paul Zulehner and Rainer Volz (1998) compared the attitudes of a large number of men. They distinct four types of men: 19 % traditional, 37 % insecure, pragmatically 25%, new men (which differ from traditional patterns, are open to gender equality in their attitudes and practice) are 20%.

First European representative surveys on men and gender equality appeared in Scandinavia: Jalmert (1984) in Sweden and Holter (1989) in Norway explored such topics as male friendships, work, family and social life. The English research on masculinity connected to the tradition of the Anglo-American "(new) men`s studies" organisational studies (Witz 1992; Hearn 1989; Cockburn 1991). In Germany, Ralf Puchert and Stephan Höyng (1998) followed this direction with a research on men's reaction towards the process of equality in working life, finding out, that it is seldom the attitudes, but the informal behaviour of men within a male-bound labour culture, which prevents women from becoming equals.

Strong impulses and trends come from Anglo-American and Scandinavian countries, but also from the Netherlands, where research on masculinities is traditionally related with an effective equality policy, particularly in terms of family and labour market. For Scandinavia, Øystein Holter (2003) currently discussed a change of male role models based on new work-life relations and a new care-giving-model.

Since the concept of gender mainstreaming is established in the European Union, an increasing number of socio-economical surveys on labour market are published from a gender specific perspective. The first international European research project on men,

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19 Connell, Robert W.: Masculinities, Cambridge 1995.

20 Further important inputs for research on masculinity arose from queer theory and deconstructivist debate (see Butler 1989, Maihofer 1995). By this, the dualistic gender order but also the monolythic understanding of each of the genders became scrutinized. Indisputable attributions to men and women now seem antiquated and become more and more replaced by a focus on gender diversity.

21 Pierre Bourdieu's (2000) concept of habitus tries to describe interrelations between a power-related social frame work and the social sense of the subject, its actions and long-lasting habits, also referring to gender-power-relations.

CROME[22], did explorative international research exchange on men and masculinity, emphasising the topics home and work, social exclusion, violence and health.

In the area of European labour market research, gender specific differentiations are relatively usual, but the focus here lies on women, while men are based as standard. Although feminist labour researchers show established networks, a deeper analysis of male behaviour and strategies are seldom.

1.3. Structure of the project

By carrying out research on men in the context of changes in their working conditions, this study attempts to determine the main features of the new forms of work. We try to show to what extent discontinuities have become central in contemporary labour markets and whether they refer for example to part-time employment or temporary job contracts. This study examines the implications of such innovations for all aspects of men's individual life, including the images men have of themselves. On the basis of such an investigation, recommendations will be made concerning "best practices", that is the ways that seem best to cope with such transformations and foster an improved quality of life.

The project examined male work and life conditions divided into three sub-projects:

Subproject 1 displays an examination on an socio-economical level. Data from panel surveys, European and national labour market and household statistics on different aspects on gender aspects of labour markets and men's work life have been analyzed. Main questions affect the labour force participation rates of men and women, the distribution between part-time and full-time work, between temporary and permanent work-contracts. Longitudinal surveys, stressing the impact of changes on occupational segregation and wage discrimination or working patterns among young workers have been taken into account, but are published more detailed in a different publication[23].

Subproject 2 presents the organisational research, which was carried out in companies interesting in different respects of our initial questions. Here, expert interviews on different levels of the organisations, as well as in-depth interviews with employees in non-standard job arrangements have been conducted.

Gender equality has become an important issue in organisations and enterprizes, not only on the level of equality representatives or labour legislation. Even personnel managers and human ressources representatives began to discuss the topics of equality and diversity from the company's perspective.

But how are men perceived in this respect? And if the "male breadwinner" model is challenged by structural changes - is it changing in the organisations?

Subproject 3 is made up by the socio-psychological investigation. The analysis focuses on the ways men cope with pervasive change in general, growing discontinuities in their employment career in particular. The subproject discusses the repercussions that such transformations have on the image that men have of themselves, and more generally of their self-concept. Particular emphasis is given to men in caring situations. Policy recommendations as to what could be fostered as "good practice", that is as good ways of "coping with change" and "dealing with disequilibria" are made at the light of the investigation.

The change of work requirements all over the world is not to stop by political institutions, even by European politics. But instead of promoting flexibility of working people, the political institutions could foster security of the workers within flexible working situations: flexicurity (a

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22 *Critical Research on Men in Europe. The Social Problem and Societal Problematisation of Men and Masculinities, Research Network funded by the European Union Framework V.*

23 *International Journal of Manpower, 2005, Vol. 26, no. 1, Emerald Group Publishing Limited.*

term of the German trade unions, claiming that flexibility requires social security). Examples, how this can correspond to interests of a lot of workers as well as employers we will show in the following book.

3.2. New Forms of Work and Gender [24]
3.2.1. Labour force participation rates and part-time versus full-time work
As indicated in the original research proposal, this task was meant to be "a relatively standard analysis of the changes that have taken place over time in the labour force participation rates of both genders and in the relative importance of part-time versus full time work for both men and women. Using a new database presently under preparation in Israel where household data from the 1995 Census, data were matched from the previous (1983) Census and coming from these same households.

A very detailed and quite fascinating study of the Bulgarian labour market is attached to this report. This study is entitled "General Characteristics and Analysis of the Situation in the Bulgarian Labour Market as regards Gender Equality" was prepared by Professor Margarita Atanassova and Professor Lalko Dulevski.. Following a retrospective survey of the macroeconomic conditions in Bulgaria during the period of transition that followed the fall of the communist government, the author of this study provides a very detailed analysis of the labour market conditions in Bulgaria. The latter were characterized in the 1990s by a constant decrease of the labour force and of employment. In fact there was a decrease in public sector employment and an increase in employment in the private sector, though the net effect, as indicated, was a decrease in overall employment. During this period many plants were closed. The almost constant rise in the official unemployment rate during the 1990s does not include the so-called "discouraged people" who gave up the hope of ever finding a paid job. This rising unemployment is however not uniform across the country as in some regions unemployment is decreasing while in some others it increases. An important distinction should be made between short run unemployment (less than 11 months) and long term unemployment (12 months or more). It appears that during the 1990s the long run unemployment represented more than half the number of unemployed individuals. The highest rates of long run unemployment are evidently to be found among those aged 65 or more. Amongst the young (15 to 24 years old) the unemployment rate is (relatively) lower. Unemployment seems to be larger in urban than in rural areas. Not surprisingly the rate of unemployment decreases with the level of education. As far as gender differences are concerned, in the year 2000 the rate of employment of men was 8.5% higher than that of women while that of their economic activity was 10% higher. As expected there are more men employed in agriculture, fishing, forestry, building and other industries, transport and communication and state administration. Women's employment is more concentrated in the service sector such as in activities related to tourism, catering, banking, finance and insurance, education and health. It turns out that 75% of the employers are men, this percentage being equal to 65 for self employed. Women represent evidently the majority of unpaid family workers. The percentage of women not participating in the labour force is throughout the 1990s higher than that of men. This participation rate depends however on the marital status. It is also higher for married men than for married women. Gender however does not seem to have an impact on the unemployment rate.

The report on the Spanish labour market is entitled "The Spanish Labour Market, Flexibility and Conciliating Family Work" and was prepared by Dr Paco Abril. It starts by highlighting

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[24] *The report of this section was prepared by Jacques Silber , Department of Economics, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel.*

the main differences between the Spanish labour market and other labour markets in the European Union. First, in the year 2000, unemployment was much higher in Spain (an unemployment rate of 14.1% versus 8.4% on average for the European Union). Second this differential is not the same for men and women. Second the gap between the European Union and Spain is relatively small for men (7.3% versus 9.7%) but much higher for women (9.9% versus 20.5%). Third unemployment is particularly high among young individuals (less than 25 years old). Fourth in Spain one out of every three working individuals works under a labour contract with limited duration. Fifth and last the percentage of individuals working part time is much smaller (8%) in Spain than in the European Union (18%). The report of Dr Abril offers also an interesting survey of recent reforms concerning the number of hours of work per week (towards 35 hours) as well as of some legislation that was passed to attempt to reconcile work and family. Fertility at present seems to be very low in Spain essentially for two reasons: a lack of job security and a shortage of housing.

The report on the Israeli labour market includes two studies. The first one, entitled "Gender Issues in the Israeli Workforce", was prepared by Professor Shoshana Neuman of Bar-Ilan University. The second one, entitled "Work History Patterns of Israeli Men and Women", was prepared by Professors Shoshana Neuman and Adrian Ziderman, both of Bar-Ilan University. The first study starts by stressing that during the 1980s and 1990s the share of the labour force employed in agriculture declined, industrial growth decreased while the service sector expanded substantially, specially the public sector. In the late 1980s and early 1990s there was however an important growth of the High-Technology industries. The overall labour force participation rate rose form 51.5% in 1990 to 53.7%, the corresponding figures for men being 62.3 and 62.1% (a slight decline) and for women 41.1 and 45.7%. Women's participation in the labour force is evidently higher, the younger the woman. Women work most frequently as clerks and in professional/technical jobs, often in fact in the public sector. The participation rate for single females is higher than that of single men (46% versus 40.3%), probably because of the length of the compulsory military service (3 years for men versus 2 for women). The opposite is true for married individuals (a participation rate of 59.7% for married women and of 73.8% for married men). The labour force participation rate rises evidently with the level of education of the individual. The participation rate of women declines with the number of children and is smaller, the younger the children. As far as status at work is concerned, the percentage of female managers is clearly higher, the younger the age group. Finally in Israel 23.3% of the workforce was employed part time while 14.5% of the Israeli workforce was employed part time on a regular basis. Note that 74% of all the individuals working part time are women. In Israel there is relatively quite a large mobility from part time to full time work and conversely.

The second study is based on a matching of the individual records of two Censuses, those of 1983 and 1995, this data set being later on merged with data on the working profile and the wages of these individuals, data that were gathered monthly by the National Insurance Institute. Such a unique combination of data sources allows one to take a very close look at the different types of work interruption, since there are differences in the timing of these interruptions, in their length and numbers. It appears that among those working, 19.4% of the men and 10.5% of the women worked continuously throughout this 12 years period. Among those who experienced work interruptions, 14.2% of the men and 9.6% of the women had only one interruption. Similarly 6.1% of the men and 6.0% of the women had only two interruptions. The total duration of these work interruptions is relatively small but note that 42.4% of the men and 53.4% of the women had more than two interruptions. Among the individuals not currently working, 22.8% of the men and 31.3% of the women have never worked. It appears that 77.3% of the men and 68.6% of the women not currently working have experienced work interruptions at some time in their life.

3.2.2. Wage-earners versus self-employed

As originally planned, the aim of this task was to focus on Switzerland and prepare an analysis based on the annual labour force surveys that have been conducted during the past decade in Switzerland. The study was conducted by Dr Jean-Marc Falter, a member of the Labouratoire d'économie Appliquée of the University of Geneva. This study entitled "Self-Employment Choice of Men in Switzerland" is attached to this report. Here is a summary of its findings.

As indicated by its title, this study focussed on the choices made by men. In Switzerland during the past decade male self-employment has grown at a faster rate than female self employment. Switzerland is quite an interesting case because it "discovered" high unemployment only in the 1990s. It is thus an ideal case for studying the impact of a labour market shock on the occupational choice of individuals. In the first stage of the study an attempt was made to investigate the determinants of self employment propensity. It appears that the individuals who choose self employment are not more efficient in this kind of work than wage workers, had the latter decided to be self employed. Self-employment thus does not appear to require specific entrepreneurial skills. On the other hand wage workers seem to have an absolute advantage in their kind of work, this implying that the most efficient workers prefer to be wage earners. The study indicates also that income differentials are the most important factor governing sectorial choice so that any variation (e.g. higher personal tax rates) in the relative returns in wage work as compared to self employment could have an impact on the rate of self employment.

The study looked also at the transitions to self employment. It appears that unemployed individuals have a higher probability of becoming self employed than employees. However, once a distinction is made between different types of self employment, the story becomes more complex. The unemployed have in fact a lower probability of becoming self employed with employees but a higher probability of working on their own account. This raises evidently questions as to the quality of the self employment jobs created by individuals who had been formerly unemployed. As far as the transition from employment to self employment is concerned, the study shows that the characteristics of the firm in which the individual worked, such as its size, or the hierarchical position the individual held in this firm, have a sizeable impact on this transition.

A separate chapter is devoted to survival in self employment. It appears first that the probability of remaining self employed increases with duration. Secondly self employment can hardly be seen as a step between unemployment and wage work as previously

unemployed individuals have a lower probability to leave self employment for wage work but a higher probability that their spells in self employment ends with unemployment or inactivity. The final stage of the study compared the well-being of wage workers with that of self employed individuals. Most of the workers appear to wish to become their own boss and the results of the statistical analysis show indeed that they are not mistaken in so far as self employed report higher satisfaction at work. This greater satisfaction stems however from non pecuniary benefits rather than from income. Self employed individuals report in fact a lower satisfaction with their pay so that income may be a factor preventing individuals from becoming self employed.

3.2.3. Temporary versus permanent work contracts

As stated in the original proposal the idea was to use panel data made available by the C.E.R.E.Q. (the French Centre for the Study of Qualifications) in Marseille. The study was prepared by Dr Said Hanchane, a researcher at the Labouratoire d'Economie et de Sociologie du Travail (LEST), a research center located in Aix-en-Provence, France, which is in close relationship with the CEREQ, the agency that collected these data. The detailed report of Dr Hanchane, entitled "The socio-demographic determinants of the professional insertion of youth in the labour market: a longitudinal analysis by gender, based on French data" is attached to this report. Here is a summary of the findings of this study.

Its aim was to analyze the diversity of the paths followed by the youth in its transition from school to employment, to attempt to formalize such a heterogeneity of individual experiences and to check whether there were gender specific profiles. The basic idea was that youth is not simply a characteristic of a given age group but really a stage in the biography of an individual. The study used a longitudinal approach to identify the temporal dependence between such factors as the family or the educational system and the insertion in the labour force. The analysis was based on a survey conducted in 1997-1998 which covered the first five years of active life of a cohort of young individuals who left the educational system in 1992, whatever their diploma. 27,000 individuals were surveyed by phone during an interview that lasted on average 35 minutes. The topics covered during the interview were the schooling cursus, the professional experience and the demographic and social background of the individual, as well as the characteristics of his/her workplace. A distinction was made between those individuals who worked under a contract with fixed duration and those who were employed under a contract with undetermined duration. The information on the relationship of the individual with his/her parents and his/her decision to cohabit with another person was available only for the month in which the survey took place. The study used a probit model with random effects and the database was a rotating panel. The following conclusions were derived.

First it appears that the unobserved heterogeneity is significantly higher among females, whether they work under a contract with fixed or undetermined duration. There are also important gender differences as far as the impact of the diploma on the probability of woking under a contract with fixed duration is concerned. Whereas the diploma, provided the individual holds at least a "baccalauréat", has, for males, no effect on this probability, among women this probability rises with the level of the diploma. Two explanations have been put forth. Either one argues that this is a proof that women have more often precarious jobs since even their access to a less stable job depends on their diploma. Or one believes that working under a contract with fixed duration is in fact a strategy chosen by women to obtain a temporary job. This will allow them later on to benefit from good social conditions and be in a better material position to leave the labour market to take care of their family. Another interesting finding is that individuals who stated that they stopped studying because they wanted to work, have the highest probability of finding a job. It thus appears that individuals who make clear decisions as far as their professional life is concerned, seem to be more

motivated and successful. On the other hand individuals leaving the schooling system because they are "fed up" with school seem to be detected by firms and are often left aside by them. This is also true of those individuals who leave school to "cover their needs". Finally as far as the relationship between the individual and his/her family is concerned, it appears that individuals who stayed for a prolonged period of time in their parents' home, started later and took more time to go through the various stages characterizing entrance into adult life. This was particularly true for those with a low level of education. Another finding is that women who are the most "disconnected" from the parental home have the highest probability of working under a contract with a fixed duration. In other words it seems that women first decide to leave their parents' home, then to "live as a couple" and finally to find a job, even if it is a precarious one. This appears to be a specific female behaviour. The decision to leave an autonomous life is taken earlier by women and is also considered as a more serious step among them. Note also that the decision to leave one's parents' home has also a stronger positive effect on the probability to work under a contract with undetermined duration for women than for men. Having children decreases evidently the probaility to work, whether it be under a contract with fixed or undetermine duration. It thus appears that women without children are more dynamic in looking for a stable job but also that employers are more open to offer them such a position when they have no children.

3.2.4. Unemployment rates

Two main objectives have been covered: first, a comprehensive review of the flexible market literature related to unemployment duration at a EU level, and second, a first and very preliminary analysis of the BHPS data. The attached document presents a first overview of the relationship between market flexibility and unemployment duration both from a theoretical and empirical perspective. All this work has enabled us to:

- learn how temporary employment is used as a means to achieve greater market flexibility.
- characterize temporary workers and temporary jobs at micro level and answer the following questions: Who gets a temporary job? What are they worth? And where do they lead to?
- document which are the main macroeconomic implications of temporary employment
- analyze how and which household related factors affect the likelihood of getting a temporary job: by gender, and by age.

3.2.5. Occupational Segregation

This report is probably one of the first attempts to make an international comparison of occupational segregation based on compatible occupational definitions. Occupational classification varies often from one country to another. The Luxembourg Income Study Project, a pioneer in building data sets on income distribution that could be compared internationally, started in recent years to gather also data one employment so that it is now much safer to make international comparisons of segregation by gender, for example. The second novelty of this study is that it borrows techniques from the income inequality literature that could help better understand what kind of segregation takes place. More precisely a normative approach to the measurement of segregation is proposed that gives the possibility to decide whether more attention should be given to "female-intensive" or "male-intensive" occupations and how much weight should be given to these extreme cases. The segregation index that is used is the Gini Segregation Index but, in addition, a generalized or normative Gini index of segregation is introduced that allows to derive additional insights from the rich data set that is used.
The study assumes that an occupation is considered as being essentially a "male occupation" if more than 90% of its workers are males. Similarly an occupation will be

defined as essentially a "female occupation" if more than 90% of its workers are female. Although the cross section of data that were available do not cover the same year, they all refer to the same decade, that which covers the period 1989-1997. This decade will be called in short the 1990s and it was assumed that, as far as occupational segregation is concerned, changes occur slowly over time so that an international comparison of results was still possible. Naturally any firm conclusion should be drawn with care.

When the whole labour force, including employees and self-employed, is taken into account, there are four occupations that appear to be male occupations in the majority of the countries for which data were available. These are the armed forces, listed in six countries as "male occupation", extraction and building trade workers, listed in all countries as "male occupation", metal, machinery and related trade workers, listed in eight countries as "male occupations" an finally drivers and mobile plant operators listed in nine countries as "male occupations". No occupation is listed in at least five countries as a "female occupation". However, if one takes a look at part time employees only, it appears that there is no occupation in which most of the part timers are men. There are however three occupations in which most of the part timers are women. These are life science and health associate professionals, listed in seven countries, customer service clerks, listed in six countries and personal and protective service workers, listed in five countries.

When looking at the values of the Gini segregation indices, it appears that segregation is highest in Switzerland (first rank in the case of employees and self employed as well as in the case of employees only) and in Norway and the United Kingdom. Note however that for these two countries the data are those of 1990 and 1989 respectively while those of Switzerland are for the year 1997. The lowest levels of segregation are observed in France (eighth rank), Poland (ninth rank) and Spain (tenth rank). Among part timers (employees) segregation by gender is highest in Spain (first rank), Hungary and Switzerland (same rank) and lowest in Luxembourg (ninth rank) and Poland (eighth rank). One may want to note that the difference between the results obtained among employees working full time and those working part time is highest in Luxembourg (first rank) and Poland (second rank) and lowest in Spain (ninth rank, and here segregation is higher among part timers) and Hungary (eighth rank).

In this summary, as far as the estimations of the normative segregation index are concerned, we limit our analysis to the case where the parameter δ is equal to 100. A systematic comparison was made between the case where the "prior distribution" is that of males and when it is that of females. The methodological Appendix in the complete report gives more details on this distinction. When both employees and self-employed are included in the sample, there is not much difference between the countries when the "prior distribution" is that of males. This implies that in all countries there are occupations that can be considered as essentially "male occupations". On the contrary there are important differences between the countries when the "prior distribution" is that of females. Whereas in countries like Hungary, Norway and Luxembourg there are occupations that should be considered essentially as "female occupations", this is not true for countries like Spain or France. The gap between the value taken by the normative segregation index in both cases ("prior distribution" is that of males or of females) is highest in Spain and lowest in Hungary and Norway.

When only employees working part time are considered, there is, here again, no important difference between the countries in the values taken by the normative segregation index, when the "prior distribution" is that of males and this index is quite high. In other words, in all countries, there are occupations where part timers are essentially male workers. There are however big differences between the countries in the extent to which there are occupations where part timers are essentially female workers (the case where the prior distribution is that of females). Whereas in countries like Poland, Hungary or Norway there are occupations with

essentially no male workers, this is not true for countries like Sweden or France. The gap between the value that the normative segregation index takes in these two extreme cases is highest in Sweden and France and lowest in Poland and Norway.

To conclude, the normative approach to segregation measurement that has been proposed in this study allows deciding first whether one concentrates one's attention on occupations with a low females/males ratio or on those with low males/females ratio. But it gives also the flexibility to determine the weight one wishes to give to these extreme cases of very male- or female-intensive occupations. The empirical illustration, based on data for ten European countries during the last decade of the twentieth century confirmed that additional insights are indeed obtained when such a normative approach is adopted.

3.2.6. Wage discrimination and life time learning and training

As originally planned the database used here was the British Household Panel. Two reports are attached to this summary. Professor Xavier Ramos of the Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona, Spain, is the author of both studies. The first one is entitled "Domestic Work Time and Gender Differentials in Great Britain 1992-1998: How Do "New Men" Look Like?" Here is a summary of its findings.

Previous empirical studies of the allocation of time of husbands and wives in Great Britain show that gender differentials in domestic and paid work time decreased up to the mid 1980s, but remained substantial. Such a positive trend towards gender equality was explained by increases in market work for women that were offset by decreases in domestic work, and decreases in market work for men that were offset by increases in domestic work. Did this gender equality-fostering trend continue in the 1990s? Are women still doing much more housework? Do married (cohabiting) and single individuals behave very differently?

This study analyzes the intra-household distribution of domestic work time in Great Britain on the basis of the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) covering the period 1992-1998. New evidence is thus provided about gender differentials in domestic work time, market work time and total work time.

This BHPS evidence has good and bad news for gender equality. The good news is that domestic and paid work time differentials are decreasing in Great Britain, albeit very slowly. The bad news are that, by the end of the 1990s, the differentials are still rather large, and that men show a much more stubborn behaviour towards housework than women. In other words they appear to be less sensitive to household characteristics that do affect women's work time allocation decisions.

The picture that emerges from the BHPS data is in fact rather 'traditional' and well known. On average, women (whether married or single), as compared to men, work more at home and less in the labour market. As a result, men and women end up doing almost the same amount of total work hours. These average figures conceal however a much richer reality that points to a less gender equal division of total work time. For instance, conditional on labour market status, average total work time is larger for women than for men.

These results are coherent with some basic findings predicted by economic theory and well documented in the existing empirical literature. The findings of this study confirm that there is a negative relation between housework and paid work time. Women perform a greater amount of housework but men spend more time at work. It seems also that younger women spend less time in housework. These results indicate clearly that Britain is still far away from a gender equality situation. The comforting side of this pessimistic conclusion, is that the trends in domestic and paid work time over the 1990s show a narrowing in the gender differentials, thanks mainly to the changing behavior of women and not of men. We find that for men housework hours and paid work time remained rather constant during the 1990s. However, for women total work time decreased monotonically during this period. This reflects a reduction in housework hours that outweighs the observed increase in paid work time.

An important message that seems to emerge is that women are far more flexible than men. Men hardly react or change their behavior in front of (certain) situations that clearly affect women's time allocation decisions. For instance, the housework time of women increases when children are present in the household whereas the impact of children on the husband's time is negligible. Similarly younger wives do much less housework than their older counterpart but younger men spend much the same amount of time on housework as their father's generation. The housework time of husbands depends mainly on the amount of time they spend in the labour market, the paid work time done by their wives and their relative contribution to total labour income.

Given this situation, who are the "New Men"? That is, who are the men who show a higher contribution to housework time, relative to their wives'? Our results suggest that we should be looking for a rather peculiar profile: young (born after 1951), highly educated blue collar employees, holding non-permanent contract, whose labour market time and income shares are relatively low and whose wives also posses high educational levels.

In other words certain characteristics seem to increase the probability of being a "New' Man". As one would expect, the labour market time and income shares are important determinant factors. In particular, both shares are negatively correlated to the probability of being a "New Man". Education is another important factor that has a positive effect on this probability. The education level of the husband, however, is not as important as that of the wife in determining the probability of being a "New Man". This is because more educated wives spend less time doing housework, and not because their husbands spend more time on housework. It appears also that men belonging to younger birth cohorts contribute more at home in relative terms. This suggests the existence of some cohort effect. Finally, there are two job-related characteristics that also help explain the probability of being a 'New' man. The most important one is the type of contract of the husband. Non-standard contracts, that is, fixed-term or seasonal contracts, have a positive effect on the probability. Thus, new forms of work may help fostering greater gender equality.

The second study prepared by Professor Ramos is entitled "Intra-household Distribution of Household Chores and Childcare and its Relationship with Forms of Employment in Britain, 1991-1998: A First Exploratory Analysis". This report that includes numerous but fascinating tables looks first at the allocation of time to childcare. It appears that two thirds of the women are responsible for childcare while only 3% of the men respond that they are responsible. 50% of the men spend less than 4 hours per week caring for their children while a high percentage of women spend 10 to 19 hours per week on this task. In two thirds of the households it is also the woman who cares for ill children.

As far as grocery shopping, cooking, cleaning and washing/ironing is concerned, the distribution of household chores depends on the chore but in no case is the contribution of men greater than 10%.

The report looks also at the forms of employment. In 60% of the cases the standard form of employment is full time employment with a permanent contract. The second most common from of employment is part time employment with a permanent contract (13% of the cases). Self-employment concerns 11% of the active population while 5% of the workforce holds a fixed term or a temporary contract. Part time employment is much more common among women while self-employment is more common among men.

It appears that for males working full or part time does not matter very much for the allocation of household chores. The type of contract however has an impact since those with a permanent job help less at home. Not surprisingly, the proportion of women who are the main responsible for the different domestic tasks is higher for part time than for full time workers.

As a whole there is overwhelming evidence that women are far more flexible than men in the labour market to accommodate family requirements and commitments.

3.3. Men's work and family reconciliation[25]

3.3.1. Overview of the labour market

Introduction

The European Union has an ambitious plan for creating "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world", with improved social cohesion and gender balance. Women's labour market participation should exceed 60 percent in 2010 (56 percent in 2002) and the employment rate should be close to 70 percent (62 in 2002).

The European labour market is characterised by diversity - but also inequality. A main divide runs east-west. The economic level (GDP per capita) is around three times higher in the west than the east. A second, weaker divide runs north-south, with the level around one and a half times higher in the north than the south. Likewise, the unemployment level varies strongly, from around 20 percent in Bulgaria to around 4 percent in Austria and Norway in 2002. The huge variation in labour market conditions point to strategic goals like how to create competitive diversity, more equal standards and improved social cohesion.

The labour market consists of buying and selling of wage labour, hiring people to do jobs. The economic relations constituting the labour market – recruitments and exits, formal or informal contracts - are associated with many social and cultural relations, including people's ideas of free time and work. It can be hard to see the market's limit or how it connects to society at large. This is easier if we look at the "requirements for labour", especially, what feminist economic theory calls "the sphere of reproduction", including birth, socialisation and services needed over each generation.

The labour market is closely linked to welfare and reproduction in society. If young fathers and mothers are not given sufficient opportunities to balance production (mostly wage work) and reproduction (partly non-wage work), production and wage work will suffer. Historically, this conflict is known primarily from England in the mid-19th century, where early industry had created so much overwork with long work days and poor conditions that the state and enlightened bourgeoisie agreed to set a minimum, a "normal working day". Through the 20th century, average weekly hours in the labour market gradually fell to around 37-40 hours.

Although women and children threatened the male hegemony in the labour market in the first industrial phase, further industrial development created a reversal and returned men to the front seat of economic development. Women were gradually excluded from industrial labour and increasingly recruited into more "feminine" jobs instead. Through most of the 20th century, the institutions and traditions of the market were built in a culture of masculine hegemony and gender segregation.

In this perspective, it is not so strange that the labour market can become relatively gender-conservative, compared to changes elsewhere in society. Perhaps "gender equality pays", and improves profits, as shown by some new studies (e. g. Nutek 1999). Yet such new arrangements can remain in the fringe and not become an effective norm. Working life has a lot of structural and institutional inertia, not neccessarily due to direct gender discrimination in the workplace, but rather as an effect of how the market has developed over time in its institutional environment.

Today, these traditional structures are challenged. Employees are increasingly expecting work/family balance and gender equality. Many reject the traditional breadwinner/homemaker

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25 *This section is mainly based on the initial analysis of Oystein Gulvag Holter, with contributions by Vera Riesenfeld and Elli Scambor.*

ideal, in favour of an ideal where care and career should be combined by men as well as women. A man should be able to "be" family, not just "have" a family along with his job (Holter & Aarseth 1993). Active fathering is often focused in this context, although it should be noted that men's increased caring includes other relations also, like friendship and gay partnerships. Opinion polls show that the new gender-equal norms sometimes push aside individualist norms. For example, many men may agree that domestic care work should be more credited in employment, even if the men themselves would probably profit less than women from it (Holter, Ø 1994).

It is well known that gender equality ideals often run ahead of actual practices. Researchers have noted an "in principle" gap – a man may be in principle 'for' equality, but his action is another matter (Jalmert 1984). On the other hand men who are sceptical to general promotion of gender equality often support more concrete measures, and say yes to statements like "men and women should contribute about the same in wage work and domestic work" or "parents of small children should have a six hour workday" (Men in Norway 1988 survey; see Holter 1989).

Although some have interpreted gender equality as a force among women only, with hostility or ambivalence among men, research from the last decade has shown that men's practices have developed too. Domestic work and other tasks are more equally shared between men and women, and the gender gap in time use has been reduced (Gershuny, J 2003). In some countries in Europe, reforms have been designed to meet these new trends, for example, a part of the parental leave reserved for fathers. Considering that these reforms rearrange 'core' gender relations, it is especially interesting that the new role is taken up by a majority of men (Holter, Ø 2003). Evidence from northern Europe especially shows that if gender-equal reforms are clearly designed for men as well as women, with a fair level of wage compensation e g for parental leave, most men will use them.

In view of the large changes in gender roles over the last decades, the title of our project may seem a bit misleading. Does work change gender? Or is it more the other way round, that gender changes work? Our project findings often show that work organisations can be rather 'backwards' compared to gender equality development in the households and other parts of society. Before we jump to conclusions, however, we should remember the inertia factor mentioned above. Working life must be seen in a larger historical context. New gender and family norms do not arise from thin air, and working life change is in fact an important part of their background.

Main European trends

Compared to other economic regions like the US or Russia, European development has been characterised by relative egalitarianism. Although increasing globalisation and (in some cases) a weakening of the welfare state led to some increase in social stratification in Europe 1980-2000, the difference is still quite large. According to the Gini Index, a standard measure of income distribution, Europe remains considerably more egalitarian than the US or Russia. For example, Germany had a gini index value of 0,252 in 2000, compared to 0,368 in the US and 0,424 in Russia (LIS 2004). Relative social equality can be seen as a potential for developing competitive diversity.

The largest changes in the labour market in the last decades concern service work. We see a long-term increase of services (both production-related and reproduction-related or social services) and decrease of other forms of work. A hundred years ago, the great majority of wage workers produced physical things; today, they produce services. The change has been especially great in the last generation. Generally, the richest economies also have the highest service proportion of the GDP. This is linked to increased education and more

information-based jobs. It is generally agreed that education and competence are main productivity factors in Europe (EC 2003).

The rise of women's participation is another main long-term trend. It is partly connected to the rise of service work, and also to part-time work, as described later. The increase is especially noticeable in education. In the majority of European countries, more young women than men go on to tertiary education, and in more than three quarters of all countries in the region, the majority of degrees at university degree level are awarded to women. In many countries, the percentage of female graduates is more than 60 per cent. The effects of increased education and employment participation among women can be traced throughout the labour market. In the US, "the narrowing of the gender wage gap approximately one percentage point a year since 1980 is particularly significant, since during the 1980s and '90s the overall wage level rose little and the wage inequality between skilled and unskilled workers grew. Without enhanced skills, women's wages likely would have fallen further behind men's. However, market pressures have helped to generate corrective mechanisms, and as the costs of denying employment to women mounted, prejudices were set aside." (Venable, D 2002)

The rise of women's labour market participation is a many-sided process – not just an increase in numbers, but also in competence levels and decision-making. In Europe, this has been a gradual process where setbacks have been observed (e g eastern Germany[26]). Yet it has profound effects on the family and household sphere as well as society and culture in general.

The women's share of the household income has increased, and on the other hand, the men's proportion of the household and caregiving work has increased. Gender balance in household income and household work can be seen as two key change factors, promoting change elsewhere in society. As mentioned, men and women's time use have become more similar over the last decades. In Norway, for example, men's share of household work rose from 33 percent in 1980 to 41 percent in 2000, and in Netherland from 24 to 32 percent in the same period. Generally the level rose by 2-4 percent each decade. The trend is international; in the US the level rose from 34 in 1985 to 37 in 1999. In Europe, Eastern Germany may be an exception to the rule; according to one study, men's proportion declined from 42 percent in 1990 to 33 in 2000. The most gender-equal countries in Europe have the greatest household work balance, and the balance increases with more gender-balance in household income and other resources. Recent studies also find that men with gender-equal role attitudes contribute more than traditional men. However, even if the men's proportion gradually rises, much of the gender segregation in the household remains (Zulehner 2003).

This is connected to the partial progress of women in the labour market, especially, part-time work as an intermediate position of women, today's 'reserve army'. The countries with the highest female employment rate also have the highest proportion of women in part-time (e g Norway, Netherlands). In some countries like Germany the proportion of women's part-time increased in the 1990s. Yet the main long-term trend is an increase of long part-time and full-time employment among women. The rise of women's part-time e g in Germany was connected to the overall expansion of women's employment and increased convergence of female and male employment rates. In the countries with the highest female employment rates (e g Sweden, Norway), the proportion of part-time among employed women has declined since the early 1990s, due to a transition to full-time. In 2000, the proportion part-time of women's employment in western Europe varied between 17 percent (Spain) and 41 percent (UK). It was as high as 55 percent in Netherlands, a special case, with a higher rate also among men. It was much lower in parts of Eastern Europe (e g 1 percent in Bulgaria). Although increasing slightly among men, part-time remained a much smaller portion of men's

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[26] See e g time use and housework studies like Gesoep ..... and Künzler ..... ref **

employment, between 3 and 9 percent in western Europe (12 in Netherlands). Men's part-time employment rose especially in central Europe (Germany, Austria), but at a low level (e g from 2 to 5 percent in Germany) and connected to the overall expansion of part-time in the country.[27]

Part-time remains a disfavoured position in the labour market. At this point, European conditions seem quite similar to those of the US, where an overview study concludes: "In 2000, one-quarter of all women employees worked part-time, compared to less than 10 percent of men. Nearly 85 percent of those who worked part-time did so for non-economic reasons; e.g., to spend more time with the family or to further their education. In general, married women would prefer part-time work at a rate of 5 to 1 over married men. While part-time work usually increases flexibility, the part-time worker loses out on promotions and pay increases. Part-time work also tends to mean lower hourly pay. Shorter labour stints and part-time work contribute to the probability of working for the minimum wage. Nearly two-thirds of minimum wage earners are women." (Venable, D 2002). In Europe, the wage penalty of part-time is larger in countries with a big proportion of women in part-time, than in the countries with a small proportion (EC 2003:111). The increase of part-time among women in some European countries seems to consist mainly of increases among young and older women – rather than the mid-group in the child bearing stage. Part-time is frequently connected to education. This strengthens the interpretation of part-time as a slowly changing, but transient position of women in the labour market. The rising education level points towards an extension of long part-time and a transition to full-time among women in the coming years.

A rise of men's part-time may contribute to this picture. "To a greater degree than is commonly assumed, it [part-time work, especially in the service sector] is an expression of the general attitude towards work that places more emphasis on reconciliation of family and working life, education and voluntary activities. Accordingly, part-time employment in Germany might be considered as an evolving and developing form of employment that is mainly based on the voluntary decisions of those who are in work." (Hagenkort et al 2003:22). Netherland, with the highest level of part-time in Europe, can be seen as an advanced example of this trend. Part-time is most frequent in service jobs, and the expansion of service employment and part-time has been associated.

Clearly, the future of part-time work and the future of women's employment are two different things. The long-term trend towards a convergence of men's and women's work and time use patterns need not mean full-time for all. Today, however, part-time remains a socially sensitive labour market category with a strong gender link. For example, Netherland with its high part-time level is also one of the countries with the highest gender gap in wages in the EU, although not as high as Germany and the UK (EC 2003:111).

At the other side of the picture, parts of the labour market are characterised by overwork, especially among men. Official statistics are often poor measures of the actual extent of work. A usual finding in qualitative studies of men is more work than officially reported, e g in insecure jobs and career jobs. The current project confirms this, and shows some of the conditions of masculine overtime culture in working life.

Gender contracts and employment types

Men's overwork and women's part-time can be seen as parts of one arrangement, a 'gender contract' that structures paid and non-paid work.[28] Currently, a mixture of gender contracts

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[27] *These paragraphs are based on various European statistics collected as part of the WP2 work. See further WP2 report, in print.*
[28] *This view is now common in gender studies. For early gender contract theory see Pateman, C 1988 (even*

and work/family arrangements exist in Europe – stretching from a single provider (breadwinner) type to a dual provider type. The latter is characterised by increased gender equality, including lower levels of violence against women (Walby, S 2003). The different gender contracts are related to diverse and sometimes conflicting institutional and welfare developments.

European welfare developments can be divided into three main types – a northern model with strong welfare support e g parental leave, a mixed continental model, and a more traditional southern model where the family, rather than the state, is supposed to supply most of the labour-relevant welfare. Fertility statistics show that this diversity is not working very well, especially not in southern Europe, with population decline.

Besides these different institutional contexts, the labour market itself is characterised by uneven developments. Not surprisingly, "social factors" are more in the foreground in social work than in technical work (a well known tendency confirmed in our project also). Some parts of working life are more breadwinner-oriented than others. For example, a recent international study of executive business leaders, mainly US nationals, found that "executive men and women have lives at home that are very different from one another: 74 percent of women surveyed have a spouse/partner who is employed full-time while 75 percent of men surveyed have a spouse/partner who is not employed." (Galinsky, E et al 2003). The breadwiner proportion is probably somewhat lower among European leaders. New opinion polls indicate that breadwinner ideals with father absence and other connected phenomena are becoming less popular among leaders. Indeed, our project results suggest that active fathering now has so strong support that it can be seen as a new "hegemonic" ideal.

The labour market is still quite strongly gender-segregated in Europe, although there has been a decrease of segregation associated with women's upward mobility, e g in formerly masculine occupations and middle class jobs. Some countries with a high level of female employment also have a high level of segregation (e g Norway).

The 'gender geography of Europe' consists of the economic, political and cultural balance between men and women. It is easy to see how this varies especially along a north-south dimension, with the general rule that gender equality is further developed in the north. However, the picture is more complex, with distinct regional labour/gender configurations and welfare/family developments, e g a central European configuration and a western Meditteranean configuration. Further complexity comes in, regarding the east-west dimension, since women's high economic participation in the east has been combined with a rather low social position in other terms (e g politics). In the former eastern block, occupational segregation was considerable, women were poorly represented among party leaders, the gender distribution of power in the family remained one-sided, and many women faced a double burden of job and home work with longer total hours per week than women in the west (Monee 1999:viii).

Studies of typical sector balances and employment forms in Europe show considerable variation, filling in the picture outlined above. A recent study of the European service sector found four main socio-geographical types of service-oriented economies, including work/family relations (Bosch & Wagner 2003: 487pp). These were (1) a southern type with a traditional industrial sector with a small service proportion and limited demand for production oriented services, plus a traditional family structure and weak welfare systems; (2) a northern type with a technically innovative industrial sector with high proportion services and large demand for production oriented services, plus a modern household structure (women employed) combined with high welfare system development; (3) a continental type with a modern industrial structure with high production oriented services proportion, but a partially traditional family structure that keeps social services on a level below the Nordic level, and

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earlier explorations in e g McKinnon , Holter, Ø 1981), recent versions see e g Hageman & Åmark .

(4) an Anglosaxon type with a high level of specialised production oriented services, especially in finance. Despite a traditional household structure, consumer services reached a mid level.

Another recent analysis of employees in the EU identified three main clusters among men and three among women. The three clusters among the men were (1) a high quality employment cluster (highly skilled, full-time, supervisory or intermediate decision level); (2) a low quality employment cluster (younger age, low skilled, full-time, often temporary and low-paid), and (3) a small heterogeneous cluster of younger, temporary and part-time employed men, mostly in the public and services sectors, with higher than average education and access to job training. Among women, the three main clusters were (1) a high quality private sector cluster (highly skilled, supervisory/intermediate, mostly full-time but also part-time; (2) public sector employment cluster (relatively younger, highly skilled, sometimes highly paid women), and (3) low quality private sector employment – a large cluster of women in low-skilled and low-paid work. In terms of transition to unemployment, these clusters differed considerably, with much higher rates of transition in the low-skilled clusters (cluster 2 for men and cluster 3 for women. Cluster 3 among men showed signs of special circumstances. "Not only were transitions for this cluster into unemployment four times higher than for the high quality employment cluster [cluster 1 among the men], but also transitions to inactivity were much more frequent." However, generally, the greatest effect of low quality employment were found among the women, especially the low paid women. It is indicative that many of these women quit work in the 1995-99 period – as many as one third in Denmark, Germany and Spain. (EC 2003:139-40).

The evidence shows that women's labour market positions still often have a more transitional character than men's positions. This pattern is related to the "sprinkling system" or "breadwinner preference" that still exist in the labour market and society at large (Holter, Ø 2003). The European labour market is still partly regulated by non-balanced gender institutions and single provider (breadwinner) benefits, for example in the taxation system (e g Germany). The argument that promoting gender equality means unacceptable state intervention should be seen in this perspective. There is in fact a strong state intervention and social regulation of the labour market already, in terms of gender, although often perpetuating inequality, rather than promoting equality. Even when formerly gender-segregated regulations like maternal leave become formally gender-neutral (parental leave), they are often interpreted and practiced in gender-segregated ways by the experts and public at large.

In summary, important changes characterise the European labour market, along with huge variations and a mix of old and new elements in work organisations. More information-intensive work, with more service-oriented production, is a main long-term tendency. The improving education and labour market status of women is also important, although partly undercut by part-time work and renewed segregation.

Some researchers have argued that the changing conditions of work are undermining the traditional male breadwinner role. Work becomes more insecure, fragmented and less stable as a basis for identity (see e g Keupp 1999). So far, however, men's role as the main provider continues to exert a strong influence in large parts of Europe, even if it has lost its ideological hegemony. The evidence on new forms of work is mixed, and deregulation is not the only tendency. There has been some change, but not a dramatic shift of work regulations in Europe. For example, men reducing their work hours has so far been a quite marginal tendency, less visible than women's increase of work. However, many of the macro trends described in this overview may be interpreted in terms of latency. In this view, there are in fact large changes underway, but we are still in a beginning phase.

3.3.2. Design and method

WP2 goals and design

This section describes the WP2 design and main goals, the problems we met and changes in the sampling method, and the interviews and other information gathering in the project.

The Work Changes Gender project was the first large EU project to do new research on men and masculinities, after the Critical Research On Men in Europe (CROME) overview research project (2000-3). Parts of the WCG research were exploratory. This characterised the sociological second part of the project (WP2) perhaps even more than the economic part (WP1) and the psychological part (WP3). In addition to venturing out into a fairly new area by looking at men as gendered, WP2 should bridge institutional, organisational and individual evidence. It should contribute to the European knowledge base by developing a coherent work and gender perspective on men.

The operative challenge of WP2 was to find and describe the best practices in the area of men's new forms of work, gender equality and increased life quality. The research should look at new chances and possibilities but also keep a perspective on risks and social costs. Organisational factors should be identified especially, and related to personal and family patterns on the one hand and institutional patterns on the other hand.

For this purpose, the research was focused on organisations, with a strategic sample design. Companies and organisations should be selected through expert interviews. After a first round of interviews, each national team in the project should select four or five organisations, and then, through more interviews, the two most interesting cases. The experts should include the most knowledgeable actors in our area, for example, leaders of gender equality initiatives among the social partners (employers, trade unions, state) as well as organisation experts and leaders, e g personnel managers with family reconciliation experience.

Finding best practices

We mainly succeeded in finding and interviewing this category of experts. However, the further project design could not be strictly followed, mainly for gender-related cultural and political reasons. The experts often failed to identify good practice organisations in our (admittedly quite demanding) terms. When they did identify organisations combining innovative work forms and gender equality practices, it often turned out that the gender equality included women only, with little or no reference to men. A further complication was that best practices regarding new work forms and gender equality were not always overlapping, although this problem was less serious than the women-only barrier.

By itself, this can be seen as the first major finding of WP2. It was further confirmed later in the project. It does not mean that men and gender equality is a non-issue in working life. On the contrary, as we shall see, our project confirms that this is a very broad and important issue. However, it was seldom formulated as an issue among experts, in professional organisations or among labour market officials. Instead, it was fragmented and resolved in various more concrete forms - or simply left in the dark, outside of the official agenda. Gender mainstreaming and family reconciliation measures were mainly developed with women in mind. In a critical perspective, we may say that "gender means women" was the main ideological rule that appeared among labour market experts and policy makers, even if daily life practices and organisation issues were increasingly pointing towards men also. In fact, this was felt by many of the experts too, who therefore reacted with positive interest after becoming more acquainted with our topics, even if they had not thought much about them before.

It is useful to compare this to the situation regarding women and leadership. If our project had taken up women and leadership ten or fifteen years ago, the reaction would probably have been similar to the one we now got, regarding men. Over the last decade, women and leadership has become part of the agenda, with many measures and policy formulations. Of course this does not mean that everything is well on this front; the point here is to highlight an important contrast. There is a difference if leaders say "We know, we are doing our best to improve!" or "Sorry, we have not thought about it, what do you mean?" Since our expert interviews showed that men and gender equality was often a non-formulated issue, it became harder to create a strategical sample where we could study advanced practices.

This is a quite typical situation when research tackles new topics that are possibly important and also controversial. The researchers will have to find a balance between the project goals and the actual circumstances disclosed by the preliminary research. In our case, we decided to make the sample design more flexible. It was more important to find interesting information than to ensure strict comparability between the participating countries. The original project design was successful in two of the six countries (Austria, Spain), where two advanced organisations were found. In three other countries (Germany, Israel, Norway), potential work organisations were found, but most of them are better characterised as average than advanced. Since the expert interviews often failed to point the way forward, we sometimes had to include companies due to pragmatical considerations, and use companies where we could get access. In Norway, for example, representatives from the employers' union and the largest trade union failed to come up with interesting suggestions, and the ones we got from other experts exclusively dealt with women and gender equality. The Norwegian organisations, therefore, were quite average. In the case of Israel we even got a neo-traditional sample of technically oriented organisations with men working very long hours. In Bulgaria, where the issues of men and gender equality were even more unheard-of than elsewhere, the researchers changed the sample procedure to include individual men only, regardless of company affiliation. Interviews with interesting individuals were also made in addition to the company sample interviews in some countries (e g in Norway). These measured pushed the sample in the "advanced" direction. It is noteworthy in itself that relevant individuals were much easier to find than relevant companies.

The project sample

As a whole, the resulting sample can be characterised as average-to-advanced rather than purely advanced. In some ways this weakens our ability to conclude from the project. On the other hand, it also has some advantages. Considering the early stage of the topic of the project, a really advanced sample might have become too esoteric or out of touch with ordinary conditions. As it was, the sample came to include much of the important variation on the European map, e.g. men who overworked as well as men who reduced their hours.

Not knowing exactly what the sample represents is a fairly normal situation in an exploratory project. Another common problem is a lack of strictly comparable studies. In our case, some comparisons and postulated change patterns can be questioned in this light. Although we did have a lot of indirect evidence, usually a scattering of small qualitative studies plus some limited surveys, strictly comparable data were limited. At this point, the gender geography of Europe is again relevant; there were usually more existing studies in the north and the west than in the south and east.

The total WP2 sample consisted of interviews with ca. 200 individuals, including 60 expert and trial interviews. 140 men took part in the main interviews. Of these, 104 men are in the core organisational matrix sample where we have solid organisational as well as individual

data for each person. 10 organisations are well described in the sample, with more individual and limited information on around 40 other companies and organisations.

The interviews

The men in each organisation were selected for best practice reasons. This part of the selection process was less problematic than choosing organisations, although a tendency towards 'pragmatic normalisation' existed at this stage also. Obviously, if the organisation has only a vague idea of the topics involved, the suggested sample will not be very precise. Most of the men in the companies were selected for work hour reduction reasons – men in part-time work, and men who had used parental leave are the two core groups in the sample. As mentioned, in some countries we also used individual sampling to improve the strategic focus. In Norway, for example, individual interviews with innovators and leaders were used in addition to the rather non-strategic organisational samples. However, we did not have the time and funding needed to develop this in a consistent way in all the six participating countries.

The interviews with the men were conducted mostly by the researchers, partly by other well qualified interviewers, using a semi-structured interview approach. Although there was some variation regarding how structured the interview was made, the main outline was followed in all countries. The interview questions concerned the work place, with focus on new work forms and reduced hours among men, as well as gender and family issues.

The interviews with the men started with the men's background and experiences of work, including reduction of work, reasons for reduction, use of parental leave, and conditions and culture of the organisation. Many topics were included - who does what at home, attitudes to gender roles and personal orientation. Several brief questionnaires were also used, on company culture, gender role orientation and sense of coherence. Interviews usually lasted one to two hours.

3.3.3. Results

Profile

This section first describes the main profile of the men in the study and the context of reduced wage work. Next, four main adaptations are outlined, as well as a typology of companies. Finally, we look more closely at the changes in the material, and present conclusions.

Despite internal variation and some rather average sub-samples, it is clear that the project sample as a whole differs from the European average in some important respects. The education level is high; almost half of the men have a university degree. They also more often than normal have partners or wives who earn more than themselves (although the majority earns more than their partners), and they more often work with women at their workplace. [29]

The cultural demise of the breadwinner ideal was quite clear in the sample. Only 10 percent of the men supported the notion ideal that "A husband's job is to earn money; a wife's job is to look after the home and family"; 81 percent disagreed. And as much as 96 percent supported the notion that "Children need a father to be as closely involved in their upbringing as the mother"; only 3 percent disagreed. These attitudes are probably somewhat ahead of

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[29] *The results reported here are the results from multivariate analyses of the core matrix (N=104) that were also confirmed in more qualitative ways through analysis of the interviews.*

the European average. They point to a conflict in many men's lives between ideals and practices, with the issue of active fathering as an especially strong ideological change factor. But despite the dual career ideals, 70 percent of the non-single men earned more than their wife or partner, 10 percent earned the same, and 20 percent earn less.

Gender role attitudes were mixed with a sceptical attitude to giving wage work a primary place in life, especially among the men with reduced work hours. This is important since it meant that some of the gender role attitudes could not be taken at face value. For example, many men were critical to a statement that said that having a job is the best way to happiness for a woman. However they were just as critical to similar ideas regarding men. The men were sceptical towards extensive work in general, especially among parents of young children. There is probably some ambivalence to women's wage labour hiding behind this finding. The interviews showed that most of the men wanted income balance, yet many also expected women to take responsibility at home. I believe that these somewhat incongruent trends illustrate the on-going European changes and dilemmas fairly well. On this background it is not surprising that most of the men agreed with the statement that "employers should make special arrangements to help fathers combine jobs and childcare".

Stronger gender-equal attitudes were associated with social rather than technical jobs, shorter wage work hours per week, reduction of work hours in periods, income balance in the marriage and relationship, higher levels of male caregiving in the home, and having younger children. (Gender role attitudes also varied with country, probably mainly for the sampling variation reasons discussed above, with Israel as the most gender-traditional, followed by Germany, Austria, Norway, Spain, and the individually selected men in Bulgaria as least gender-traditional).

The men who were active in child care were younger than the rest, more often had young children at home, had more pro-equality gender role attitudes, and were more critical to how companies evaluated their private life caring.

Somewhat surprisingly, we did not find a strong connection between reduced wage work and more domestic work. This is discussed below. Some associations did appear, however. The men with reduced wage work said that they took a larger part of caring at home, and had somewhat more pro-equality attitudes. They also more often argued that employers should make arrangements for both fathers and mother's family involvement.

In terms of work hours, quite different groups were present in the sample, for reasons discussed above. The men worked 35 hours a week on the average, but the conditions varied a lot. Around 40 percent of the men belonged to the reduced work group (working 30 hours or less per week). On the other hand, 25 percent worked 45 hours or more. The Israel sample departed from the others in this respect. This sample has much longer work hours, most of the men working 45-55 hours, and the Israel men made up three quarters of the men with very long work hours. Long work hours were associated with production-oriented jobs, and – less strongly - with education and a higher position in the company. There was also some association with marital status, and perhaps a more sceptical attitude to women's employment, but we did not find any clear connection to other gender attitude items or to the personal orientation items.

The men who worked reduced hours were not a homogenous group. This finding is in line with the WP1 results of our project, showing that this group is a mix of different subgroups (it can also be related to the third male employee type in the labour market overview, above). Our sample has three main groups of men working reduced hours – men with domestic care giving tasks, students and multi-job workers.

 The men who worked long hours were often dissatisfied with it. Many would prefer to work less – the association to the statement "I would prefer to work less" was very strong. Many found it hard to reduce hours. They were less satisfied with social life and leisure than the

other men in the study. However, some of them also seemed to work more at home; at least, caring work was not reduced proportionally.

About three quarters of the worked in standard (or unlimited) work contracts. Of the rest, some worked free-lance, some with fixed-term contracts, and a few with other or unknown contract forms.

Half the men worked in social and education jobs, the other half in technical or financial jobs. The orientation of the work between technical / production oriented work and social / reproduction oriented work had a quite strong connection with other variables in the study, confirming other research in this area.[30] At this point, a direct interpretation of the project's "work changes gender" title seems appropriate. Production-oriented work was strongly linked to long job hours as well as a high proportion of the household income. Not surprisingly, social competence was less valued here than in social and educational jobs.

Two thirds of the men were married or living in registered partnerships. 21 percent were unmarried, 4 percent divorced or widowed. The married, cohabitating and partnership group differed from the rest in several ways. They were older, more highly educated, had more years of employment and a higher average position in the company. They did not differ much, however, regarding gender role attitudes or personal items. 80 percent of the men in the sample were in relationships. Of these, 6 percent reported living with a male partner, 90 percent with a female partner, and 4 percent not clear.

As regards domestic work, the division of housework was more traditional than the division of care work. Again, this is in line with other studies. 60 percent of the non-single men had partners who took main responsibility for the cooking in the home. Only 12 percent mostly took the cooking themselves. This highlights "average-to-advanced" rather than "very advanced" character of the sample.[31] Almost a third of the non-single men had paid help to do the cleaning of the house. Very few men (8 percent) said they mainly did the cleaning themselves. Are men with wives or partners who do the cleaning a special group? A preliminary analysis shows that these men were more positive towards creativity and cultural resources in their job, but the question is not easily answered in our small sample.

Almost all the men with children in the household contributed to caring for the children, stretching from 5 to 50 hours a week, most frequently around 20 hours a week. The men's part of childcare was strongly associated with whether the men have taken parental leave or not. This is an interesting finding, highlighting the importance of parental leave for the domestic work division in general. Not surprisingly, the caring men were more often dissatisfied with how the job recognised their private care-giving tasks. In other areas, however, the effects of caring for children were less clear (not much difference in gender role attitudes, orientation, etc).

Except for the association between long work hours and less life satisfaction, we did not find much direct connection between life satisfaction and personal items on the one hand and the other items of the study on the other hand. For example, the gender equality items did not have any clear connection to the personal items. This can be interpreted in terms of 'relative costs' of gender equality (more later). However, we did find that the men's satisfaction with their marriages or relationships was much greater than their satisfaction with their social life. This has been found in other studies also.[32] As we shall see, it helps explain an important

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[30] *For example, a representative survey of men and gender equality in Norway 1988 not only showed the impact of social / reproduction work among the men, but also indicated that their wives or partner's job orientation played a role regarding the men's gender equality attitudes (see Holter 1989).*

[31] *The figures can be compared to a representative survey of men and women in Norway 1994, where 7 percent said the man did most of the cooking, 17 percent shared or fairly equal. Surveys from 1989 and 1994 showed that the woman took most of the cooking in ca. 70 percent of the homes in Norway (Holter, Ø 1994c). In this perspective, we see that the current European sample is a bit more balanced.*

[32] *E.g. the representative survey The Norwegian Man (1998) where men were asked who they could talk to about personal troubles. The great majority answered "my wife/partner", while other alternatives – friends, therapists*

part of the men's change picture, discussed later - why changes in marriage or relationship are so often important for the men's decisions in other areas, like their job.

The contexts of work reduction

As we saw, reduced work was less clearly related to increased domestic caregiving than one might suppose. One might expect a similar but opposed pattern among men and women. Among women, increased wage work has been associated with decreased domestic work, especially in the last decade. Among men, according to this logic, we should find the inverse pattern – less wage work, more domestic work.

There are several reasons why this pattern was not found. First, the theoretical basis for the assumption is problematical. Arguing that men, also, are gendered does not imply that gender means the same for men and for women, or that gender means the mirror opposite for men compared to women. These are fairly usual mistakes. One main reason why there is no symmetry or mirror opposition is that social class enters the picture differently for men and for women. Women's adoption of new gender roles has mostly meant increased upward mobility in terms of class. For men, it may not mean downward mobility, but there are much larger risks that it will lead in that direction, and also a much larger chance that the men's changes will be interpreted in this way and opposed on that basis.

Empirically, two main factors weakened the association between lower wage work hours and higher domestic and caring participation among men. One has been mentioned already; the men who worked reduced hours were a very heterogeneous category. Only some of the men in this position in the labour market at any given moment are in it for caregiving reasons. Others are part-time students, have hobbies they try to develop into jobs, combine several jobs in a fluctuating "patch worker" style, or are simply pushed into part-time against their will, due to company reductions. The three first subcategories were common in our material. Once more, this result may be seen as a lack of strategic focus in the project (we were not able to select only the men who combined reduced work and caregiving), while also giving a broader and perhaps more realistic scope. At this point it should also be noted that in none of the countries we studied had part-time for men been promoted or much discussed as part of a gender equality strategy.[33]

The other factor was a "work more in both spheres" tendency that could be found especially when we excluded the most overworked subgroup of men. In other words, many men with a normal to fairly long workday also contributed a lot to domestic work. Variation in gender attitudes and roles was important in this context. The men who worked much in both spheres were often gender-equally oriented, and approached a "care and career" adaptation described below. Personal background and preferences are undoubtedly also part of this picture, although their meaning was not clear in this study. A common trait was that the men were married to career women and faced demands at home as well as on the job. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the men's domestic work was only a "passive effect" of their wives career choice; this relation is more complex, since in our study (as in others) we have many indications that these men actively chose this type of relationship in the first place.

But does not reduced wage work, by itself, have an effect on domestic work? This is possible, and there are some traits in this direction in the study, but not very strong. It probably varies with the socio-cultural context and gender climate. Traditionally, research has not found increased domestic participation among men who are forced to work reduced, or are laid off – rather the contrary. The typical picture especially of long-term unemployed

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etc – were much less frequent. It seems that for men, marriage is still "haven in a heartless world".
[33] *Germany may be a partial exception, with more discussion of part-time than elsewhere, yet often in an alternative or health related framework, not gender equality as such. See **.*

men has instead shown increased social problems including gender troubles and violence at home (ref**). True, voluntary reduction may be another matter, especially if it was clearly connected to a gender equality strategy, but as mentioned this not a main issue even in our advanced sample. In our sample, many men had thought about parental leave and the need for fathers to become more active, but this discussion had not (yet) been extended into a more general awareness of the need to reduce work time. Also, at this point, quite different models and ideals appeared on the horizon, including the 'care/career' and the 'time pioneer/alternative' model, as shown later.

Four adaptations

Correspondence analysis was used in a further attempt to clarify the main positions among the men.[34] In this type of analysis, the variables that explain most of the variation in the material are used as axes in a diagram, so that other traits can be plotted. The analysis showed that four main adaptations could be distinguished, as shown in Map 1.

Map 1: Masculinities & Work/Life Reconciliation
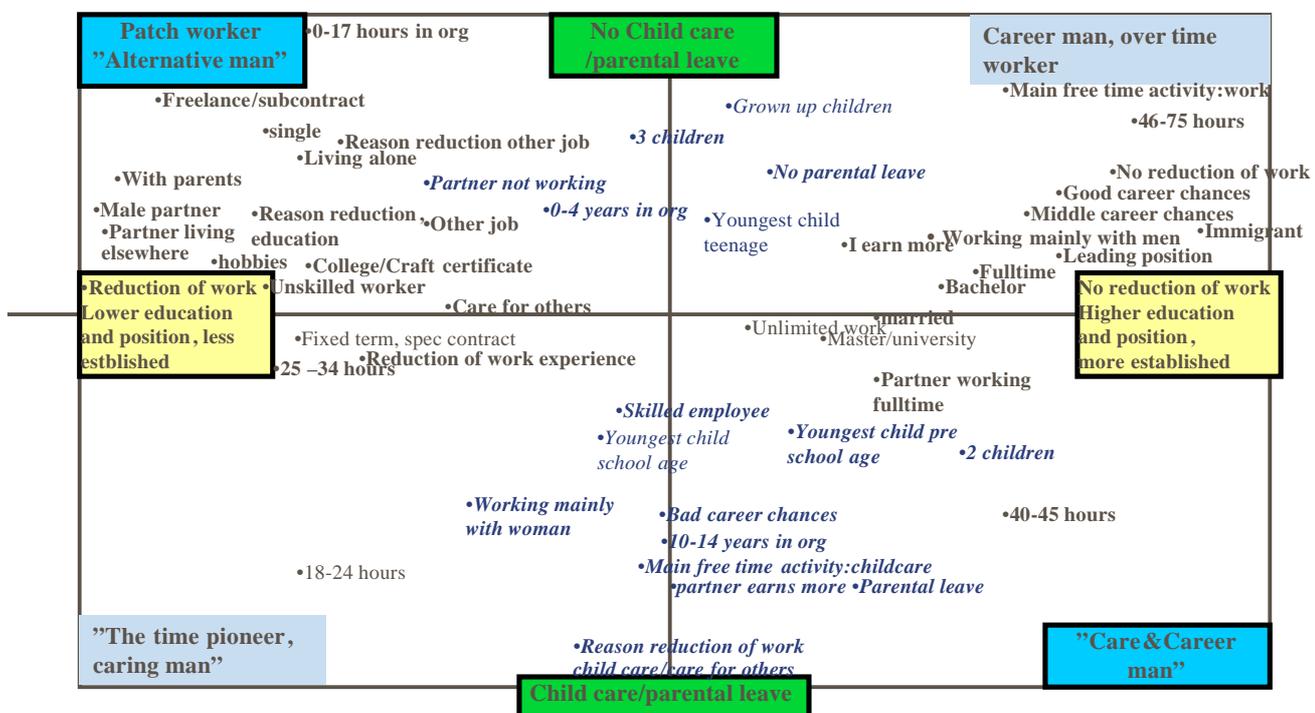
Map 1: Masculinities and work/life reconciliations (Sigtona Halrynjo)

Map 1 shows how various traits in the study were associated with the two main axes (horizontal – wage work, vertical – care work). We see four "ideal" or "pure" types (in Weber's term). These are the patch worker or alternative man (low wage work, low care work), the career man or overtime worker (high wage work, low care work), the time pioneer or caring man (low wage work, high care work), and the care and career man (high wage work, high care work).

The career and overtime position in the map was associated with very long working hours (45+ hours working week), no reduction of work, leading position, higher education, working

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[34] This section builds on Sigtona Halrynjo's correspondence analysis of the material.

mainly with men, technical work, earning more than the wife or partner. In their own view, these men had good to medium career chances. They had not taken parental leave, and their main free-time activity was work.

The care and career position was associated with a medium to long working week (40-45 hours), wife or partner working full time, youngest child in pre-school age, and higher education. These men had often taken parental leave. Building or reconstructing the house was a frequent free-time activity.

The caring / time pioneer position was associated with periods of reduction of work due to caring reasons (especially child care), fixed term or special (rather than normal) work contracts, poor career chances (from one's own point of view), working mainly with women, and educational, social or health-related work. A main free-time activity was child care and time with family and friends.

The alternative / patch work position was associated with low or minimal employment in the organisation (below 20 hours a week). These men's reasons for work reduction included other jobs, studies/education and hobbies. Many were relatively young and unestablished (single or living with parents) and their skill level was low. They often worked as freelancers or on subcontracts. Some of the men had a male partner. Their main free time activities included studies/education and hobbies like sport, music and voluntary work. This position resembled the third heterogeneous cluster of younger, temporary and part-time employed men found in the EC study mentioned in the overview (EC 2003:139) with frequent transitions to unemployment.

Note that the map clusters traits, not men.[35] Further analysis showed that the majority of the men were grouped fairly close to the middle of the wage work/care work dimensions, with some dispersion especially in the "care & career" direction. This means that even if there was much variation and quite different adaptations among the men, we did not find a full-fledged split into different types. As mentioned earlier, many traits were quite common among the men, including a rejection of the traditional breadwinner ideal (even among many men whose practice approached this norm). The adaptations are perhaps better characterised as tendencies. It is also clear that some of the variation was related to age and life situation, although this does not explain all of it.

Organisation types and work cultures

Four main types of organisations were included in the material, based on the main task orientation. These were; production organisations (mainly, companies), production service organisations (same), reproduction service organisations (partly state, municipial etc), and reproduction organisations (mostly state etc). The following diagram shows these, compared to the rest of the gender-relevant variables in the study, focused on overall support for men and gender equality, with clear company cases filled in.

Diagram 1: Four organisation types

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[35] *Continuous variables are recoded as binary traits in this analysis.*

Gender equality for men / _Task orientation_	_Very low support_	_Low to some support_	_Medium to high support_
Production		**Norenergy Norway**	**Hafner Austria**
**Production services**	**IT-firms Israel**	**Interbank Germany**	
**Reproduction services**		**Mobcom Spain**	**Coomundi Spain**
**Reproduction**		**Lia school Norway**	**Revoc Austria**

Many organisations were mixed, e g a bank serving private/reproduction customers as well as corporate/professional customers, yet a main tendency could be found. The technical-to-social dimension of the organisation's main tasks played a considerable role in the men's work adaptation and work learning. Especially, men in social/reproduction work were the ones who most clearly resembled the "work changes gender" hypothesis. Here, we saw men's caring-related work role learning extend to private life, for example in an organisation favouring men's parental leave and allowing flexibility and short hours (Austria, Spain).

Traditionally, the production/reproduction dimension has been linked to gender (production = masculine, reproduction = feminine). Further, it has been associated with wage and non-wage labour, and with high and low levels of capital per work unit. Obviously, therefore, several overlapping dimensions are involved as we look at organisational task orientation.

The importance of task orientation was supported also by the correspondence analysis showing differences of the four main adaptations. The alternative patch workers were often young people. A high proportion was engaged in reproduction work. Time pioneers were also often found in reproduction or reproduction services work. On the other hand, overworkers and breadwinners were most typical in production and production services work.

Care and career combiners were more widespread and did not fit this 'task decides' picture. Their existence, instead, depended more on national/regional and institutional variation. Norway, the country with the most extensive welfare arrangements in the sample, also had the greatest proportion of care and career combiners, as seen in the Norwegian production company as well as the reproduction organisation. If the European future is a better combination of care and career, it is not surprising that national results at this point varied according to the gender geography map outlined above. In general the tendency was stronger toward the north and west than the south and east.

In all countries, perhaps excepting Bulgaria (but including Israel), active fathering was a central "signal relation" for the care dimension.[36] Parental leave was an important symbolic issue for many men, besides being a more concrete issue for some. A man's possibility to get parental leave (e g Norway) and not have to "beg" for time that the law says belongs to the mother (e g Spain) was part of this issue.

Our project was not designed for strict country/regional comparison. A main trend in the interviews was "common European", in line with a trend found in other recent studies. This research finds many shared traits of women and men in similar organisations and work/family situations, across countries and regions (Gershuny, J 2003). Our overall impression is that region- and country-specific gender tradition and culture play a less prominent role today than they did a decade or two ago.

Besides task orientation and country variation, many other organisational and institutional variables played a role in creating different paths and adaptations among the men. Company-related variables were often important, especially when they interacted with work/family arrangements. We were surprised that organisations in presumably rather 'backwards' regions in the European gender geography could be more active and frontline than organisations in better-developed regions. These active organisations highlighted the possibility of a more dynamic role of the labour market and the social partners, creating gender-equal work and welfare arrangements.

So, for example, according to our evidence, a man will take parental leave more often in reproductive-oriented organisations than in production-oriented organisations, other things equal. But task orientation can be overruled by other factors like active management and gender equality policies that include men. A main rule appeared at this point. Men will take more parental leave and reduce hours for caring reasons when needed, the less these options are discriminated against in the organisation. Active management, highlighted in some of our cases (social development organisation, Spain; metal firm, Austria) can clearly change the climate and increase the acceptance of caring men.

Education level, often higher in the services parts of the above table (type 2 and 3), will push a bit in the caring direction too, although education is not very strongly related. The mixed effects of education appear in our study as in others. Although education by itself usually points towards gender equality, the job situation of highly educated employees often resemble a "honey trap" with partly self-made work demands that reduce time for caring and domestic tasks.

Organisational culture and work/family flexibility were quite strongly attached in our material. This was partly due to the lack of formal organisation regarding men's gender equality and the need for pro-equality institutionalisation, discussed above. In Spain, for example, with a demographic downturn and lack of state-wide parental leave, kindergartens and other support, organisations adapted as they could in the competition for the best employees. One important factor behind the company changes - notably in Spain/Catalonia in our material - was new attitudes and ideas among potential employees. Young employees increasingly looked for good work/family balance and long-term welfare as well as material benefits. In other countries also, like Norway, recent surveys and debate show that work/family has become a more important employee issue, and perhaps also a new viewpoint on more traditional problems, like work stress.

In some of our company cases, work/family reconciliation went together with diversity management, but this link was not very clear, perhaps a rather unstable alliance. The

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[36] *The difference of Bulgaria was not that active fathering did not exist on a personal level – we have good evidence that it did, and played an important role there as elsewhere – but that it was so little thematised and formulated as a cultural agenda, notably less than in the west. This may be due to the active fathering role being too close to the traditional household head role, and other gender system differences.*

reproduction-oriented organisations were sometimes "gender-equal" in the sense of "women are best", according to the men in these organisations (e g Revoc, Austria).

Many organisations and companies were characterised by a rather superficial "in principle" treatment of gender equality, in the men's view. Gender equality as part of image-building was pronounced in some cases, with a rather insecure or fluctuating real support for equality. This was highlighted in some of the company expert interviews as well as in employees' stories of how the company had reacted to their care-related needs.

Although different to pinpoint exactly, there were differences in how the men located the three main themes of the project - work, gender and life quality/welfare. Men with the alternative – patch worker adaptation seemed less inclined to associate welfare and gender than the rest of the men. Gender seemed more peripheral. This tendency was present e g in the German material, but it is hard to say exactly what trends it represent on the larger European map. As mentioned, this was a heterogenuous group. Sometimes, the adaptation was clearly periodic or age-based (young men, urban lifestyle), sometimes more permanent. The other three groups of men were more 'gendered' in their approach to welfare and life quality issues, although they posed this relationship in different ways. In the Nordic model, there is a widespread norm that gender equality is a key to welfare and life quality. In the Southern European model, gender is again very important, but it is connected to a more traditional concept of gender-segregated balance, with women and families as the main framework of reproduction.

Themes and change patterns

We had reasons to believe that job-caused changes could be undercommunicated in the interviews, due to a combination of narrative logic and masculinity. When a man is asked about his work history, he will relate what he did a bit more than what the job did to him. Persons try to clarify themselves as individuals, and there is a tendency, especially associated with masculinity, of "shouldering the responsibility" and acquiring greater social size. The job magnetism in men's lives is interpreted in terms of the personal as far as possible (Holter & Aarseth 1993). Other things equal, a man will rather say "I did this" than "the job did this".

A thematic method was used for interpreting the interviews. The thematic method distinguishes between themes and context in a life connection (op.cit). In this view, 'themes' are the worked-on or culturated parts of a wider context. Actors thematise to learn from their real context. The theme contains embodiment and feeling as well as cognition, and is different from the theoretical category. It is not specifically situated in terms of levels or dimensions, but created through free association and narrative rules. Themes are common threads in interview stories. – 'Context' is social structure, some of it only unconsciously recognised or not recognised at all. 'Life connections' refer to the most important relations of the social structure, changing over the individual's life course.

Since the thematic method builds partly on narrative theory, it is change-oriented. Themes can be connected in a sequence, like letters in a word. For example, a conflict between a new father and the management could lead to a certain typical discursive result, as presented in the man's story. In this pattern, the man told of his attempts to adjust to a new private life situation, asking for parental leave or other care-related work reduction, of how the firm reacted, and how he managed afterwards. The organisation of themes in the interviews was of course partly influenced by the sequence of questions in the interview, but the men were asked about examples and had many opportunities for free dialogue and filling in important information along the way. Therefore, a men facing companies theme could easily be identified, beyond our particular questions.

Why work with change-oriented analysis? In our case, to understand what was going on, behind a static surface of how things were. We also had theoretical reasons. Interpreting change is a key issue in current gender studies and studies of men. In studies of men, especially, there has been much attention to forms of masculinity and types of men, sometimes to the exclusion of change trends (Holter, Ø 1997). There is need to go beyond static structuralist theory regarding 'men' as well as 'work', and a general need for social research to become more historically and temporally aware. Life is changing even if social categories seem static. Masculinities models with static types can become a new form of 'categorical' theory, even if its proponents have warned precisely against that tendency (Connell, R 1987). The main finding of our project was not that some men "are" time pioneers, others "are" overworkers, and so on. These were transient and changing adaptations, and as tendencies, they were shared by most men.

New men and new circumstances

Consider two models of change. One is the "new men" model, the other is a "new circumstances" model.

In the new man model, there is a special group of men, or a specific configuration of masculinity, that acts as the main change factor. The change is usually seen as strongly linked to specific gender role attitudes and gender-equal norms. The change process is mainly ideological.[37]

In the new circumstances model, there are new circumstances that most men experience. They are not reserved for one group of men alone. Also, they are more practical than ideological. It is not mainly new attitudes to gender equality or caregiving that lead men to make new choices, but new socio-material conditions.

The interviews mainly supported the new circumstances model, but sometimes also the new man model. These are not mutually exclusive, and probably have shifting relevance in men's long-term change patterns. The new man model may be seen as a early manifestation of change, where changes still seem exceptional, clinging to a "special type" of man.

Three main change factors appeared as causes of the men's changes. They were typical starting points for the stories in the interviews. The three were:

1 Caring / children
2 Equality / women
3 Life quality / diversity / welfare

Caring / children was the most typical change factor. Becoming a father was a signal event. The caring- and child-related new circumstances and experiences made many men see their work in a new light.

The equality / women factor was also very frequent, especially cases where the man changed his work and family balance due to his partner or wife's increased or more demanding job.

The life quality / diversity / welfare change factor was more complex and varied than the others. For example: "I don't go for status symbols….and that's why I can afford to work part-time", says Hans (Austria). Some of the men had side activities that gave them new interests. "I work as a photographer in my spare time" (Israel M 10); "I work as an artist in my free time", said a foreman for a group of temporary contract employees on the job, commuting to a North Sea oil platform (Norenergy, Norway). An underlying theme was an increasing

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[37] *This model has been typical in Anglo-american studies of men, with great emphasis on ideology and on women as activators of men. Gender equality is easily seen as something men "do for women". For a European version of the new man model, see Zulehner & Volz 1998. Other European surveys, e g Men in Norway 1988, have found different tendencies among men, in this case, a third of the men were gender-equal, a third mixed, and a third traditional.*

appraisal of social competence and life concerns. Many men experienced an imbalance between material values on the one hand and social values on the other, especially in the group with long working hours. "I have disagreements with my manager, but I am very satisfied with my income", an Israeli employee said. "But I feel lonely and unsatisfied with my social life. I do not have enough time to spend with my friends. I would like to have more social relations." Men may gain income but lose out socially.

The three change factors were often related. For example, when asked why he worked reduced hours, Manfred (Austria) answered: "Well, maybe it is this as well, that we both want to work, my wife and I, so we don't have to work full-time, I can make my living with less money, moreover there is more time for caring for the kids and sports and other things." The interview showed a 'quality of life' discourse; money was exchanged into an abundance of time. Gender equality was less pronounced than in the Nordic model, although it seemed implied by the arrangement.

A fourth factor of job-related change could also be found, especially in the advanced and socially oriented organisations. This factor more closely resembled the "work changes gender" thesis of our project (or, a direct interpretation of this link), and is further described below.

The centrality of children appeared in many ways especially among the fathers in the project. In Spain, for example, a father worried what would happen when his reduced hours period was over: "Well, I'm worried and concerned about the issue that will present itself as my oldest child will be six years old. If my situation does not change [that is, he will not be able to extend the reduction of work hours] my son will have to take responsibility for himself, get up alone in the morning, wash, make supper – this is what really worries me." Active fathering was a key issue. For example, a leader in Spain says of the employees that "today, there are more men in the company who are interested in have a paternity leave or some kind of hours reduction. The birth of a child is a very important thing for all of them." (Jordi Mas, Coomundi).

The focus on children and caregiving was often connected to gender equality and balance issues. "The men who take parental leave here do it since their women cannot, due to the [career/demanding] type of job they have." (Coomundi expert, Spain). Not surprisingly, the effect was strongest when the two motives overlapped. In Bulgaria, a 27 year old expert employee decided to take caring responsibility for his six-year old stepson. Why? He lived with a three year older career woman with long working days. Children and work/family were important for him. And he not have to rely, so much, on his workplace – even if this is described as "tolerant" towards his flexible hours - since they relied a lot on him, as an expert employee who needed considerable freedom to arrange his days. "This flexibility is not formally regulated and allowed by the company policy and procedures, but the managers are liberal towards such flexibility as far as it doesn't hinder the achievement of goals. I work eight hours or more per day, but I am able to distribute them and to go home when needed or to take some family tasks during my working day" (Bulgaria IP1).

While gender equality was an ideological issue for some men, it was more often presented as a practical and emotional issue. The breadwinner model was in crisis because it no longer fits the expectations of partners or spouses. Franz (Austria) reflected this experience, in a culture where the breadwinner arrangement was still quite strong. "If a woman, instead of staying home, is earning money along with her man for the common household, I think she just feels more free. She is more free to do anything she wants. I hear it again and again from others, where the man is bringing home the money and the woman is at home, and the work at home isn't appreciated that much." The message is that the traditional arrangement does not create a happy home.

A theme which highlights the new circumstances model is the "no intention" theme. This is connected to a wider "I happened to .... and then realised" pattern described later In the "no

intention" theme, the men describe how they came into some new circumstance although they had no intention of doing so. Things just happened that way. In these cases, it is often the labour market or the company that creates the changes. Some times it is restructuring forcing the men to change from full-time to part-time. For some of the men, this turned out to become a good experience. "I was rather satisfied. It was a process of development for me. For years and years I had worked full-time. Now I had to learn how to handle my free time. (..) I did not go back to full-time because the new situation gave me more awareness of the pleasure of life. 3 ½ days work, 3 ½ days free time, that's it! I am old enough not to live and die for work. That's not what I go for." (Magnus, Austria).

The different change factors had different impact on men's work and life. In some cases, we found an interrupted career pattern. Here, the men changed from full-time to part-time, from employed to self-employed, from high to low social security conditions, and from a breadwinner to an active caretaker model. This seemed to be most frequent when life quality or caring issues were connected to gender equality issues and the spouse/partner's career or resources.

A second pattern was more cyclic – the men shifted from full-time to part-time and back again. When the wife or partner's resources were lower, the man's chance of going back to a high-work lifestyle increased.

An important point is that the men's ability to create more permanent positive changes depended on their resources in a wide sense, including their gender balance and household situation. Men with wives or partners with careers were more willing to take on domestic tasks than other men – the "provider pressure" had become less strong. Like the Bulgaria expert employee above, men with good positions in the company were more often able to follow-up on family demands than other men. However, a "too good" position could work the other way – the job became too demanding to allow any reduction of hours. A third important factor was household and family resources, not just strictly material resources, but also 'cultural capital'. The men with fairly good material conditions and cultural values that pointed towards reduced work, non-materialism and similar were more able to adapt to job reductions than the rest of the men.

Facing the company

As a result of new conditions and change factors, the men faced the organisation or company in new ways. Official statements of gender equality came to the test. At this point, we found a rich flora of gender equality statements that were rhetorical in the sense of legitimising the organisation's passivity. "Discrimination issues are non-existent. There have never been problems or issues on the basis of gender discrimination by neither side" (expert interview, male-dominated security company, Bulgaria). Often, numerical considerations were used to reach the same conclusion. "The organisation is gender-equal. In my division there are ca. 50/50 men and women" (Conrad, Norenergy, Norway). On the other hand, if there are 100/0 men/women, this can be seen as gender equality too – with the common explanation that women do not apply. "Maybe there are some job positions that are not very attracting for women. I think so, because no woman has ever applied to the position of technician, for example. Maybe this is the only position that requires stronger physique. But we have women in the administrative department so I can say the recruitment process is totally qualifications based" (IP7, sales manager in a private TV channel, Bulgaria). Nothing wrong with the company; it is only that qualifications are sex-divided. - Or, the numbers do not matter, since anyway the wage level is the same: "Despite the inequality in the number of male and female employees, there is no discrimination of women. They earn the same salary as men." (Israel Bedek 3).

The eagerness to 'prove' gender equality among many organisation experts and leaders by grabbing one isolated fact or the other, stands in stark contrast to many employees experiences. Among the employees, many were critical to the pronouncements and image-making.

This conflict was often triggered by events that could seem small and insignificant at first. A common theme was that the man felt degraded as a caring person. This experience was most typical in companies that had little investment in family reconciliation. "I do not believe that the organisation takes care for the personal and family life of its employees. (..) The only care issue for this organisation is the work to be done." (Israel B 4). "The organisation takes no care for the personal and family life for its employees." (Israel, M 1). It is important to note that the theme appeared in quite different contexts – stretching from overworkers in technical firms in Israel to 'normal' employees in peaceful countries like Norway. "Even if they work with children, the school and jobs are not very family-oriented. They don't arrange with the needs of the families in mind." (Jonas, Lia school, Norway). Our material shows that the men and caregiving issue is not a luxury issue found in some countries or conditions only.

At this point, many interviews gave detailed experiences of how the company had reacted to the man's new situation. Often, there was a "I happened to arrive...and then found out" kind of process. In Spain, for example, one employee described what happened after he became a father. "When his child was born, he and his cohab decided that she should take all the parental leave. He used one month of his vacation to stay at home and help. After the leave period was over, he wanted to reduce his working hours. He turned to the Human Relations department and asked to be able to use the offer of reduced work hours (period of 6 – 12 month). The HR, however, responded negatively." (Spain, Ent 13, Mobcom). Another example: "When his daughter was born, they collected money to buy her a present, but afterwards there was no concern of his difficulties, like working the whole day without sleeping at night." (Israel B 10).

The common theme was that the men found out that the employers do not see men as caretakers. "He indicated that lately, he feels stress in his work since he has many duties, and he cannot spend enough time with his family. However, after pressured periods of work, he can not compensate his family by taking vacation as he is forced to take his annual vacation on August. In general, he feels that the HR department is not interested in his family welfare, as this issue is never raised in periodical meetings." (Israel, M 1).

Again, it is noteworthy that all the items marked by this Israeli employee – overwork, time with family, health problems - was marked also by men e g in Austria, Germany, Norway and Spain, often even with the same words, despite many cultural and national differences. This was clearly a common European trend. We shall describe exceptions and better practices among organisations later. For now, a main point is that even in our fairly advanced sample, an organisational response of non-recognition was quite typical. As we shall see, this non-recognition was not really neutral.

Relational and organisational gender

A model of relational and organisational gender can clarify the men's stories of how they were met by the companies.

The men in new circumstances were characterised by a new sense of relational gender. The relation to the child, partner or spouse was a central matter and motivator for change. Even the men who were mainly motivated by the third main change factor (diversity, life quality) factor, often stressed the relational aspect - relations to friends, social competence, etc.

On the other hand, what the men met at the company level can be characterised as a more traditional organisational gender. This included gender concepts and stereotypes that were deeply lodged in the organisational practice and culture, partly for the kinds of inertia reasons described earlier. A main part of this picture was the absence of new organisational measures in most of the companies we studied.

Obviously, a division between relational and organisational gender is a bit artificial. In practice things are mixed. Yet it has theoretical relevance as well as empirical support.

Relational issues have been central to gender equality and gender research as a whole. The relation between man and woman has dominated the picture. Possibly, a main reason why gender equality has remains partial is the persistence of non-recognised organisational structures that reinforce traditional gender divisions, even if the ideology surrounding them has changed. Indeed, the notion that man and woman should be equals, considered as a dyadic relational pair (in a quite abstract way), has become quite 'hegemonic' today. Therefore a huge gap appears between the relational gender-equal ideal on the one hand, and the not-so-equal organisational practice on the other.

The new men and the more traditional men in new circumstances were pioneers trying to close this gap. They embodied the tensions between new relational orientations and older organisational structures. It is not surprising, therefore, that the interviews contained much information about the costs of gender equality for men. These men faced a combination of 'standard' devaluation of caring- and women-associated tasks and 'extra' devaluation since they were men.

Why were relational and organisational gender so out of tune? The reason was not only that domestic and care-related changes tend to run a bit ahead of wage work changes, as described earlier, but also a "women-only" compensatory factor. We found an organisational pattern to the effect that "as soon as it is gendered or family-related, it turns to women". This can be seen as a new adaptation of traditional organisations over the last decade. Gender has become allowed as an organisational issue, but only as far as women are concerned.

An example was the Mobcom company (Spain). This company was one of the best in Spain offering different kind of measures for work-family balance, yet even here, the gender policies were concentrated mostly towards women. "I believe that in general we have policies to benefit the worker. The policies we have implemented here are more radical with respect to what is normal in the market. There are more ties to the women, or perhaps they have greater weight among the women. (...) the impact is much greater among the woman than the men" (Mobcom expert).

As a consequence it often remained hard for men to be recognised as caregivers even if the organisation had gender-equal policies and implemented gender mainstreaming. That was the case in the Redsocial organisation in Spain. There, the first man to actually use the formal right for parental leave and to ask for reduced hours later, summed up, a few years later, that he had met many difficulties on the way. "It has cost a great deal". He emphasised that he had had to fight for his right to care for his child and work reduced hours. Yet he also noted that there had been improvements and positive changes lately. He said that the organisation was becoming more used to and familiar with employees spending more time caring for their children[38].

The dividing line between relational and organisational gender was clear especially in numerically male-dominated companies and among companies towards the production end of the task scale. It was more complex in the female-dominated and reproduction-oriented organisations. This was shown especially in the women-led organisations, like Revoc

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[38] *Jose Manuel Ortiz, Redsocial, Spain.*

(Austria). There, women made out 80 percent of the two top tiers of leaders. In the organisation, a "women first" relational pattern was superimposed on an otherwise quite traditional and hierarchic structure. This led to a split treatment of men. The men reported that the organisation had an active policy regarding fathering and men's caregiving, but on the other hand, their career chances were low. A former employee at Revoc argued that men were discriminated against as men in the organisation. "The mixture between being critical and being a man is enough for not making a career in the company. That was the main reason why I quit the job." That women were preferred before men to top jobs was confirmed by current employees also. "Not gender equality, but women's support" was characterised as the main policy of the organisation. Another man (Edgar) put the equality orientation in the organisation in quotation marks, since for him it provided "excellent conditions for women, but not for men. (..) The company is very busy in equality issues. But the company is led by women and it's rumoured that men are not really able to get into key-positions. It's funny, but it's just the opposite of the classical way." Although this reversal is interesting, it should be noted that the "classical way" was much better represented in the material. The typical company profile was, for example, that "in an official way there is gender equality, but the company prefers men rather than women in some top positions". Or: "women have no real chance in the firm, since there are two standards for male and female. When one of my friends, who is a physicist, asked me about a vacant position in the firm, I recommended her not to apply for the job because she would not have a real chance."[39]

Organisational change

Besides obstacles, many men described positive changes. New relational trends became gradually more accepted and adopted by the organisations. Three main phases could be distinguished in this process, based on the thematic analysis, as shown in the table below.

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[39] *Alberto Garcia, Asisa, Spain; Israel B 4.*

Table ... Organisational change

Organisational change and gender equality for men		
Change forms / Change phases	*Organisational process and conflict*	*Typical expressions*
1 Early phase	Individual, relational, isolated Negative social sanctions	Neutralised discrimination of caring in general and caring among men in particular Frequent subdued discriminatiuon (e g polite non-recognition); sometimes open discrimination (e g new men seen as effeminate or deviant)
2 Middle phase	More extensive relational Mixed social sanctions	Gender troubles in the organisation More manifest gender conflict Acknowledgement of needs for work / family reconciliation
3 Advanced phase	Relational and organisational Positive social sanctions	More effective support for increased gender equality Lower gender equality costs Employee motivation and loyalty

Again, the division is simplified. Often, issues had some of each phase trait. This became especially clear considering the region and country variation in the material. On closer analysis, it appeared that the European regions were 'advanced' and 'backwards' on different criteria; they had different strenghts and obstacles towards men's gender equality and life quality. Here, however, we focus on the company level and common traits in each phase.

In the first phase, the men are mainly alone and subdued in their changes. In the second, they are more mixed and ambivalent. In the third, they are more actively creating new standards. This can be seen as a process from psychological to sociological change and analysed according to the "conditional matrix" described by Strauss & Corbin (1988). The process of change starts in the centre of the concentric circles described in this matrix, in the individual's primary relations, shifting towards secondary relations and more collective forms of change.

First phase

The first, early phase was characterised by low or non-existing organisational support and isolated relational changes, often working mainly on an informal and personal level, subdued and not officially recognised. The men reducing work for caregiving reasons were isolated,

perhaps excepting "a few soul mates in the company who think alike". They met social sanctions and showed many signs of having to adapt to a polite but devaluing organisational culture. For example, the part-time men often told about work compression, doing more in their shorter hours, in order to be seen as equals.

As described in the above table, traditional companies in the early change phase were characterised by general discrimination of caregiving plus an extra burden for the men involved in it. For example: "A woman who says she will work 80 percent for taking care of the kids, often receive admiration from her colleagues. The man who says it, don't. But their actions are not much in the open. They are not very visible. I think many men sacrifice a lot for their children, but it is not much valued in society." (Expert interview, Telon company, Norway). "In 2002 my baby was born and I asked for a two hour reduction for breast-feeding leave [with 100 percent of wage]. This is one of the benefits that the company has. But this was the first time in the company that a man demanded this kind of benefit. The managers were very surprised, and they decided that the benefit was for women only." (Mobcom, Spain). At the end the man got the two hour reduction, but with a proportional wage reduction, since Spanish law allowed this; later, however, he was fired during company restructuring. This was another typical risk factor in reducing work.

Support from colleagues was important in this situation. It could be rather thin in many companies, especially if the men's absence meant extra work, but we also find exceptions. In Bulgaria, a 34 year old widower who took sole caring responsibility for his two children said: "I work mostly with men and I don't know someone in the same situation. But my colleagues support me very much. They always help me when something happens and I should stay home with kids. I do not have any problems having paid vacations or 'sick child' leave." (bank security officer and taxi driver).

Leaders are important in organisational change, especially in new fields and types of change. This was confirmed in our material. We found a frequent "it depends on the leader" theme. Example:

"- Do you think it will be harder, in the future, to combine work and family?

Yes, I believe so, I believe it goes the wrong way.

Because the company has trouble?

Well I don't know. Bad leadership. I have a [woman] leader who has four kids, you know, and then it is no problem.

So the boss is important?

Yes very." (Conrad, Norenergy, Norway)

In another case (Spain), one of the male employees in the company had wanted to take fathers leave. He went first to the manager (role model) with the appropriate request, and second to his direct superior, who seemed to follow a rather traditional gender role attitude. "By the time he got a positive reply from the manager, he did not bother about the more critical reply from his superior."

Often, the leaders were more positive towards employees who were seen as important for the company. For example, "My working schedule depends on me and my own tasks organisation. This gives me a possibility to plan my time and to attain work-family balance. This flexibility is not formally regulated and allowed by the company policy and procedures, but the managers are liberal towards such flexibility as far as it doesn't hinder the achievement of goals." (Account expert, Bulgaria).

Lack of information was part of the organisational climate, especially in phase 1, contributing to the informal relations type of change. "The organisation doesn't want to communicate more than necessary the rights and opportunities that employees have as regards parental leave / reduction of working hours. In my opinion, the reason is the problem of replacements. When I negotiated with the company about work hour reduction, this was not a "official communication". I know a couple of other men in the organisation who experienced the same

thing" (Spain Ent 6, Coomundi). Lacking information and men's problems with using their caregiving rights were sometimes attributed by the management to the men themselves. "I believe that it is not necessary to promote this subject [fathers' parental leave]. They know that they have it and if they do not request it is because they do not need it [our italics]. I believe that it is a cultural subject, not a company matter. Here (in Spain), like it or not, we are in a sexist culture. It is more 'logical' that the woman sacrifices her professional career than the man." (Mobcom expert).

Although most men preferred a companionate or dual career model of marriage, there was much ambivalence under the surface, contributing to the inertia and small-scale change in phase 1. A few men put it into words. "Some of the men I has worked with, have wives who don't work. They live in quite another world. (..) These men don't quite know how life is. Perhaps they live the life we all should have. That just one person works. I am thinking, my wife works 100 percent, I work 100 percent; we have two children. If I had worked 100 percent and she had stayed at home, the world would have been quite different. We would have had a much more quiet life. Now, we're supposed to bring and fetch and do we have time for this and that." But most men put some distance between the breadwinner ideal and their own choices. For example: "Personally I don't want to use all my time for work. I have two small children. I wish to use the flexible hours and home office possibility in my company in a positive way."[40]

Negative organisational culture was another main obstacle in the first phase especially. Negative sanctions were connected to overwork culture and an informal ranking system with the overworker at the top and the reduced-hours employee at the bottom. For example: "He would have liked to work 45 hours a week, however he feels that the organisational culture rejects employees that leave the workplace too early. For instance, when he leaves his workplace on 17:30 p.m. he is asked in a funny manner whether he is working part-time." This man (IT company, Israel) turned out not to use his actual possibilities for taking time off from work, due to negative informal sanctions. We found this tendency in new as well as traditional companies. "New media are signified by a psudo-familiar working culture, informal structures and lacks of cooperative decision. Very noticable is the tendency to an unlimited working time – 60 or more hours per week" (Expert interview, Germany).

Many men described increased flexibility of hours; the men's working time was increasingly left to individual regulation. This was good, yet in some jobs, it also meant an increase of overwork. "The problem with flexible time is that at the end people work more. (..) It gives an enormous freedom to the individual. We started this policy with very young people. It has made people very responsible for their work. The machine, the clock, does not control you; the control is from your colleagues.(...) At the end the control tool is your own colleague."(Mobcom expert, Spain).

Flexibility was also seen as an alternative to long but rather empty work hours. The fact that long work hours could mean less work per hour was mentioned by many men. For example: "You're much away from home, but you don't work all the time. You are travelling or living in a hotel (..). The way the family sees it, you are away, but perhaps you are not so productive, for the company." (Conrad, Org A, Norway)

Sometimes the negative social sanctions were more direct. In one case, an expert described the reactions to men asking for parental leave. "Generally the employees are ignorant, they think that this is a measurement for women only. Also, it is a cultural subject, there are comments like: 'Are you going home now to give the teat to the boy?' Most people don't understand that a man can take breast-feeding leave and give a feeding bottle to the children" (Mobcom expert, Spain, our italics).

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[40] Conrad, Norenergy, Norway; our italics; N1 Telon, Norway.

Second phase

In the second phase the new men were no longer so alone or seen as deviants. Reactions were mixed in the organisation. Many men looked towards these men and at how the organisation reacted, creating new observer roles.

In some cases, we found top leaders trying to change the organisation in gender-equal ways, often facing the organisational inertia described above. "The manager's commitment to men who take an active caregiving role does not correspond to organisational structures" a production company expert told us (Austria). Even if the leadership was committed, the organisation could continue to run in quite gender-traditional ways. Mid-level leadership sometimes appeared as an obstacle – a common finding in work research – although we do not have systematic data on this.

If we consider the sanctions, obstacles, relational coincidence and organisational inertia described by the men especially in the early change phases, it is not so surprising that most of them were positive to clear and strong institutional measures especially regarding parental leave for fathers. The "fathers' leave is good" theme was frequent among the men accross very different contexts. Some examples: "When he was asked about the possibility of father's parental leave, he replied that it seems an excellent idea to him." (Israel M 10). "When he was asked about the possibility of a parent leave for a father he replied that this seems a good idea to him. He added humorously that he would have liked to have parental leave instead of his wife…. (Israel B 10). In Norway, young teacher T did not take the paternal leave; he was a student and working at the time when he got children. But later he has regretted. "I really wish I had used that period. I would have thrived" (his children were now 11 and 7).

Further, if parents had shared parental leave equally, employers would have no reason to discriminate against women: "The HR Manager shared that it is a huge problem for the bank branches that too often the young women there get pregnant and take maternity leave for a year or two." (Bank, Bulgaria). A related line of thought is "it is better if the law does it". A regulation to ensure a male parental leave would probably be respected by employers. "In his opinion, the organisation would probably confirm a request for a father's leave." (Israel M 10). "If there existed a law for father's parental leave, then there should be no problem with that" (Israel B 8)

But if the man's personal or "face value" should decide, chances are, he will lose. "He thinks that if he had asked for parental leave [on a personal basis], the management would not agree - "it is enough for them that I have to leave for my military reserve…". (Israel B 10). If the law is there, negotiations are easier, as in this Norway example: A man used the paternal leave – 1 month for the first child, 2 for the second. "I managed that deal. (..) I wanted 3 months but settled for 2. It was my wife I was negotiating with. Not the company, for them you can take as much as you want, as long as it is within the law. (..) It is not highly evaluated, but it is accepted".

Conversely, firms often face problems when the law or regulations are not in place. Austria example: "According to the manager, there are still strong obstacles that go along with fathers' leaves, in terms of income and career: The company does not give work-place guarantee (same work position) to employees who take parental leave, says the quality manager. Referring to personnel recruitment, the possibility that an applicant is going to take parental leave is still seen as a negative factor, he says."

We find the wish for better and clearer laws across the countries, education and management levels, etc. in the material. A Coomundi expert (Spain) said: "I would like a law that gives fathers a fathers' leave of their own. As long as there is just some organisations that try this, they must assume all the costs, but if it is a subject in the law, it will be more

shared. There are a lot of costs for an organisation as it is, with few resources. To assume all [responsibility] .... is difficult." This is a highly significant statement since it comes from one of the most advanced organisations in the sample, with considerable effort towards gender equality including a new perspective on men, and a company culture where fathers are somewhat encouraged to take parental leave. One important practical indicator whether the company is moving ahead towards phase two is whether employees in leave are temporarily replaced or not. In many companies, they have no replacement, and therefore easily create an extra burden on the others. "When you have a lot of people with reduction by breast-feeding, it causes the others to work more" (Mobcom expert).

The changes concerning men cannot be seen isolated from changes concerning women. This became evident in the second phase especially. The company faced "gender trouble" – gender became part of the agenda, often through conflicts and complaints. Competition between men and women increase; women are no longer only in segmented positions in the work hierarchy (Lutz Ohlendieck 2003) The main gender issues remained focused on women rather than men, but men were somewhat more acknowledged ("women and gender" could be one term for this halfway entrance of men into gender issues). For management a main point was women as a new resource; for women and employees, new rights and organisational conditions. A typical management statement was that "the company should no longer discriminate but use talent on both sides".

As a broad tendency, women's advancement in the organisations was associated with men's advancement. This link was highly complex, however, and sometimes contradictory. Some companies defined gender equality as support for women in ways that was experienced as detrimental by many men, as a kind of converse discrimination.[41] In the main pattern, however, improved status of women in the organisation was associated with gender equality for men. In some cases, women were gatekeepers for men's change.

The mixed situation of phase two was also a reflection of wider ambivalences in society and culture at large. Sometimes, non-standard arrangements in the organisation met traditional expectations e g among customers. In one example, during a meeting with mainly male customers, a male secretary served coffee to the customers and his female superior. "This did not go very well", said the female top manager. The customers were annoyed; the relation seemed to be strange to them. (Revoc, Austria). In other cases, innovative tendencies in the organisation were hampered by institutional inertia, for example a women-only focus in gender mainstreaming that did not help the company to address the issues of women and men together (Interbank, Germany). Obviously many factors came into this picture – gender conservativism in parts of law and regulations, protective attitude towards women, traditional masculinity patterns and informal ranking in culture and private life, many women's ambivalence towards new men, etc. – that can only be mentioned here.

Third phase

In the third phase, the earlier innovations and new practices received more institutional and organisational support. New policies and measures were implemented. Gender and family issues were addressed more equally towards women and men. Earlier, more isolated and temporary changes turned into more lasting proactive changes.

Proactive changes have been studied in restructuring research (ref**). Restructuring is a period of shake-up for the company. It is often costly and hard for the employees, but it also has a good side - if there should be anything new, now is the time to make it.

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[41] *We found the 'matriarchal' interpretation of gender equality especially in one company (Revoc, Austria), but also as a quite common complaint among men in numerically women-dominated jobs, e g men in kindergartens.*

Although restructuring was often associated with gender inequality in our material (as in other studies), there were some important positive exceptions showing better practices. For example, Asisa (Spain) in the early 1990s had a negative culture towards women, but restructuring and globalisation in the next years as well as a court conflict on gender discrimination made the company to change its course. In 1996 it became part of a national gender auditing program. This contributed to a growth period for the company. "[Today] we think positively of women. For example when there is a free vacant position in the Systems Department (where there are more men), we put a woman picture in the supply publicity to animate women to supply for the vacancy" (Asisa expert).

In Austria, a large information technology company (Inno) was forced to cut down due to economic problems a few years ago. However, the company carried out strategies with focus on reductions of work-time and new forms of work, rather than downsizing. Freelance and limited contracts were reduced, and the company made generous offers for part-time work. As a result, different models of part-time work were created and part-time employment strongly increased in the company. The new offers were taken mainly by men. The part-time rate of men more than doubled, and the women's part-time rate also increased slightly The company was pleased about every employee who took parental leave, because this was seen as a cost-saving measure (as long as employees took parental leave, the company did not have to pay their wages). The high demand for qualified IT employees was an important background of these policies. As the economy improved, the company could change part-time jobs to full-time jobs, retaining their employees.

Very few companies in our sample could be seen as phase 3 companies. Rather, the best of them displayed some phase 3 traits while they were less advanced in other areas. More than before we have to consider the evidence fragmented. Phase 3 points to a wider connection of gender equality, diversity and innovation; although the conditions of this development are uncertain today, we know that the phase will be characterised by greater interconnection of formerly (seemingly) isolated issues. This has been pointed out e g in work research. Isolated attempts towards innovation can create wider change when they work together. Role changes on several levels are needed to create breakthroughs and democratic innovation, and gender change is one of the key factors (Thorsrud, E 1973).

A broad proactive trend pointing towards change can be connected to the increasing proportion of services in the labour market and thereby - by implication at least - the increased value of reproduction. More complex work means more emphasis on cooperative and social skills, and as a background tendency, increasing gender equality (Holter, Ø 1997a). This has recently been described as a more "relational" working life (Fossestøl, K 2004) We know that work has many socialisation effects (see e g Kohn & Schooler 1983); today, some of them have developed in a social direction and become more widespread. Social relations are more important in the workplace across different branches and sectors. "What the individual does, how she or he cooperates, has become more critical. We can see this even in quite traditional firms. And also in production-oriented firms. Also, it has to do with increased service orientation." (Norway, employer expert).

The socialisation effects from work appear on the organisational as well as the individual level. An example is Coomundi (Spain). This company implemented gender equality issues internally in its own organisation, based on the social work and development work its members did for the organisation in other parts of the world. Gender equality appeared as a neccessity considering practical tasks in the field, and on this basis (with an element of 'learning from the south/poor world'), the organisation developed an internal policy that came to include men as well as women. The example shows the importance of work and task-related challenges for change. The orientation and character of the work means a lot, especially if other conditions are also fairly favourable.

A third long-term change dimension had to do with work itself - new work forms and innovation. A common theme in our material concerned possibilities for working shorter and smarter.

"If you bind up your time to, say, four o'clock, you don't think about the possibility that you could have done things quite differently. That you might not need to be there till four. Do we have bound time, or common time, just to have common time – for example? Or is it useful? Are we doing anything useful? Many think we have common time just to get information they've already received on mail etc. Is it necessary, or is the meeting just for the meeting's own sake, because somewhere it says we should have it? Or could we become more effective? And these things are of a kind that has to do with private life." (Jonas, Lia school, Norway).

Employees with 'bound' time were influenced by increasing flexibility and more 'unbound' time elsewhere in working life. Increased life quality and family / work balance could be achieved by working smarter and more innovatively.

Other long-term tendencies were more negative or possibly dangerous. "The place of work and the place of living is becoming more integrated. How do we protect the living places, in relation to the work places? The persons become more 'nomadic', and shift between different tasks. Organisations become more amoeba-like. Firms are building up and down and moving. Restructuring has become normal. The car industry is an example, quite transparent, and per se quite traditional, but also innovative. The whole society is become more transparent or border-less. There are no borders between living and working. " (Norway, employer expert).

Although we found differences between a family orientation and a gender equality orientation, most men associated the two. For example: "I think the company is good in gender equality because there are the same opportunities for men and women, and they do positive discrimination towards women to try to balance gender in top positions. The company is also good because it helps employees with families." (Marc Busquets, Coomundi, Spain). More transparency on gender-equal terms could mean better work/family policy, helping employees to set limits to "invading jobs" and "honey traps".

The benefits of proactive policies were especially evident in this company. "Training and material for fostering gender equality among employees are good. It is good for two reasons: to be awake towards gender equality in the company and in order to be more awake at home and in society". An expert in the company said: "For our organisation it would be positive to have more men taking father's leave or other work-family balance measures. This is positive for gender role equality in general. Our organisation can help demonstrate that there is an added value, that people use it, and people can seek shelter. This also can change society. It demonstrates that if we can do it, others can also do it. Like a model or example of different forms of operation". A leader in another Spanish company said, "The advantages are that we are a tremendously attractive company where people are very engaged with their projects. People are motivated" (Mobcom).

Attracting the best employees through social benefits was a key in this context. The benefits were "an added value compared to other companies". "We cannot compete in terms of wages; the only thing we can offer to the employee is motivation and sense of the work they do. And also you have compensation policies, work-family balance and more flexibility than in other companies. And this, also, generates added value." Benefits could to some extent replace wages. "Our salary is not very high. Based on the qualifications of the people and kinds of jobs we do, we should be receiving higher wages. So it is necessary to compensate this, and they do it with time".

Social competence was clearly valued in the advanced companies, for example in recruitment. "If we have two profiles, the first without any social path, or collabouration or

dedication in social matters, although it has a technical profile, we prefer the second, someone who have motivation for social issues."42

Many men emphasised gender equality and family reconciliation as motivation and loyalty factors. Companies who provide these benefits will increasingly profit from it in labour market competition, according to our material. "I like a more dynamic kind of job. I think I am a hard worker and my bosses estimate my achievements. So I feel secure here with this company." Private and family reasons are becoming more important, and this man (multinational company expert employee, Bulgaria) continues: "My partner and I have lived together for 4 years. I feel very happy and complete in this relationship, and I am strongly attached to my partner's son, whom I've accepted as my own child. So I am the person responsible for the care of the child, taking him to and from the kindergarten, staying at home with him until his mother returns from work. Also I am responsible for the shopping and very much engaged in cleaning the house and washing dishes. I am inclined and willing to take all these responsibilities because my partner comes home later and she's too tired to have time and enthusiasm to cope with all her tasks. Helping – well, my partner helps me, because she supports me in my work and the heavy moments there. I have a budget to fulfil and it's not easy to achieve all objectives and yes, this is very hindering." But in all, he is a happy man. More men are seeing gender equality as a benefit rather than a cost.

3.3.4. Concluding remarks

Two theoretical issues have been highlighted in this chapter. These are the need to develop change perspectives on men and masculinities, and the need for more organisation-aware gender and masculinities concepts.

While a typological analysis of men's work/family adaptations in Europe may yield a split picture of men and masculinities, change-oriented analysis brings common trends, fluctuations and shifts more centrally into view. This was further explored using a qualitative thematic method. From the change perspective, men's different adaptations as patch workers, time pioneers, care and career combiners or career men often resembled positions in a common movement. However, this movement was fragmented, relational and personal rather than collective and organisational. The caregiving men represented new relational gender vis-a-vis the company's traditional organisational gender. This tension created increasing conflict and a pressure towards new organisational developments. In our 'best practice' cases described in the last section, men's needs for gender equality was more recognised, but as a whole, this process was in an early phase.

We emphasised 'neutralisation' of gender discrimination against men. What is in fact related to men's caregiving and new roles, is instead expressed and practiced as if it had no special gender meaning or consequence. When a man in one of our interviews stresses that "career-wise you are dead, if you take a part-time job" – an experience shared by many – it does not mean that the organisation is out to get you if you are a caregiving man or represent some special masculinity. That may be the case too, since in some companies, traditional organisational gender leads to cultural sanctions like degrading remarks - but it is not the main pattern. Instead, the 'user interface' of unequal organisational gender is neutral and legitimised in non-gender terms. It is not as if management is anti-care. It simply does not care, according to many of the men. There is a difference. And this difference helps explain why the men's movement is muted too, not clearly a collective pattern.

We may also see this from another angle: as soon as the men's movement turns collective, it tends to leave gender behind.[43] The gender movement among men in the organisations and

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companies is definitely small-scale. When things reach a larger scale, gender tends to drop off the agenda. This is not specific for men, but men meet it in special ways. It can be seen as a power system by itself (as feminists have done), yet it also leaves organisations open for special forms of intervention.

New leadership brought the change possibilities especially into view in our material. A paradox comes into life when the traditional organisation gets a new man as leader, as in Hafner company in Austria. In this case, there had been a strategic shift from paternalistic to strategic management, and the new manager created several measures to flatten old hierarchical structures, involving class divisions as well as gender issues. Transforming unskilled to skilled employment was company policy. The company had developed a system to change unskilled employees to "workers with skilled employee status", a voluntary measure in the company that enhanced security for these workers to some degree (in Austria, there are "workers" and "employees", and the employees are better off in some respects). The manager argued that the employees were all qualified for their jobs and that the term "unskilled" devalued their work and position in the company. Also the distinction between skilled and unskilled work caused a gap between employees and management, a class division in the company. The manager's target was that the term "unskilled worker" should disappear in the company. – For many reasons, the importance of the leader role was highlighted in our results, and leaders' possibilities for change and gender equality improvement emerged as important research issues for the future.

Considering the material as a whole, which model worked best – a job change model, or a household change model? Although both got some support, our main finding was that the men's household and private life relations went in front. Households appeared as more dynamic than jobs, at least in a biographical perspective.

The household change model is not an idealist model. It defines two forms of work, not "real" work in production plus households that are only about free time, culture and consumption. Free time in a society dominated by wage labour includes reproduction, which is not really free, but a system requirement. That is why gender equality is so closely linked to most other power and economic issues in our society.

3.4. Towards a New Positioning of Men[44]

3.4.1. Abstract

In work package 3 of the project, we were looking at individual men who have managed to arrange well with labour-market-related changes, trying to „model successful change-processes". In all 6 participating countries, the research teams performed interviews with a small but carefully selected sample of men. Some of them were found in the wp2-companies, others outside. We proceeded in the following way:
(1) The Austrian team performed a „pre-study", focussing on fathers. A model was developed by Grounded Theory.
(2) This model was submitted to the partner teams for comparison.
(3) In addition, the focus of the study in the participating countries was enlarged, concentrating not only on fathers, but also on other interesting „work and life-arrangements".
As a result, we conceptualized 2 psychological models of self-concept change. Increasing distance to „what it normally means to be a man" (especially in terms of the facet „I as a

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[43] *This is the converse of the rule that anything related to gender and family will be focused on women. These are aspects of a broader pattern, connected to the gender inequality. .*

[44] *Chapter written by Christian Scambor and Klaus Schwerma, with contributions of Paco Abril, Yair Amichai-Hamburger, Margarita Atanassova, Marc Gärtner, Sigtona Halrynjo, Øystein Gullvåg Holter, Stephan Höyng, Selma Therese Lyng, Ralf Puchert, Vera Riesenfeld, Elli Scambor and Violeta Velkova.*

worker, breadwinner") can be based either on major events or on a slower, progressive development (or on chains of both).

Although there are more or less hindrances to „non-conform", it is interesting that such developments are enabled at all. It seems that some of the interviewed men are first representatives of a process that „disentangles" work and masculinity. If the environment isn't too restrictive and the individual has enough resources, he might try something different than he ought to. „Value- and life goal-developments" play the intermediate roles between „self-concept" and „standards, norms".

Important preconditions here are:

hitherto existing identity and life concepts and those of the partner (e.g. employment orientation), social network;

Is an individual change process related to social discourses possible?

Are demands and changes perceived as individual or collective processes of private or organisational environment? (Here one can think of fatherhood as social responsibility toward the child, which has to be reconciled with company's demands.)

3.4.2. Introduction

In work package 3, the focus was shifted to individual men, on the way how individuals deal with new work forms and discontinuities – situations that are increasing, and that usually are associated with precariousness and uncertainty. The sequence: education – continuous full time employment in one company – retiring has survived as an ideal norm for the male working biography. At least for men, "atypical" forms of work are defined with reference to such an ideal. Moreover, this model has survived in the heads of people as the "standard" or the "former standard". Situations related to working life that don't fit to this model are seen as more or less problematic.

In our project, we were not denying that these so called „flexible" working situations often are associated with insecurity. One of our most important results and recommendations is to provide resources and some new kind of social security to people, so that they can adapt to the ongoing changes better than today. This will be one of the main challenges for social politics in the future. The importance of resources for the individuals is also emphasized by another, parallel EU-research project called „SIREN – Socio-Economic Change, Individual Reactions and the Appeal of the Extreme Right"[45].

On first sight, it may seem more convincing to link today's changes on the labour market with some kind of problematic development, and there is no doubt that there are such problematic developments. But our project has started from another angle: We asked if men could find ways to use these new situations on the labour markets and these new work forms in a constructive way, and under what conditions such constructive variants of dealing with the changes can be developed. „Constructive", in this respect, means that a man can partly replace a work orientation by some other element in his self-definition and self-concept, in a way that he himself evaluates in a positive way. Such elements could be: caregiving, community or political engagement, quality aspects in social contacts and partnerships, personal interests and "identity projects", health and so on.

Two starting points emerged of the previous work packages:

The male standard work pattern (continuous, full-time employment, with the role or connotation of the main provider of the family) is affected by changes on the labour market

Work and labour still play a central role within the „masculinity standards".

„Masculinity standards" and gender standards in general can be derived from Holter's "sprinkle system[46]" (2003). This system favours the provider or breadwinner role for men,

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[45] www.siren.at

[46] „The ,sprinkle system' consists of economic incentives that favour the provider or breadwinner role, rather than

rather than the caring role. The basic ideological messages of this system are: „men are expendable, hard, instrumental" and „men are non-carers". These messages are implemented on an economical, social, cultural and psychological level. We want to call these ideological messages and its implications „masculinity standards". These standards are existing outside and inside the individuals. They are built into institutions, into every day life, into gender relations within and between the genders, and function as gender-norms within subjects. For the individual itself, these standards appear as preferences and attractions, as ought and ideal selves, as „what I prefer and would like". Important masculinity standards are:

work and career are the central facets in men's self concepts, other facets are subordinate/functional to work and career

men are expendable, hard workers

men are non-carers concerning working life

men are the main providers of the family and non-carers, if they live in a family – which they should

which implies the norm of heterosexuality, and so on.

These masculinity standards clearly reflect a specific gender relation, the one of industrialized societies, with the distinction of work and home, paid and unpaid labour etc. They reflect the historical – economical – cultural organisation and development of a society.

It is argued that these standards are increasingly dissolving, according to economical changes, in some fields more than in others. Cultural, societal, economical changes, democratisation and modernisation may have fostered a diversification of masculinities. This diversification in turn questions the masculinity standards. Nevertheless, we argue that for most men such standards are still valid, at least as background orientation pattern, and that all men know them.

From a more psychological view, the masculinity standards can be seen as „ideal self" or „ought self" in a self-system that contains the perspectives:

„what I am" (actual self)

„what I would like to be" (ideal self)

„what I should be" (ought self)

according to Higgins' self-discrepancy theory[47].

Masculinity standards are existing „outside and inside" the individuals. This view allows us to introduce another concept here: the concept of „identity work" by Keupp et al (1999)[48]. „Identity work" means that people have to co-ordinate their „inner world" and „outer world". They have to co-ordinate their needs and impulses with societal demands and guidelines. In work package 3, we have interviewed men whose work&life-situations don't correspond to these standards

either because these situations have occurred

or these situations have been sought and created by the men themselves, as an active rejection of the masculinity standards, to some degree.

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the caring role. It keeps men out of care-related activities, professional caregiving work as well as caregiving in private life... The sprinkle system is not just an economic system favouring the breadwinner. It is also social, cultural and psychological. It is connected to social sanctions against unmanliness, to contempt for weakness and to a struggle for ‚model power'. The two basic ideological messages of the system rest on the premise of the man as the hard outgoing instrumental type – the ‚go on till you drop' syndrome. One message is that men are expendable. The other is that men do not care... When a gender ideal like the breadwinner is partially realised through such a sprinkle system, including economic rewards in working life, it becomes a normative center. It persists and has a larger impact than one would otherwise expect..." (Holter 2003, p.25f.).

[47] *Higgins E.T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. Psychological Review (94), 319-340.*
Higgins E.T. (1989). Self-discrepancy theory: What patterns or self-beliefs cause people to suffer? In: Berkowitz L. (ed.): Advances in experimental social psychology, Bd. 22. San Diego: Academic Press.
[48] *see Keupp H., Ahbe T., Gmür W., Höfer R., Mitzscherlich B., Kraus W., Straus F. (1999). Identitätskonstruktionen. Das Patchwork der Identitäten in der Spätmoderne. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt*

We wanted to reconstruct these men's identity work, to look how they dealt with frictions or conflicts between masculinity standards and their actual situation; inside themselves as well as outside.

3.4.3. Method

Our access followed the logic of comparing, derived from Grounded Theory. The whole work package was constructed in the following way:

First, we conducted a pre-study in Austria, with the focus „men in caring situations", men who have taken over caring roles for their children or relatives, at least for a certain period of time. This initial focus was selected because it can be seen as a „paradigmatic case" for our definition of „best practice": Men with caring roles contradict the standard distributions of paid and unpaid labour among the genders, they show a relevant development into the direction of more gender equal arrangements in terms of behaviour. As far as their working situation is concerned, they show untypical behaviour, like reducing work or taking a leave and so on, so they make some use of new work forms.

In the main study which was performed by all partners, this model was used for men with caring roles in all countries, so we could compare and develop it further. As we went along in our project, we covered a wider range of men's diversity of lives, and new focuses apart from domestic and caring roles came in. That means, in the end we reformulated the model presented now in order to develop more general models of identity change that are able to integrate „caring" and other best-practice cases.

The research teams in all countries performed qualitative interviews, with a small but carefully selected sample of men (ca. 10 intensive interviews per country, lasting around 2 hours).

Table...: Country samples in the main study

	number of interviews	access via company	other access	youngest respondent	oldest respondent	university degree	,caring' was important
Austria	12	11	1	26	56	2	11
Bulgaria	10	1	9	27	59	9	8
Israel	6	2	4	31	60	6	4
Germany	10	6	4	29	53	4	7
Norway	21	14	7	30	55	11	17
Spain	10	7	3	32	52	10	8
Total	69	41	28	26	60	42	55

Note: The higher number of interviews in Norway was obtained by including work-package 3-interview questions into the work-package 2-interviews. In these cases, some of the instruments were not used.

Instruments

A half-standardized interview guideline was developed for the pre-study and modified for the main study. It contained various questions to the man's biography (initial biographical-narrative part), work situation, life situation, and future plans.

The respondents were asked to give brief self-descriptions by saying 20 sentences that start with "I am", in this way presenting a list of relevant self-definitions/ self-concept-elements.[49]

A time-table was used to summarize the man's biography in terms of education, employments, private life and life events. The objective was to get a graphic overview of the

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49 See also: Kuhn, M., & McPartland, T.S.(1954). An empirical investigation of self-attitudes. American Sociological Review, 19, 68-76.

respondents' biographies as well as information about their time-use across their biographies.

A social network card (EGONET-QF[50]) was used to get information about the respondent's social contacts as well as their definitions of 'fields'. They were asked to draw persons' names into a card with concentric circles, with the center of these circles representing the respondent himself. The distance to the center represented the importance of each relationship. Segments were drawn by the respondent that represented the fields in his life (frequent fields were work, family, friends).

Sampling strategy:

We wanted to get a sample of men in all countries who showed a self-concept-development into a certain direction, based on unusual practices or situations in working and private life. This direction was evaluated as „good practice", and it was roughly defined by the following features:

subjective well-being

gender equality orientation

increasing distance from masculinity standards

appearing together with some kind of new work form or non-standard situation concerning working life. Various questionnaires and the information of work package 2-interviews were used to get this information.

That means, we were looking for individuals who replaced „work" by other elements in their self-concept, like caregiving, engagements, self-fulfilment and so on. These men have developed a „multi-facetted self", in contrast to a self-concept that is only or mainly based on „work". Some of the men were found in the companies that were investigated in the previous work-package 2, others were recruited outside these organisations, e.g. by snowball-sampling procedures, and similar.

It is very important to keep in mind that the sample consists of a very special group of men, and inferences about men in general are restricted. Because of our sampling strategy, we are not talking about „the average", but in contrary about „the exceptions", about those who show a behaviour and attitudes that we found exceptional and interesting, at least in some respects, and compared with others who were not taken into this sample.

3.4.4. Pre-study

The Austrian pre-study reports several main findings, emphasising caring work and social network patterns. Men in caring situations are not a homogenous group. We addressed in a strictly behavioural way, i.e. selecting exceptional individuals who performed a high share of domestic and caring work. These individuals are in a caring situation due to different reasons. They differed in terms of „preparedness" and „access" to the caring situation, some well-planning it and feeling this idea to be concordant with their values and attitudes, others not planning it at all, having never thought of such a thing like parental leave or the like.

Process

Once in a caring situation, we found a process that is quite similar for all the respondents. Despite of their heterogeneity, the men in caring situations seemed to interpret their experiences in a similar way. It is of high importance that most of the men told about stressing aspects and problems in the beginning of the caring situation. The stages of the process were called:

- Misplacement

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[50] Strauss F. (2001). Qualitative Netzwerkanalyse. München: IPP. This paper has not been subjected to formal review or approach. It was made available to the Work Changes Gender team by IPP for use in this project.

- Gender status insecurity
- Reflecting masculinity drafts
- Adapting and rearranging self-concept

Often, a state of gender status insecurity, caused by the new and unexpected experiences of the men in the caring situations, was coped by a reflection process and the rearrangement of social networks. In some cases, the process led to a de- and re-gendering stage, where similarity was not defined by sex in the first place, but by the similarity of the situation. More detailed, these stages can be described as follows:

Misplacement: Most of the men told about stressing aspects and problems in the beginning of the caring situation. Being in a caring situation brings along new, unexpected situations for the men. The narrations sound like „I am in the wrong context/situation". At this stage, the respondents try to keep their self-concept stable by e.g. increasing the psychological distance to women/mothers.

Gender status insecurity, crisis: Experiencing „misplacement" results in insecurity, because few or no drafts for the requested behaviours seem to exist for the men. The normal, standard male self-concept-facet „working/paid labour" is reduced or not present, the situation is new and unfamiliar. If the man has too few resources, crisis will result.

Reflecting masculinity drafts: The own situation is compared to the standard „working-man" masculinity draft. „Being different than others" becomes accepted, and the men try to connotate this in a positive way. „Normality patterns of masculinity" are defined and rejected. Especially the meaning of the term „work" is reflected, redefined, related to one's own situation. These reflections can lead to the last process stage:

Adapting, rearranging self concept: Here, the men try to integrate their domestic and caring activities into their self-concept. They rearrange their „inner and outer worlds" in a way that allows them to evaluate themselves in a positive way and that supports their self-esteem. Ascribed elements of masculinity and femininity drafts can be mixed, with an „individualized masculinity version" as a result. We have called this stage: „de-gendering and re-gendering". A strict male-female-distinction is rejected and replaced by a „diversity-view". One's reference group is redefined: similar others now are persons (men or women) in the same situation („I and the other mothers..."). One could say: the reference-group-criterion „same sex" is replaced by „similarity of situation".

A lot of conditions shape this process, some conditions are set before the man enters the caring situations (e.g. conditions related to personality), others become efficient later on (e.g. social support/rejection in various fields). Every person can leave the process at some stage. The results/consequences of the process rely on the stage of leaving the caring situation, how far the process has come. Throughout these stages, there are in most cases positively evaluated experiences concerning the direct contact with the child. These positive experiences foster the maintenance of the caring situation and start to overlay the more stressing aspects.

Pre-Study Results

The sense of similarity as "similarity of situation" can be considered a central result. Basically it says that e.g. a man in parental leave considers himself more similar to a woman in parental leave than to a man in full-time work without caring duties. (The same could be true for women: a women in parental leave could consider herself more similar to a man in parental leave than to a female manager.) Similar situations, combined with diversity views on both genders, can be seen as a good basis for new alliances, beyond the sex-based man-woman-dichotomy.

Another finding is that caring work changes gender. The majority of the respondents evaluates the caring situation as a positive phase in their lives. The last two stages of the above described process were defined as „change-area". Here, clear reflections about masculinities, the meaning of the term „work", social reactions etc. take place and alter the men's views quite a lot. Most of them stay „agents" who actively try to reflect and rearrange their social environment.

„Weak ties" are of high importance. „Networking-activities" are more successful in the area of the respondent's closer relationships („strong ties", like family, friends, closer colleagues at work etc.). The „weak ties" cannot be shaped that easily. They consist of relationships to people that one meets only from time to time, that are known from sight and the like. They can give stronger inputs, though, as the closer network is arranged in a way that is consistent with one's views, values or attitudes. The „weak ties", however, can „reinforce or punish" a behaviour or attitude without being asked.

There are gender-specific rejections. A direct devaluation because of one's violation of masculinity-norms by performing domestic and caring behaviour is ascribed to other men (rejection type/ perspective of others on me: "gender-traitor"). In the respondent's eyes, women's uneasiness with these exceptional males is expressed in rather superficial acknowledgement with an underlying mistrust, regarding the man as an „intruder" (rejection type/ perspective of others on me: "gender-trespasser"). Both sorts of rejections play an important role in the „implementing-process".

All in all, the caring situation turns out as a demanding situation, especially in the beginning, due to reasons like the just mentioned social rejection. The men report a feeling of „sitting between the chairs". What we have defined as „Crisis, gender status insecurity" deserves more attention.

The comparison of the presented model from the pre-study in Austria with „men in caring situations" in the other countries was an important part of this work package. Basically, this model holds, although in detail there are differences as well, as can be expected.

3.4.5. Results: Main study

In the main study, we wanted to include a greater variety of work-and life-arrangements of men than private caring situations only, according to the selection criteria for work-package-3-interviews: distance from masculinity standards that goes along with gender-equal attitudes and contentedness with life, combined with some non-standard work situation or working biography. Thus, a greater variety of cases could be covered, not only „the carers". We were looking for individuals who were in the midst of a process to reduce the weight of the self-concept-element „work/paid labour", and to replace it by other elements/ increase the respective weights, i.e. to develop a „multi-facetted self". As a result, we conceptualized two models of male self-concept change, one associated with strong external events and situational changes, the other covering the cases where self-concept changes proceeded less dramatically, in small steps, consistently moving away from masculinity standards over time.

General models of self-concept change: SEMO and PROMO

The topic men and caring was a special focus within the broader perspective of the project on successful dealing of men with the new conditions concerning work. In general, we were interested in variants of identity work with the men's experiences in working life in the center, and the men's efforts to combine and integrate other facets into a subjectively well-fitting individual male self-concept. The main question is: If we see an individual rejecting existing

masculinity standards, how come that he does? This is not related to caring only, but to any significant deviations from masculinity standards.

The following models of self-concept change put the focus on the situational demands that are felt by the individual (i.e. how stressing, demanding the individual assesses a situation), and the available resources to deal with the situation. The first model, called 'SEMO' (Strong and Sudden Event Model), is appropriate for a narration (or a sequence) where a life event occurs (e.g. a life event like the death of a relative), or the respondent's situation changes considerably (e.g. entering a caring situation). Note that it is the respondent who defines if an event or situational change is 'strong'.

The second model of self-concept change, called 'PROMO' (Progressive Model), was formulated to cover the narrative sequences in an interview where self-concept changes seemed to proceed less 'dramatically', in small steps over time, consistently developing (instead of situational breaks). As in SEMO, the main point is that masculinity standards are partly rejected. In this respect, PROMO is connected with smaller steps than SEMO, and with the significant difference that PROMO mainly is associated with positive experiences ... experiences.

SEMO - Strong & Sudden Event Model

situational demands on individual

sudden, strong event occurs

time

... or gender-norms ... e man's resources ... models of coping, ... tonovsky's (1987) ... specific situational ... impact on one's ... found crises, life ... g. illness, death of ... changes. Mostly, ... occurrences of life ...
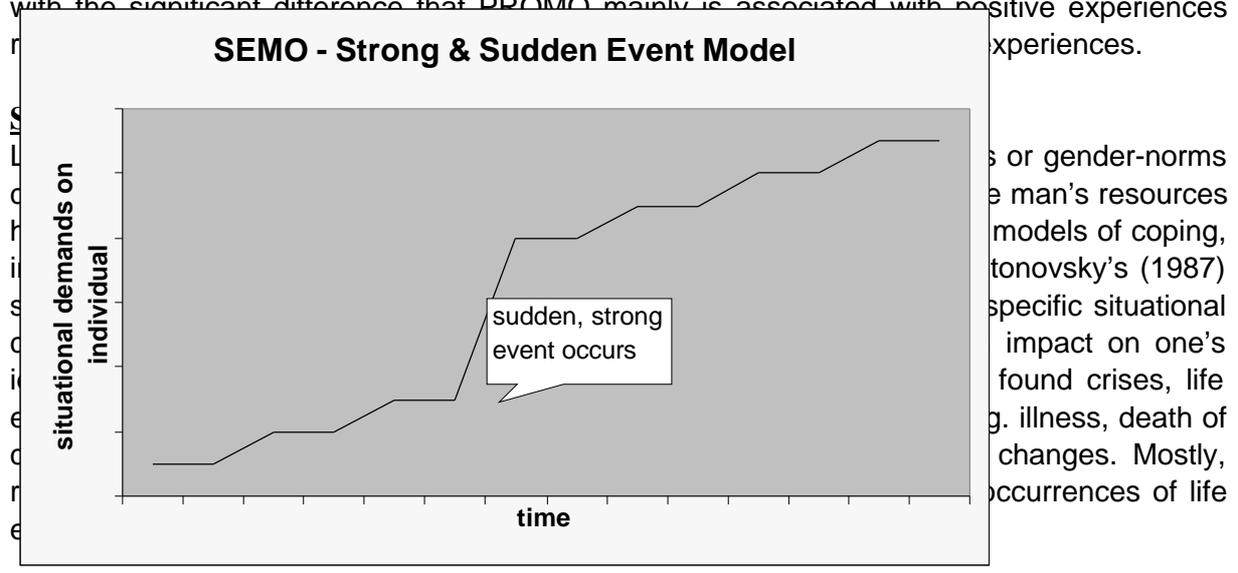
The main points of this model are:

A strong and sudden event has occurred, with impact on the respondent. Any highly demanding situation can trigger self-concept changes.

The demands on the respondent to cope the event are high. The situation after the event often resembles a crisis (higher demands than can be coped by one's resources).

Normally, people don't seek such situations in an active way (e.g. life events), or they underestimate the situational demands that they will face in actively chosen situations (e.g. entering a caring situation with high preparedness and planned access, under conditions like in the most countries in the study).

Within the coping process, various central self-concept-elements can be touched: values and life-goals are questioned, gender habitus crumbles. The strong event and eventually crisis is the trigger for a reflection process of the person. Self-concept-change has started.

If enough resources are there or can be activated, then the individual manages to adapt to the new situation and emerges from the demanding situation with a modified self-concept. Survived crises strengthen the belief to manage future demanding situations (i.e. high sense of coherence). If resources are missing, we rather expect frustration, giving-up, learned helplessness etc. as results. It is a question of individual resources and social support if a situational demand can be handled or not.

The Misplacement Model is a special variant of the 'Strong & Sudden Event Model'.

Within the events, we can differentiate:

Events with strong change impact, with a clear gender-related aspect (e.g. 'event' can mean the different situation after entering a caring situation, with misplacement etc.)

Events with strong change impact of general character and not clearly gender-related (e.g. Aviram of the Israeli sample: A 'cultural shock' in the beginning of a life period in Japan and the divorce of his parents seemed to trigger changes).

Often, the events are somewhere in between, like the following example of the Bulgarian sample shows. IP2's son died which caused a reflection process on 'I was a bad father'. A change of priorities followed:

Example for SEMO:

The critical moment in IP2's life is the death of his 21 years old son in a car crash 7 years ago. This event was fatal to every member of the family and unlocked the beginning of many changes. This period was marked by deep psychological withdrawal from any social contacts and closing into the family circle as well as a significant values re-consideration. As a result – new focus on the family.

IP2: "It is still very hard to talk about these times. I suddenly understand that it is so easy to lose my family, any member, my child…. Because maybe I wasn't the best father but I really love them very much. So many things changed. Just helping my daughter became the utmost priority."

3 years later his daughter divorced and returned with her baby-boy to live in the same household with her parents. As a single mother she was needed a lot of help. Her father helped her a lot with childcare. Having the possibility to assume several classes in order to

PROMO - Progresive Model

eventually, strong events have occured earlier...

(y-axis: situational demands on individual; x-axis: time)
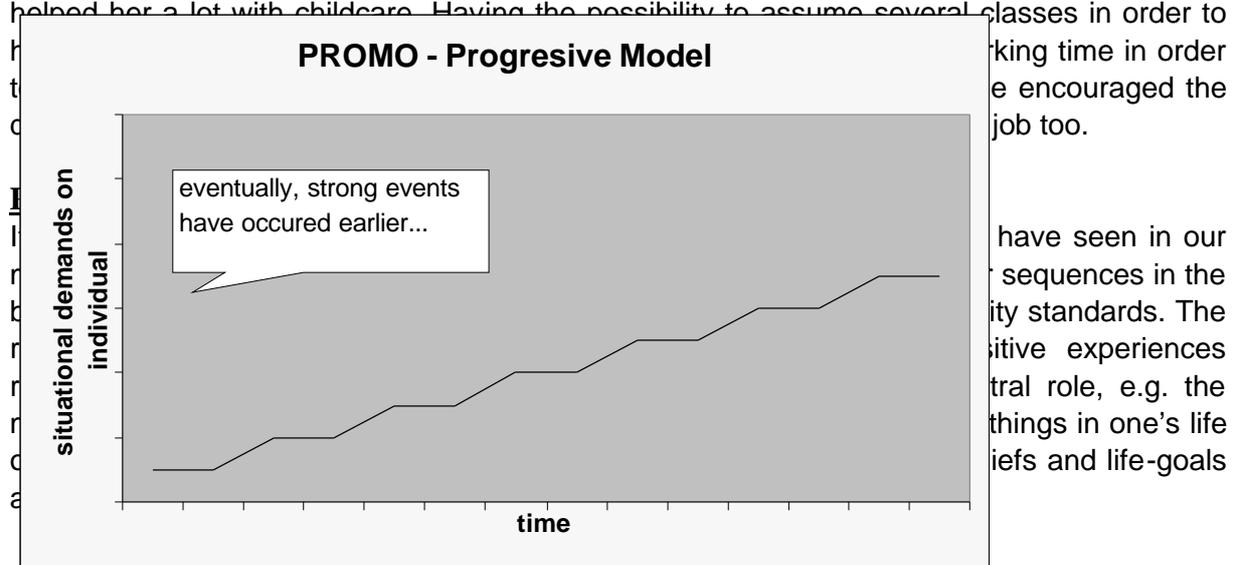
The main points of this model are:

The 'Progressive Model' (PROMO) is appropriate for 'small steps, subsequent self-concept-changes', where no strong and sudden event happens, but men move away from masculinity standards over time. We found this model appropriate for many men who were in other situations than 'caring', or where the new and unexpected situation in a caregiving context have not been the focus.

Within the processes that can be described with PROMO, the situational demands never exceed the individual resources. The situational demands that the individual faces over time remain moderate, i.e. the individual always has the feeling of being able to handle the situation.

People actively seek situations with a moderate amount of situational demand, they create or move into situations that give them the possibility to develop further within their identity work

(Keupp et al. 1999), e.g. discovering new abilities within voluntary social activities outside wage labour.

Values, beliefs and life-goals play a central role, e.g. the motivation to live according to one's values can bring a person to change things in one's life or to enter new situations. The development of values, beliefs and life-goals itself often can be described by PROMO very well (familiar background, milieu and milieu changes, etc.).

Often, people make the impression of being curious, interested in their own development, equipped with a fair amount of ambiguity tolerance that allows them to move in new situations without too much anxiety.

The change process in the PROMO often is connected with positive experiences. It is a slower and gradual self-concept-change process, and positively evaluated experiences with 'behaving in a different way' motivates people to go on.

Example for PROMO:

Juergens of the German sample has reduced working time to organise gay sport events and live his gay life (networking, meeting friends, maintain his long-distance relationship…). Reducing working time didn't appear as a strong event that would have led to any insecurity, nevertheless Juergens felt a little bit 'as an exotic person' in his company. The positive experiences are a much stronger factor than any negative, rejecting reactions that Juergens had experienced or expected. (A 'strong event' or more difficult situation could be assumed to have occurred earlier, in terms of Juergen's coming out-phase which is not much of a topic in the interview.)

Israeli example: Aviram has a very discontinuous working biography, in terms of working time models, companies etc. Aviram makes the impression of having chosen these working sequences in a very active way. A driving force for Aviram to move outside standard working contracts is his motivation for "self-fulfilment", in terms of writing literature.

Aviram tells of a stronger event in the past, when he had been in Japan; a second strong event was the divorce of his parents. It seems that these events caused a crisis for Aviram a long time ago, these events could be better described with the "strong event model".

For developing one's personality in this respect, increasing the distance to masculinity standards, a society must provide an open, supporting framework. Societies can be supportive or hindering for developments away from these standards to develop in any other direction. The amount of support or constraints to behave in a non-standard way in a country/milieu makes the difference.

Concluding remarks on the two models

In many of the biographies of our samples, different phases of self-concept-changes can be found, some better to be described by SEMO, others by PROMO. Often, 'SEMO-PROMO-chains of identity work' seem the most adequate. A good example for a sequence of PROMO and SEMO are the men in caring situations with high preparedness/ planned access. Their high preparedness often has developed in a way that can be described best by the PROMO (e.g. step by step, in connection with their values that were developed within certain milieus etc.). Then they enter the caring situation and nevertheless find themselves in a situation that is very different from what they have expected, with unexpected and demanding aspects (SEMO); misplacement/gender status insecurity follows. Within the reflection process that follows, they can use their preparedness as a resource again; here, more or less preparedness makes the difference.

The events and situations that have an impact on self-concept-change-processes can be very different. The models stay open here, they are not restricted to a certain dimension, e.g. 'work' or 'private life'. The interview reports show that the various fields are strongly interrelated and that there is no such easy general formula like 'work changes gender'.

Our samples consist of men who have been rather successful in coping with new forms of work, new situations concerning private life etc., i.e. what we tried to define as 'good practice'-cases. The selection was based on rather high satisfaction and sense of coherence, gender-equality orientation, etc. The presented models, SEMO and PROMO, thus refer to these cases, to describe and partly explain their development and self-concept changes. We want to emphasize that these situations/ processes emerge out of 'risky chances', and that at any point there could have been failure as well.

Both models, SEMO and PROMO, have to do with behaving under the condition of uncertainty, because people (actively) seek or (passively) get into situations that have to do with rejection of masculinity standards, either in terms of work- or private-life-related ideal norms (that in most cases remain as implicit norms in the background of people's self-concepts, as Higgins' (1987; 1989) ought self, or as knowledge of the masculinity standards). Under certain conditions, people manage to find ways to deal with these new, uncertain situations, or they even create them or move into such situations. These conditions mainly contain resources, either to cope difficulties or to believe that one is capable of handling such self-chosen situations. Keupp et al. (1999) have given a compilation of 'prerequisites for successful identity work' that can be applied to the tasks of the men in the study:

People need material resources
People need social integration and acknowledgement
People need the ability to negotiate and to overview options
People need ambiguity tolerance

"Diversity" of motives and reasons

Looking at the contents that replace the element "work" in the respondents' self-concepts, we found elements like fatherhood, children, caring for relatives, health, household, partnership, relationship, friends, social and political engagement, further education, cultural and artistic interests. The men in the sample tried to reconcile these various areas, by applying different strategies, and moved away from a self-concept that is only or mainly based on work. It is important to show this diversity under a good-practice-view, to counteract existing stereotypes and implicit concepts concerning male work and life-arrangements.

Significant differences were to be expected in our study because of the significant cultural and economic differences between the partner countries. However we were astonished by the high number of various reasons and motives given and how these various answers centered on "life balance".

Georg Hansen (Germany):
"And I have to tell you that the nice thing about this is that the part-time model gives us the chance to spend so much time with one another. We never had that before."

We found also a high variety of non-standard work forms. We found men who took paternal leave for several months or one year and who didn't work during this time or worked part time ; who worked part time over the long term; freelancer; jobber; "sabbatical".

Using two examples from Germany, we want to explain the simultaneous existence of old and new social structures, behaviour and circumstances.

Mr. Jürgens: He has a linear work biography. He has been employed at the same company since the time of his vocational training 20 years ago. On the other hand, he has worked part-time for 15 years and lives in a long-distance relationship. He is a gay and his friendships and social- and political commitments overlap one another. Being gay is the common bond here. With others he founded a gay/lesbian sport club, organised the "Gay-Olympics", CSD, and is a member of a transvestite show. His friendships and the gay network appear to be very close and are important sources and resources for the formation of his life and for dealing with crises.

Mr. Diepel: He also has a linear work biography and has been employed at the same company since the time of his vocational training. He is married, has one little son and is the breadwinner. On the other hand, he has been employed part-time (30h/w) for one year (father leave). He would like to continue working part-time because he likes working less and having more time with his son and for his social engagements with the Scouts. He is in agrees with his wife's plans to work part time when the son is a few years older. He takes care of his son, but leaves central caring tasks to his wife, such as doctor's visits.

It was remarkable that in the German sample the part-time employees who lived with their partners in a household setting were mostly breadwinners or earn the same as the partner. This couldn't be statistically shown because of the small size of our sample. But it could illustrate the simultaneous presence of old and new social structures, behaviour and circumstances. We could see that the breadwinner partner-model, which is predominant at least in West-Germany, remains partly intact.

In conclusion we see a mixture of typical and atypical actions and strategies of men, and we couldn't clearly define the individual men by using a category like "new men" or "traditional men" or something similar. We see some "new" aspects of behaviour and opinions like caring, acceptance of women employment, network of friends or more empathy. But also we see "traditional" aspects like breadwinner, or orientation of linear employment biography.

From the "good practice" perspective, it appears to us to highlight the diversity of men's motives and reasons, which are important for non-standard work:

In view of the significant meaning of fatherhood to men the individual strategies here should be developed and strengthened with an aim to supporting fathers. In the Scandinavian countries, there is a wealth of experience with instruments such as "Daddy's month". These should be put to more use in other countries. Apart from the direct support for the fathers and families in question, these programs also function as a support for public debate and raising awareness for "alternative fatherhood concepts".

Beside the support of fathers we have to pay attention to other reasons for non-standard work.

Employment and performance orientation still remain integral components of masculine identity concepts. At odds with these concepts are the expression and recognition of other reasons such as quality of life, life balance, social engagement, caring for others.

Most recently, since Connell began speaking of a plurality of masculinities, it has become clear how different and "diverse" masculinities already are. It appears to us important to emphasize which chances men have to develop and, at the same time, to remain consistent with gender equality.

As in the case of fatherhood, the issue is to "publicize" and recognition of alternative masculine life-concepts. In this context, a basis for change can be effected by men's research, the initiation of a social and political debate, and improved political conditions.

Men and gender equality

On individual levels we found that the interviewees had mostly a positive attitude toward the gender equality paradigm. At least on a practical level, it was taken for granted that the partner be employed or would be employed again in the future. (This wasn't restricted to countries in which employment is a virtual necessity, e.g. Bulgaria.). Respondents participate, for the most part, in doing housework, even if they live with the partner in a common household.

On structural levels it seems to us important the publication that men too work part-time. This could be foster break down socio-economic structures, specifically the stereotype that pt. is feminine and men are the breadwinner.

Individual "strategies" and men's ways of acting.

In terms of a model, we couldn't say that we found "new men". We found "new" or, better, diverse strategies[51] of behaviour, ways of acting and motivations of men to cope with "new circumstances". These men have more opportunities to integrate those circumstances into their own identity concepts in a good way for their individual satisfaction and they do this more in a gender equality way. The integrating processes into self-identity concepts are contradictory and difficult, but they work.[52]

This practice of these men is good practice. Good practice means here the possible strategies for other men to cope with their life, job, career, everyday life, caring, health, partnership etc.

From a good practice perspective, it is important to refer to this "diversity" in terms of real existing opportunities for other men, because then men only have to change some things in order to cope with similar situations, rather than having to change a whole differentiated "masculinity model". It's simpler to integrate a single strategy into the self-concept of the individual. The assuming of individual strategies of action and their integration into the self-concept is not so much an "ideological" event as it is a practical reorientation to everyday life. Feasibility and practicality of implementation stand in the foreground here.

In terms of gender policy, these diverse strategies and motivations form "new masculinities" – if "traditional masculinity" means holding on to the breadwinner model or means a rigid attitude "to have to do it this way" and not in other ways. This diversity is a part of "new masculinity" not as a political movement but more as the everyday attitude and behaviour of individuals in concrete situations

3.4.6. Outlook

Self-concept-changes can be described well by the concept of „identity work":

- as an ongoing, life-long process
- as continuous efforts to deal with demanding situations that occur, or to move into demanding situations in order to develop further
- as dependent of individual resources and social support.

As we found in our interviews, developments in all spheres of life, work and private, can lead to a remarkable diversity of male life concepts. The wp3-sample consists of men who can be seen as "models" how to deal with increasingly difficult conditions on the labour market in a constructive way, who use the "risky chances". For developing in this direction, a society must provide an open, supporting framework. The amount of support and resources provided versus constraints to behave in a non-standard way will make the difference.

How come that such developments are enabled at all? Wasn't it dysfunctional for societies if the work ethics of the „male half" of the labour force would erode?

Cultural and societal developments prepare the ground. Connell[53] has argued that it was women's- and gay rights-movements that have questioned masculinity. Böhnisch[54] argues that democratisation and modernisation processes of the 20th century have set free a pluralisation of masculinities. Alternatives for masculinity drafts are there, although not everybody might accept them.

Experiences in the world of labour often mean disillusionment. Work has lost its attraction, it is increasingly becoming a „rare good", compared to former „everybody's duty". In this

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[51] "strategy" means here the way a man copes with a situation.
[52] Particularly in the Austrian pre-study we have reconstructed four subsequent stages to integrate a new situation into the self-identity concept: misplacement, gender status insecurity, reflection, "change" (rearranging self concept).
[53] Connell R.W. (2000). Der gemachte Mann: Konstruktion und Krise von Männlichkeiten. Opladen: Leske + Budrich. (2nd ed. Original title: „Masculinities".)
[54] Böhnisch L. (2003). Die Entgrenzung der Männlichkeit. Verstörungen und Formierungen des Mannseins im gesellschaftlichen Übergang. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

respect, work is even more important than in industrialized times, but now with the connotation of a status symbol, not accessible for everyone so easily. People realize this, as their way of talking about work shows.

Under the new circumstances, it becomes risky to rely on work only, in terms of one's self-definition. Maybe some of the interviewed men are first representants of a process that „disentangles" work and masculinity.

4. Dissemination and exploitation of results

Numerous events (conferences, lectures, panel discussions etc.) took place. Here, results of the project have been presented and/or networks with regard to the project's topic have been set up.

Networks
- Austria: Regular contacts with a regional Gender Mainstreaming cooperation-project take place, to exchange theoretical and practical aspects. A guest comment about Gender Mainstreaming based on research project aspects was published in the feminist journal "Anschläge".
- Germany: Members of the German WCG team and others founded "GenderWerk", working on networks, education and research on gender mainstreaming.In January 03, the final conference of European research unit CROME took place, which was attended by WCG members.
- Expert discussion on fostering parental leave ("ExpertInnenrunde Väterförderung") at Österreichische Kinderfreunde, November 2003, Vienna (Austrian Children's Friends)
- Conference „Working Father. Men between job and family" (Working Father. Männer zwischen Beruf und Familie. Psychologische, soziologische, juristische, ökonomische und weitere Aspekte), organised by Österreichische Gesellschaft für Interdisziplinäre Familienforschung (ÖGIF), November 2003, University of Vienna.
- "GenderWerk Berlin", an institute for adults education and gender mainstreaming (related to Dissens e.V.), is now using WCG results for gender trainings and education modules.
- „Genderwerkstätte Graz" has been founded in 2003 as a gender counselling cooperation of Männerberatung Graz with Frauenservice Graz.
- Grundtvig 2 learning partnership "RealGeM": "Gender meets Reality: Exchange of experiences, methods and strategies for Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Trainings in different policy fields." (2004 – 2005) On this learning partnership participate two WCG-partners: Männerberatung Graz and Dissens e.V. together with a Spanish and a Slovenian partner.
- Dissens e.V. and Catholic University of Applied Science, Berlin, with other organisations, developed the project 'Bildungsnetz Berlin für geschlechtergerechte Bildung und Beschäftigung' ("Network for fair education and occupation of genders, Berlin"). Funded by the EU, since 01/2003 the interdisciplinary network coordinates activities of interdisciplinary actors in vocational education. Here, Catholic University will carry out a survey on the share and the situation of males in social work.
- Dissens e.V. and "Berliner Institut für christliche Ethik und Politik (ICEP)" of the Catholic University of applied Science, Berlin are building up a cooperation network.

- Results of WCG and research on masculinities is part of the EU Research Framework 6: "Co-ordination Action on Human Rights Violation", subnetwork "protective factors". Co-ordinator: Prof. Carol Hagemann-White, University of Osnabrück. It addresses the following strategic objectives: assess human rights violations, vulnerability and impact; understand causes of interpersonal conflict and violence, study the role of civic participation, the law and agency responses in addressing violations, explore protective environmental factors and insecurity, especially family and work changes.
- The Norwegian team strongly cooperates with "Gender, empowerment and participation" (GEP) project (financed by the Norwegian research council NFR), that started May 1, 03. The participants in this project (Halrynjo and Lyng, besides Holter) have also participated in various WCG activities, including the partner meetings in Berlin and Barcelona, and have especially contributed to the WP2 country report design. There has been a "synergy" effect in this cooperation, which will continue over the next year or so. The European tasks have helped the Norwegian project in its startup and preparation phase, while the Norwegian project helps us to fulfil the WCG/WP2 obligations in terms of interviews and organisational contacts.
- Also, cooperation with the Nordic project on Welfare, masculinity and social innovation (with Holter as project leader) has been important. Members of this project are involved in the WCG-related part of the Framework 6 coordinated action initiative, and have also worked with the Norwegian project group.

Transfer of knowledge: Universities and counselling
- On Berlin research exhibition "Forschungsschau der Berliner Fachhochschulen" on November 5th 02, Dissens e.V. and the Catholic University presented interim results to the public and scientific colleagues. In connection with this, one of Berlin's widest spread newspapers had an article on our project.
- Between October 02 and May 03 a series of lectures and seminars on WCG were held on Catholic University, Berlin. As a particular result, a students group developed an advisory concept for men in a-typical forms of labour.
- Project members attended the first meeting on Masculinity in Catalonia. In December 2003 we presented our main results in the Second Spanish Meeting on Masculinity in Jerez.
- "Fachtreffen Männer" in Berlin, April 3rd 2003: presentation and discussion of WCG interim results with researchers, activists and advisors on topics of gender and masculinity.
- Technical University of Berlin, FB Architektur Umwelt Gesellschaft, Ringvorlesung: Geschlechtssensible Belange in der Architektur: Guest lecture on WCG, May 7th 2003
- Congress "Gender Mainstreaming in the ESF" ("Gender Mainstreaming im ESF. Von der Theorie in die Praxis. Zwischenbilanz und Perspektiven der Umsetzung in der österreichischen Arbeitsmarktpolitik"), September 2003, Vienna.
- "Veränderungen in der Arbeitswelt. Eine Chance für die Neuorientierung männlicher Lebensweisen?" Presentation of results, conference of the research network "Gender Health" Bern (CH), 2003-11-14.
- Austrian Trade Union Federation (OeGB,) Wien: "Strudlhofgespräche" „Der kleine große Unterschied. Chancen und Risiken von Gender Mainstreaming."

Panel discussion; March 8th 2003. Presentation and discussion of interim results.

- "Interdisziplinäre Männer- und Geschlechterforschung" (AIM Gender). Conference: "Work in Progress: Work Changes Gender" Presentation of results of the research network, Stuttgart, 24th- 26th of June 2004.
- Equal network "gendernet", Berlin: Ralf Puchert (Dissens e.V. Berlin) presented WCG results June 30, 2004
- Living and Living Together. Women's World Forum, Barcelona, "New Forms of Masculinity". WCG results presentation by Austrian and German members, Barcelona, July 29-31, 2004.
- Forum Männer / Heinrich Böll Foundation: "Men and Gender Mainstreaming"; Workshop, Berlin 2004-07-09.
- Conference: Gender mainstreaming in ESF-projects in Baden Württemberg: "Männer – Akteure und Zielgruppe von Gender Mainstreaming" Presentation of WCG-results and Workshop under a perspective of GeM. Stuttgart, 2004-10-21.
- Forum Männer / Heinrich Böll Foundation. Conference: „Men and Employment – Future of (Un-)Employment". Panel discussion and workshop, Berlin, November 12-13, 2004.
- The project was presented at the Austrian Working Group on Men's Initiatives in Salzburg, December 13th, 2002.
- The results of WCG, WP1, Task 6 have been presented in an international conference in Essex, GB. The conclusions of this task has also raised media attention in the UK. Xavi Ramos did an interview for BBC 2 radio on the 4 of July and another one for BBC 5 radio on the 30th July 2003. In addition to that, two of the biggest British newspapers, the Evening Standard and The Guardian, have written articles and news reporting on our work.

Books and articles
- Dissens e.V.: Work Changes Gender; in Switchboard – Zeitschrift für Männer und Jungenarbeit Nr. 157, Hamburg, April/Mai 2003.
- Holter, Øystein Gullvåg: Can men do it?: Men and Gender Equality – the Nordic Experience; Copenhagen : Nordic Council of Ministers, 2003.
- Klaus Schwerma & Andrea von Marschall: Vom Mauerblümchen zum Straßenfeger? Geschlechtliche Gleichstellung als Querschnittsaufgabe in Organisationen und Unternehmen, in: Boeckle, Bettina/Ruf, Michael (Hrsg): Gender-Reader - Eine Frage des Geschlechts, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004.
- Klaus Schwerma: «Veränderungen in der Arbeitswelt – eine Chance für die Neuorientierung männlicher Lebensweisen?» In: Schweizer Bundesamt für Gesundheit (Schweiz) (Hg.): Gründungstagung des Forschungsnetzwerkes Gender Health am 14. November 2003 in Bern, Bern 2004
- Marc Gärtner (mit Alexander Bentheim): „Gleichheit ist nicht Unterschiedslosigkeit, sondern Wertschätzung von Differenzen". Interview mit Michael Kimmel, in: Switchboard – Zeitschrift für Männer und Jungenarbeit Nr. 155, Hamburg, Dezember/Januar 2002/03.
- Ralf Puchert & Stephan Höyng: Männer als Akteure im Gleichstellungsprozess? In: Hildegard Matthies et al. (Ed.): Gleichstellung in der Forschung. Organisationspraktiken und politische Strategien, WZB, Berlin 2003.

- Stephan Höyng & Klaus Schwerma: Gender Mainstreaming – Möglichkeiten und Grenzen aus der Perspektive von Männern, in: Barbara Nohr / Silke Veth (Hrsg.) Gender Mainstreaming. Kritische Reflexionen einer neuen Strategie, Berlin: Dietz, 2002
- Stephan Höyng & Vera Riesenfeld: Wenn nichts mehr "normal" ist. Patchworkbiografien, zunehmender Existenzkampf und Abschied vom "Familienernährer" – Tiefgreifende Veränderungen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt beeinflussen auch das Selbstbild der Männer
- The WCG project and perspectives are presented in a Norwegian report "Kjønnskulturer I arbeidslivet" (Gender cultures in working life), (to LO, the main trade union), co-written by ØGH and Bjørg Aase Sørensen together with Sigtona Halrynjo (WRI report 5, 2003). Especially, flexibility, part-time and reduced overwork among men are discussed, and it is argued that the European perspective on work changes has been overlooked in the Norwegian gender equality debate.
- Vera Riesenfeld & Marc Gärtner: „Geld oder Leben"? Männliche Erwerbsorientierung und neue Lebensmodelle unter veränderten Arbeitsmarktbedingungen, in: Boeckle, Bettina/Ruf, Michael (Hrsg): Gender-Reader - Eine Frage des Geschlechts, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2004.
- Vera Riesenfeld (2004): Vereinbarkeit von Familie und Beruf – auch ein Thema für Männer?, IN: Equal in.owl Newsletter, Nr.4/Juni 2004, S. 7-9.
- Xavi Ramos will publish results of WCG/WP1 in: International Journal of Manpower, 2005, Vol. 26, no. 1, Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Else
- Klaus Schwerma (Dissens e.V.) did an interview about the results of WP3 of the project on "German Radio Switzerland" (DRS) on the 6th January 2004.
- "Und er bewegt sich doch – Auf der Suche nach den neuen Leitbildern des Mannes" Interview about WCG, Berliner Morgenpost November 3rd, 2002.
- In Austria, newspaper articles were released referring to the project and the partner meeting in October 2002. In the most important regional radio station in Styria, a 20 minutes feature about the project and one of the selected companies (Fa. Paar, Graz, Austria) was released.

5. Acknowledgements and References

Acknowledgements

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6. Annex

During the project period the following reports have been conducted:

Periodic reports 2001-2004:

- Half Year's Report, February 2002
- Annual Report, August 2002
- Half Year's Report, February 2003
- Annual Report, August 2003
- Half Year's Report, February 2004

Milestones & Reports:

- Final Report WP 1
- Final Report WP 2
- Final report WP 3

Conference Documentation Sofia, May 2004, Content:

- The Development of the Project and Research Group
- New Forms of Work and Changing Gender Roles: A Summary of the Findings of Work Package 1
- Men's Work and Life in Europe - Main Results from Work Package 2 - Men in Organisation
- "Towards a New Positioning of Men" main results from work package 3
- Work Package3 - Preliminary Results: The Israeli Case
- Work Package 3 - Bulgarian Results Overview
- Work Package 3 - Preliminary Results: The Spanish Case
- Various Adaptations of Men to the New Circumstances Concerning Cultural and Labour Market Changes: work package 3 results part two