

## TIME OF WORK FLEXIBILITY AGAINST TIME OF LIFE INFLEXIBILITY

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### INTRODUCTION

We come from a time in which most of the population in developed countries, particularly men, had highly standardised and relatively well synchronised life times, although, this synchronisation was at the expense of the strong desynchronisation of a minority, “housewife” women. (Balbo, 1991).

Paid working time was basically organised in split shift (split working day) or continuous working day during the 5 weekdays. There were working groups working night hours or weekends but they were relatively a minority. Children and young people in educational activities also had standardised times, up to mid-afternoon. “Housewife” women were in charge of adapting those times taking children to school, preparing meals for everybody, maybe at different times, doing daily household chores (cleaning, meals, care of some family members) and tasks outside home (errands, shopping, managing, etc.). Weekends used to be of personal or shared family time which was also guaranteed to a great extent by the availability of the housewife-woman to continue being in charge, or at least organising, the basic reproduction tasks. In other words, possible contradictions between working time and time off work could be solved because there was one person –administrator of the family time- ready to solve them.

Meaning of time, however, is changing. In many people’s opinion, this change mainly consists of a change in the stability of their productive working time. The working day may have changed becoming much more variable but also the working week since the 5 or 6 working days may be differently placed during the week. The

change may also affect the annualised working time, both in the amount of working hours and in their distribution along the 12 months or holidays setting, in case these holidays are a consistent period since short duration contracts make this difficult.

A majority have increased their time off work as a result of the decrease in the productive working time and housework time. This new time is distributed in all levels: weekdays, weekends, holidays, and bank holidays, not to mention time of unemployed workers. Despite of this, there is a group who have suffered a decrease in the time off work as a result of adding to the housework time some hours or a whole working day in the productive work. They are mainly women. The big change for a third group (Miguélez-Torns, 2002) is that their working times have become highly desynchronised in relation with the others (Boje TB., Leira A. 2000). It is such a variable time off work, from one day to another, from one week to the next one and from one month to the next one which makes very difficult a synchronisation with the time off work of the rest: family, friends and acquaintances. The main reason is to be found in the flexibility of their productive working time.

In other words, the great achievement of our age is the fact that we have increased time which is not compulsorily kept by productive work or household chores –with the exceptions already mentioned- but this achievement becomes relative because it might not comply with the increasing flexibility required by the time of productive work. This leads to individuals strategies of synchronisation – sometimes successful and sometimes without success- and its analysis is the backbone of this article. The strategies go from negotiations with the company, usually referred to short periods, and/or negotiations with the other family members regarding jobs to be accepted or working time to be assumed or changes at work to face possible desynchronisation, up to quitting a job during a period of time in which there are other resources to subsist.

Our intention is to set two tasks. The first one is to clarify reasons for this new contradiction happening between the increasingly more stressed flexibility of productive working time and the higher inflexibility of the reproductive work and the time off work. And secondly, to verify in a concrete way which the strategies developed by individuals are to overcome this situation.

In order to achieve it, we have based on the research carried out in one company.

## **FIRST PART. FLEXIBILITY AGAINST INFLEXIBILITY**

### **Flexibility as a new competitive strategy.**

Competitiveness between companies in production of goods and services is increasingly based on the flexibility in the use of work and its most usual immediate result is a remarkable flexibility of employment. Companies have traditionally competed between them after the more or less advantages resulting from controlling one or some of these three elements: goods market, technology and work. But internationalisation of markets has made this model be in crisis. Let's examine briefly this matter.

States have protected markets –domestic markets- of their companies against the competitiveness of foreign companies with custom tariffs to products or with different kinds of subsidies. As far as external market is concerned, ministries for foreign issues and for trade are usually ambassadors and introducers of home companies in other markets with different kinds of agreements or facilities for exportation. Apart from all of this, companies themselves, obviously, have struggled to keep their market or niches share both in the domestic and international markets and the success of this has meant the success of the companies. But things have been changing during the last decades since internationalisation of economy makes this market control increasingly more difficult except for some multinational corporations.

An alternative to the market control was in the technology control. Also, States have traditionally played a relevant role in favour of national companies, with national research or different kinds of subsidies for innovative companies. Of course, these companies on their own had with innovation an important advantage compared to their competitors. But also technological advantage has internationalised to a great extent or it has been compensated by other competitive advantages.

The only factor which has remained as an internal and controllable factor is work. And it has been by means of this factor how companies have mainly tried to face new uncertainties. We know that there has been a long tradition of negotiation and collaboration with the work factor but the new management strategy is opting to break the traditional balance of negotiation in the use of work, if necessary, choosing one-sided control since it allows them a much quicker response capacity. We are referring to the strategy of flexibility in the use of work (Pollert A., 1991).

The basic axis, though not the only one, of this flexibility is time (Boulin J-Y, 2001, Seifert H. 1997)). Companies want to have control of working time in each step of the production process. This involves, among other practices, being able to combine full time working hours with part time. Also, maybe covering all day hours or all hours with customers demanding a service if it is about giving presence services. It may also mean a suitable redistribution of annualised working hours, year holidays, holidays and possible overtime hours. And, of course, the most extreme expression is to break any pattern of behaviour which makes one day similar to another one and one week similar to another.

Considering this strategy, it has scarce meaning the fact that the “ordinary annualised working hours” have reduced, for example, to 1,750 hours if no information is added about how the working hours are distributed and how many possible overtime hours may be added. For many workers, how one side – annualised working hours - will be and how the other –the redistribution- exclusively depends on the company. Workers are asked for availability of their time. Not only of their working time but a global availability of their whole time since work may be set at any time of the day, week or year (Sennett, 1999). Precisely, all historical struggles about working hours had pursued the reduction of the available hours of workers for the companies and to increase the autonomous time. So, we would be moving back. Availability of life time of workers has become a basic element of competitiveness with other companies which may have less flexibility or of rebalance of competitiveness when those have other advantages.

Obviously, time control means labour cost control. And this control means reduction of the cost since time control enables a complete “densification” of work:

there are not weeks of low productivity, not even days or hours. On the contrary, weeks, days and hours of production may be increased or reduced when demand of goods or services require it. With time control up to that extent, differential in labour cost may be highly reduced to be compared with other companies with a lower labour cost.

Working time control to that extreme has always been the dream of the capital: on the one hand, to have as much work as it is strictly required and not an extra minute more, and, on the other hand, to have available supplementary work when it is needed by the company. Time control allows an increase of the working performance to its full.

Of course, in this reasoning we are not referring to the all workers but only to a part of them since only a part of them is in a flexibility situation. Therefore, this is a relative reference but it has two connotations that make it important: first, the number of workers in a flexibility situation is remarkably higher than it was 20 years ago – always speaking about central countries- and second, this is a number of workers increasing in all countries despite the important differences among them.

### **Complexity of the reproductive working time and time off work**

Reduction in time of productive work has a correlation with life time. This correlation is the extraordinary increase in time off work (Gershuny J., 2000) and the inflexibility and complexity of many household chores with a remarkable increase of possible activities in both of them. Flexibility of productive working time has a counterpart in some kind of family and/or social inflexibility of the other times. This contradiction brings a lot of tension for many people. But let's examine first the second part of the mentioned correlation.

Paid time off work is not just a time to rest but it is filled up with activities, some of them necessary and some of them optional, which, although they are carried out by the individuals, usually have a strong social load.

Let's start with the necessary activities. Caring of children and adolescents and elderly people requires much more time than in the past and a much more

complex dedication due to their necessities (Rubery J, 1994, Maruani M., 2000). Of course, this greatly overcomes the possible reduction of other household chores thanks to an increasing use of technology at home for washing, cooking, etc. This kind of activities need a quite inflexible time: kids must be taken to school and to other activities, must be changed, entertained, their meals have to be prepared, they have to go to bed at fixed and determined times and not when their minders wish. The same may be applied, but in a higher scale, to elderly people.

Between necessary and optional, there are some activities which may be called self-caring, hobbies and ideals: learning new things, taking part in associations, looking after the own body. They are activities which are not available at any time of the day but which have spaces and social times, usually evening-nights. Therefore, they express rigid schedules that oblige users to adapt to them.

Also, there are the basic activities of leisure time: being with friends and family, going for a walk, going to the cinema or the theatre, travelling, going shopping, and visiting other people. Since many of them require having some time, the times when they happen have become important: weekends and holidays and, to some extent, year holidays themselves.

Finally, we have to consider holidays and weekends as special periods for relax, leisure, meeting other people. They are also rigid time periods. This is obvious for weekends, but also year holidays (Christmas and Easter). Year holidays, which theoretically might be set at any time along the year, are set in two months, July and August, for many companies, organisations and institutions. In this case, we could speak about some kind of social inflexibility. A person may have holidays in March but he/she will not coincide with family or friends and holidays won't be proper ones.

Many of the optional activities of the paid time off work are more increasingly placed in these periods: weekends, year holidays, Christmas, Easter, bank holidays, and holidays. This is so for two reasons: either because frequently these activities are socially performed or because some of them are specific for that period.

To sum up, an important part of the activities performed out of the productive working time, either necessary activities (of reproduction), optional (of leisure time)

or mixed ones (of self-development) required pre-established times which can scarcely be moved. In terms of time they are inflexible.

### **New contradictions**

Many people find it very difficult to combine their extraordinary flexible productive working hours with some activities in the rest of their life time, some necessary and some optional activities which are very inflexible. Simply, these activities cannot be performed if you are not there at the right time. Some of the necessary activities are rigid and cannot be moved due to their own content. Children and elderly people cannot be cared after when minders have time but when these people need it. This inflexibility is obligatorily above the rest of times. Other optional activities are rigid since time periods in which they are placed have that characteristic.

Consequences of this are of different kinds. In some cases, the “desynchronised” person may result in the desynchronisation of the rest of the family, or of his wife or parents since paid working time is so important that it becomes the centre around which everything is organised and the person in the centre of a particular calendar: meals are at special times, holidays are taken at special periods, leisure takes place in special ways, etc. Individuals with working flexibility are more frequently solving this contradiction burdening another person with all reproductive work that they should do for themselves and for other individuals (children or parents) they are responsible for. Finally, it may also happen that these individuals have to give up many activities of leisure time.

At present, a kind of policy aimed at solving this contradiction is called reconciliation between the working life and the family-individual life (Rigby M, 2004). The purpose would be to coordinate public policies and company policies so that individuals could work and at the same time be family fathers and mothers, have friends and cultivate them and be good citizens because they could have time for all of this. But in the practice we are witnessing a reduction in these policies since the measures adopted are aimed at considering the possibility for the working women to work within a time so that they may get free time to devote it to the house work.

Actually, it is about achieving a situation in which women –who in last decades have exercised their right to integrate into the labour market in equal conditions to men - become again the synchronisers of all their family members. This must be done at the same time that they perform productive work, this is to say with a twofold working day.

## **SECOND PART: RESULTS OF RESEARCH**

In this second part we present the result of a research carried out in a big multinational industrial corporation in the sector of audiovisual communication with relatively ideal conditions for our target since it has different working groups or sections with different time systems as indicators of flexibility ways. In fact, from the beginning, in this way, we could establish comparison types or cases taking as basis the sections in the company which allowed us to identify and contrast situations of groups of workers with very different productive and time flexibility according to their working times and seniority in the company, to their system of productive organisation, to their socio-professional conditions, etc. in each section.

The analysis has had two parts with different methodologies even though they are coordinated. The first part followed a quantitative guideline from a survey carried out in the three sections chosen in the company. It was about identifying types relating (i) the time system resulting from the productive flexibility; (ii) the socio-professional and socio-demographical characteristics of people working in them; (iii) social-family situation; (iv) reproductive time and work and time off work. In this explanation we will only attend to the results of this quantitative methodology as far as they allow us to identify and define better the groups and types found. The second methodology was of qualitative kind (not directed interviews, informative interviews, discussion groups with and among workers belonging to the types found). It was about interpreting the speech of workers belonging to the types compared regarding the consequences of time systems. Our reflections will be about this qualitative interpretation and analysis.



Within the general aim indicated, we are interested here in making clear the result of the analysis of the effects of productive work time on the difficulties to perform, distribute and share the reproduction work and time off work. Since the different timetables are closely linked to the sections chosen in the companies and also to some socio-professional characteristics (qualifications, socio-professional categories, kind of contract, etc.) and socio-demographical (gender, age, ..) the resulting typology of all that is a good comparative base to study the effects of the working hours in a more global and contextual way. We concretely start from three kinds of situations: (i) work in production line (regular production line with morning and evening working shifts), (ii) work in insertion (in workshifts 3x8); (iii) work in design (split working day). Socio-professional and socio-demographical characteristics make possible widen the differential identification to these groups or situations in the production field.

## **ANNEXE 1**

### **Analysis of Multiple Correspondences and Typologies**

#### **Identity of the axes**

AMC is represented in ANNEX 4. We only go into it in order to describe the basic axes which allow us to identify better the types of time systems to be compared.

- (1) The analysis provides us with a first dimension which structures the whole in the direction of temporality of the family life cycle and therefore it is basically marked by the forms of family coexistence, age and the kind of job and dependence within the family and the subsequent necessity of family organisation for the reproductive work.
- (2) The second dimension, less structuring than the previous one though important, is associated to the demands of the **company temporality**<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> A third, fourth and fifth dimension which do not appear in the graph are less important and they reflect, the third one, differences in the employment structure within the company; the fourth one, specificity of people living on their own in comparison with the rest since they have to assume the reproductive work; and the fifth one, contrast of couples with children and with no children.

An appealing and relatively surprising fact is that the dimension of the **family life cycle** (where the kind of job and dependence within the family is also present) most strongly structures the variability or differences appearing in the population studied compared to the dimension related to conditions and temporality of production.. Since both dimensions are independent between them, we have to suppose that crossing of both temporalities result in their corresponding contradictions and the possible intentional and pragmatic strategies to manage everyday life within the family.

It is very important to underline that the **Timetable Coincidence** variable, included at first within the Socio-family Conditions, however, appears closely linked to the second time system axis. This is so even though it is obviously placed in the topographical place of those living with a partner within the first dimension of Socio-family Conditions. So, it is confirmed that when two people live together, both of them work and they have children, a different logic is introduced within the family in which productive time influences or has a correspondence and therefore, specific family strategies in that direction may occur. For example, Graph 1 shows us that the fact of having Coincidence of working times of both members in the couple is a bit more related to couples with no children than to couples with children which are more related to no Coincidence of their working times or with partial Coincidence.

The most interesting part of this crossing of the dimensions is found in the fact that both dimensions seem to work according to independent logics which confirms that they are conditions which have to solve (or not) their potential contradictions or difficulties at least.

### **Typology based on the previous dimensions.**

General typology which will be the basis for our compared qualitative analysis, whose features appear in Graph 2, is obtained from the previous dimensionalisation of relations between the different scopes and by means of multivariable procedure of group classification. We just describe a bit more deeply types which are subject of comparison, not precisely because of the higher number of people in all of them but

because of the type of labour flexibility they show, concretely Types 1, 3 and the association of 5 and 6 though keeping their difference in that association to a certain extent.

**Type 1 (8%). It is a group just made up by workers in the design section with split working day.** They are mainly men (85%) aged between 25 and 45 with high education level (81% with university studies) and a professional category of medium or high technical professional (81%). All forms of family coexistence are practically observed in it. They have a split working day which usually coincides with their partners (who usually also work). They show many difficulties both to enjoy leisure time (individual and collective) and to deal with the reproductive work and to combine work and family life. They are a group exclusively centred and taken up by the productive work which floods all their daily lives –hours are to be extended “up to them”, even more than 50 a week-. They remain working in the evenings, take work home, shorten up their holidays, and work at weekends. They scarcely assume reproductive work.

**Type 5 (20%).** It is a group mainly made up by women (80%). All of them are in the production section. Their professional category is mainly workers (80%) with low educational level and mature age. They are mainly in the afternoon working shift. 92% of them live as a couple with no children, both of them working and mainly with total or partial working time coincidence (72%). There are not people depending on them and they do not show difficulties to perform household chores (cooking, shopping and cleaning). Women usually perform them (with some help from the partner). They show difficulties to enjoy leisure time due to working time. The model is of a centrality and bipolarity in time demands although the productive work does not have a taking up character extensible to all everyday life.

**Type 6. (22%).** They work in production and they are mainly women (75%). They are in the worker category and have low qualification levels. They are the oldest group (relatively speaking since there is a young staff ). They work in morning shift (76%) and live with a partner with children, both working and they scarcely have working time coincidence. Household chores are basically performed by women although the partner helps: reproductive work has an added load of attention and dedication to children. They state that they do not have difficulties to perform house work because of productive work. So, they are adult women with centrality, with a taking up reproductive work which is extended to their everyday life although the productive work is more limited.

Two other groups or types of interest also appear but they will not be considered as comparative basis since the working time system is not the defining criteria for them<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> **Type 2 (8%).** The most outstanding feature of this group is that they are mainly people living on their own (75%) or they are in other kinds of cohabitation (25%) but not in a couple.

**Type 4 (27%).** One of the defining features of this group is the cohabitation ways: either they are young people living with their parents (69%) or in other ways (29%) but not as a couple. Reproductive work is shared (or completely performed) especially by the parents. There are not depending people at home. They are the group

So, different life time ways appear which are combined in social times according to different ways of everyday life. Analysis of data in the survey does not allow us to get into the field of subjectivity, strategies and discourses although we have pointed out a solid base of socio-temporal objective structuring.

### **Representations, resistances, attitudes, difficulties and strategies of the types compared based on the qualitative methodology.**

#### **Situation of time organisation (flexibility) in the sections. Productive conditions.**

**Insertion Section** sets the production volume and dynamics of the rest. So, it is there where conditions of the JiT are more directly experienced. On the other hand, it is where the company has considerably invested in automation and where the recovery of it is highly needed. All of this makes it be “the place” where “time flexibility” affects the most under the imperative of the company demands. Extreme flexibility in the working time in this section is shown in the shifting organisation of work with 15-days shifts as well as changes in the planning of their annualised distribution according to the necessities of the company.

**Design Section** is a team working and creation centre. They work 8 hours a day in a time system of split working day but working hours may be extended daily, weekly and even on holidays. It is a very extensive flexibility according to the demands of production. It is also the section with the most computerised and “intelligent” tools. Design has a more classical timetable model but with conditions that might enable the outbreak of some self-management possibilities. But this is not right the case. Time flexibility is precisely used to work more as overtime. The most obvious characteristic of the productive work time in this section is its expansion and extension.

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who state not having difficulties to perform the reproductive work or to enjoy leisure time. They are mainly production workers (75% of them are women), some more in the morning shift. They have the category of low skilled workers with medium or low educational level.

**Production Section** is the section where the most traditional model of Taylorist production, the production line, predominates. There are two kinds of working shifts, people working in the morning and people working in the afternoon. Distribution of workers into both shifts is negatively appreciated by them who consider it as arbitrary and rigid. Implications of the morning or afternoon shifts are different according to gender and family situation.

### **Difficulties and resistances to flexibility.**

#### **On the material and/or mental dominance of working time and the resulting desynchronisations.**

As for the effects specifically associated to time distribution and comparing workers working in afternoon shift and different shifts and workers in regular shifts, two are the most important consequences of these time distributions:

- The first one is mainly present among workers in the Insertion Section with shift work but also partly among workers working afternoon shift. It is represented in sleeping problems and a continuous feeling of tiredness:

“...although you work the same number of hours, your body is always more tired, you don't feel like doing many things, working at night you have practically the whole afternoon free but...at least I am more tired working the same hours or even working less hours...” (Man Insertion1 –working shifts-).

It is a physical matter but not only that: the global structure of social time is thought in a different way so time gets away and productive working hours are many more than the 8 busy hours:

“[when I worked mornings]...you had a nap after lunch and still had free time, hadn't you? And there was free time to do things; you also matched up with people, at nine you could be having dinner (...). I felt well and had taken advantage of the afternoon off (...).” (Man Production-afternoon shift-).

- The second effect is desynchronisation of the production time related to other social activities, with the isolation and frustration feeling resulting from it. Thus, some have given up sport activities, others training activities, others friends but

the idea that working shifts or afternoon shift centrality might prevent doing all thing that might be done in a morning shift is recurrent: “so I played and even got paid but the thing is that starting with this timetable I had to give it up” (Man Insertion-working shifts); “I run, studied English, had social life...let’s say that not now...during the week I don’t do it because I really can’t...” (Man production-afternoon shift-); “If I work morning shift I can commit to take up a course, but of course, with these timetable changes that is impossible” (Man Insertion- working shift-); “you think your mates have gone...they may go out for a drink but you are here” (Woman production –afternoon shift-); “Those who meet are people in the same working shift, in the same group. They lose the friends they had and make friends here” (Man Insertion –working shifts-).

An immediate subordination and satellite-like situation of life time to productive time may be appreciated from the words above mentioned. Productive time regulates and limits the week. And not only of workers but also more extensively –as it will be seen- of their families and the possibilities of other social activities and relationships. And it is in this context where the lack of autonomy of the worker regarding the management of his/her time may be seen and consequently he/she rejects time flexibility.

In any case this does not mean that the productive scope plays a more identifying role and neither that boundaries between times fade (delimitation between productive and non-productive times is very clear among workers interviewed). It means that other times get even more residual value and are even more subordinated to the productive time. So, in some cases, real juggling must be done to synchronise with other people and assume family burden. In this context, a model of a certain kind of self-management of time may be only tangible in the cases in which they are oriented towards a whole productive centrality even though they have some kind of autonomy in managing the working time. This is to say, cases in which productive time is a synonym for life time. This is the case of the engineer who is very satisfied with his 60 “flexible” working hours even though he states that “this is slavery”. There are economical reasons as well as tasks associated to his qualification which justify this time investment.

**On the performance of different activities of the reproductive work and productive centrality.**

This is an imbalance regarding the representation made by workers about the influence of working time on the performance of domestic works and chores according to the productive work time. These difficulties may be in the base of absenteeism strategies.

The perception of working time as the reason for difficulties to carry out household chores or caring of the family is higher if workers do work shift (insertion, 40 hours), or split working day (design, 50 hours or more) than if they work in morning shift (production, 40 hours or less) and on another one in afternoon shift (production, 40 hours). Correspondingly, perception of timetables as an influence to carry out these activities is higher among men than among women since there are more men than women in these two sections. In fact, this conclusion is consistent with the idea that both working times, specially the morning shift, are considered as “the best working times”, especially to perform reproductive and family caring activities. This working time clearly establishes a break between 8 company hours and 8 not-company hours, so workers are able to carry out reproductive work. Women are the ones who mainly believe that working times and working conditions are not a handicap to perform reproductive work even though they are precisely who mainly perform it.

Women consider morning shift as a privilege since it allows them to perform reproductive work in the afternoon. On the contrary, men do not show the same preference for morning shift as their female colleagues. However, we cannot forget that these preferences are made in a context of strong gender division of work. Thus, the contradiction between a higher load of reproductive work among women and a lower perception of difficulties to carry it out is well explained because performance of these activities is well integrated into the everyday organisation (Belloni, MC., 1986, Bimbi F., 1999) which allows working hours without a break finishing at 2 pm. Women with family burden build all the organisation of family time around that time option. Obviously, combining household activities and work in the factory also strongly depends on the family help: brothers and sisters, fathers, mothers,



grandparents are mobilised so that everyday life may go on with its time disruptions and its unpredictable situations. Women in any case question their partners' working times: their full or part time working days, shift work, or overtime are realities which are assumed and which are not perceived as central elements in their living conditions. The conditions mentioned, which are suitable to justify the gender division of reproductive work, assign women with the upper responsibility of everyday life of the family. However, men take part as far as their timetable allow them to do so but specially to ease or help in some time disruption with their partners and in the period of childcare Torns T., 1994).

Women working afternoon shift (which means getting home at 11pm) more clearly show more involvement in the productive work. This situation enables negotiation and distribution of household chores with their male partners. Thus, working time conditions may give rise to an unequal distribution in the belief that working time makes the performance of household chores difficult and, therefore, the reconciliation conditions depending on the situations of labour flexibility and gender. All people interviewed practically have reproduced as starting point a traditional family model. The man is in charge of the productive centrality whereas the woman assumes the twofold working load. However, after considering this, two characteristics are to be mentioned:

- The first one is a consequence of time flexibility. Irregular time ends up also regulating the time of people around as far as meals time and going to bed times is concerned. This is so especially when the protagonist of the productive flexibility is a man:

“Sometimes, when I have lunch, it is because my wife has prepared it and because I don't want to say no but if she doesn't prepare it I don't have lunch, because it is so...When I have just got up, I'm not hungry... and when I'm in a night shift I have dinner, we have dinner together but we have dinner earlier but she has dinner earlier so that we can have dinner together...and when you're in an afternoon shift the same, in the afternoon shift she waits for me, because she gets up early (...) and we have dinner together (...); she adapts to it, she adapts a little bit to my timetable” (Man Insertion- working shifts-).

- The second characteristic is distinguished by the concurrence of two situations: desynchronisation resulting from time flexibility and the fact of being in a children raising period. In these contexts there is more participation of the man in the reproductive activities compared to more rigid time models. Sometimes it is just the assistant assumption of activities related to children caring which are taken up by the father when the mother is absent. But, in any case, desynchronisation makes the couple establish some kind of coordination for these activities:

“...my wife works morning shift (...). When I work morning shift, we take him (the kid) to the house of my parents-in-law at night (...). When we work [I work] afternoon shift, the kid again sleeps at home. My wife leaves the house in the morning and I stay with the kid (...). Before coming [to the company] I take him to my parents-in-law's, because obviously, I have to come earlier...I start at two and my wife does not get home until past two, I have to leave him at my parents-in-law's house” (Man Insertion –working shifts-).

Desynchronisation is sometimes “solved” by means of subcontracting a domestic service or a higher degree in sharing is achieved as in the case below. In it, at least in the interview, there is an equal sharing between the working man in working shifts and a working woman with split working day:

“Obviously, she leaves home at eight and, theoretically, she does come home at lunch time, but she comes to have lunch and that's all and she does not finish until 7pm. What happens? So, maybe, if I'm working afternoon shift, well, all the housework: making beds, clearing table, tidying up the house a bit, don't you think? So, obviously, I do them, don't you think?. Because I also find unfair that she comes back at 7 and starts ironing, making bed and everything, don't you think so?” (Man Insertion- working shifts-)

So, in general terms, during the weekdays the man partly assumes children caring and some household-family activities whereas the woman assumes the rest of the reproductive activities. During the days off, objective distribution of this load follows a classical distribution: men more often spend their time relaxing or performing leisure activities related to children whereas women keep on assuming most of the reproductive loads, especially concerning the attention to the man and children:

“...and after we go out in the afternoon: or out for dinner, or for a walk, shopping...anything you have to do (...). However, at weekends, they are before anything...any household chore” (Woman Production –morning shift-)

Cases with no family load seem to reproduce partly the traditional model within their concrete situations. Thus, during the week the man –who lives on his own- partly assumes reproductive activities, except for cooking since he usually has lunch at the mother’s house or has dinner at her sister’s, and he keeps the whole weekend just for leisure. The woman –living with the parents- scarcely takes up any reproductive activity (only making her bed) since synchronisation of family time has a mother working at home 24 hours a day:

“She sleeps a few hours but she devotes constant attention to us, indeed, so that we don’t need anything. I feel sorry for her though, but... (...). She prepares packed lunch for my father, a sandwich for me to take here, also, she gets lunch ready for me, clears the table, she makes everything for me” (Woman production –afternoon shift-)

### **Consequences of working time on the man or women position within the family**

An element clearly emerging in most discussion groups is the fact that women play an agglutinating role within the family. When these women also work, as in this case, we can see how they build a structure of the family time, though sometimes a precarious one, around the possibilities given by their working time.

“I combine my life because I have three little children who depend completely on me because my husband works full time, he works until eight or half past nine and has training courses later, so, obviously, if I worked afternoon shift all of this would collapse, all the set-up would collapse and we would have to depend on many more people we are depending on now... at the beginning he didn’t even prepare dinner for me. I came home and he was waiting for me sitting in the armchair. I understand he works, he works a lot and it is very tiring, and now, during the week, as far as he prepares dinner I am satisfied. But the thing is that during the weekend he doesn’t do anything, I

have to do everything. The most he helps me is to go shopping... and bring the shopping up home” (Woman. Morning).

Despite of the complaints arising from the discussion groups, women finally justify their partners and their scarce presence (and even sometimes absence) in the reproductive work. The emphasis on a good personal organisation for a smooth running of everyday life is so important that the amount of household work finally becomes invisible.

For men working afternoon shift, combination between productive and reproductive works becomes a real problem when they have children. It is then when timetables or working days become a problem. When they have children, afternoon shift scarcely allows them to see the children or spend time with them –in the mornings they are at school and in the evenings they sleep. Also, combination of daily timetables becomes difficult and during holidays because the own time must be adjusted to the children’s time. The things being so, the most functional thing for a couple is to have desynchronised times since they can alternate the reproductive activity that children mean.

“Me, for instance. I’m tired. And it is not the fact that I like it or not. I have to combine considering the children. Because I have two kids. So then, I get them up, take them to school, and pick them up at lunch time. This is not just that either you like it or not, it is that you have to combine it considering the children” (Man, afternoon)

As we have pointed out, the speech of men working afternoon is strongly about children and how difficult to have them is in the labour conditions of our societies: labour precariousness, extensive timetables, lack of facilities for families, etc. This children centrality, which makes the rest of reproductive and household activities fade away, sometimes results in the demand for nursery schools.

“All of this is because you are under a lot of pressure. The only aim of the company is obviously to win a lot of money for themselves and they don’t give a shit for your children and don’t give a shit for what I do. Then, what happens? If you want to get a minimum amount of money to live, to pay some

things, you have to work eight hours, so, you cannot say that now, as I have a baby, I get a five or six hours job...”

“I see another possibility for those who have children, and it is the company to open a nursery school. There are companies which have it, with the profits they get...” (Man, afternoon)

But also, men working in the afternoon shift, concerning the combination of productive/reproductive work and especially children caring, suggest the possibility of going back to the more traditional/patriarchal model of housewife (devoted to children caring) and the head of the family centred on the paid work.

Flexible timetables among design staff make everyday organisation difficult. As for most people interviewed productive work is the central one and all reproductive activities or of another kind are after it. Moving the timetables means many desynchronisations and agreements with the partner in order to reorganise family life especially when there are children. Children are the most important problem when different working hours must be combined within the couple. Help from outside becomes essential (hired or other members of the family). Having children means time.

“Me, the thing is that my wife finishes work later than me, at 9 pm everyday, even on Saturdays. So, shopping, preparing dinner, well I do all of that. The problem is when I also finish late, so none does it and then complete chaos and you go shopping when possible. You stop along the highway and buy something there and things like that, and that’s all. But this is a problem. She complains a lot to me. When there is work I usually, and sometimes too much, put everything off. I go too far with it. And when she comes back and I say today I didn’t buy anything for dinner we go out, and at the beginning that’s fine but at the end you say, that’s enough” (Design, man).

“If I have any help, it is from my mother-in-law. The thing is that the third person is there when you need her. It is not like saying, look, I’m going out with my friends, no, it is not so. My mother-in-law is there when I can’t be there or my wife can’t be there. But I also think this is an organisation matter, don’t you think so? (...) But what happens with the kids? You snatch them out

of bed, you dress them up, and rush to the car, and one of them does not get into the car, and you come on, get into the car, and hurry up and it seems as if you give him a push and you drop them there. This is the feeling you get. And after, you pick them up and quickly you have to give them a shower, and they must have dinner quickly because they have to go to bed” (Design, woman).

**Carrying out of not-working activities (of association and leisure in general). Basis for strategies for a better use of the day.**

The different socio-professional and personal situations influence differently on the difficulties that people attribute to their working time to perform the different not-working activities (of association and /or leisure time). In general, perception of timetable as the reason for difficulties to carry out these activities is stronger in people working in insertion and design than in other sections. This is to say when you work more than 50 hours (in design) or between 41 and 49 and you work in working shifts and in some cases in a split working day more than in other timetables.

Working shifts in insertion section and extension of working hours in design are the reason why workers in these sections see more difficulties to carry out the not-working activities. Productive work appears for insertion workers (and for many in design), more than among other timetables as the centre structuring all social life: it influences the rest of social times and directly influences the time off work. Time off work is clearly subordinated to productive time and it basically becomes time to rest but lacking content and identity in itself.

Production workers who work morning shift, especially women, seem to have fewer problems to perform activities in time off work than workers working in the afternoon shift. The problem of afternoon shift is that it requires self-discipline to use free time (getting up in the morning...). It seems that due to the centrality of productive work, time before going to work in the day is an empty time and only after doing productive work time off work opens. On the

contrary, working in the mornings leaves “all the afternoon to do things” although it means little sleeping.

### **Strategies and negotiation.**

#### **Reduction of working hours.**

The issue of reduction of working hours does not spontaneously appear among the demands of workers and it is neither an object of concrete concern. In general terms, the possibility of reducing working hours is rejected if it means reduction in wages which are already considered as low. Some men-workers show interest for this matter considering that reduction in working hours may be useful to reduce unemployment and, in the personal scope, to have more free time. But also in those cases reduction in working hours is rejected if it goes together with reduction in wages. However, they point out that they prefer to work 35 hours a week with the present wage than to work 40 hours with a proportional increase. A wage increase is also rejected if it goes together with a worsening in working times. In the framework of this debate, some men-workers show again a hint of a traditional conception of gender division at work. So, an imaginary appears which takes us back to the model of the classical family wage.

In the case of married women with children, reduction of working hours is usually thought considering the whole income of the family. Reduction of working hours together with reduction of the wage would be only seen as possible if their respective husbands had high enough wages to allow a reduction in the economic contribution of the woman to the family. This situation is not common among the women in the company.

#### **Synchronisation and desynchronisation strategies in the times of couples when both of them work.**

Besides “life” at work, people still socially live in other situations or fields. These other “lives” are partly independent from productive work and its time but they also depend on it. If we exclusively consider living conditions, in the

sense of the variables defining them, of the types chosen in the productive sector and their corresponding flexibility, we have found a relative independence, although there is some kind of relation resulting from the time coincidence within the couple which, on the one hand, is associated to the field of productive work and, on the other hand, to the family situation.

Couples working both and more frequently who are in charge of dependent children are more common among workers, men and women, in production, slightly less common among workers in design and practically non-existent among workers in insertion. Among twofold working couples with children, precisely, the coincidence of working hours between members in the couple is partial or sometimes there is no coincidence. Among couples with no children coincidence in working hours prevails. The partial or total desynchronisation of working hours of both partners in the families with children seems to result from a conscious strategy to cover the necessities of childcare. Thus, for example, morning working hours of the woman is combined with afternoon working hours of the man and with the help of other members in the family (parents, brothers, etc.) it may be synchronised with the time of children to go to school or pick them up. This kind of strategy frequently appears in the 'discussion groups'. However, not all of them provide the same since this strategy tends to maximize the reproductive working time of women at home. Thus, productive centrality of men is practically out of question whereas women, even though they have abandoned the model of full-time housewife with full-time commitment, assume both kinds of work. Although it means getting up very early, women prefer morning time which 'free' their afternoons to devote themselves completely to the assumed functions (more or less willingly). In this way, they make the whole load of work invisible and ease the latent conflicts of the unequal distribution of work within the family.

### **Negotiation and reconciliation of times.**



In general terms, we can say that within the couple there is no negotiation on the sharing of the whole amount of both kinds of work. We have to distinguish here between negotiation with the company and negotiation with the family:

- (1) About negotiation with the company, and as we have been saying, it is never expressed, neither collectively nor individually. It is just reduced to the expression of mere preferences or wishes for a distribution of the productive time which enables a better management of the whole amount of work. This element is especially common among women. Besides, in case these things are solved, they are always solved individually.
- (2) We may not either properly speak about negotiation in the family scope. Not even about the fact of an existing strategy in the couple aimed at making changes in the working hours of one of the partners or of both of them. And neither a concrete strategy about redistribution of reproductive load. Only in one case (Woman, Design) an agreement is expressed which follows the patterns of redistribution of 'he the cooking and she the washing' which, however, has not worked properly until domestic service has been contracted (and even then the woman is mainly in charge of the rest of activities).

In this context, timid redistribution is not in purpose or follows a previous negotiation within the couple but is the result of (a) time pressures due to the load of productive work of both of them; (b) desynchronisation resulting from them; and (c) the extra load resulting from childcare. In this sense, we might speak about a "required coordination" and about some time conflict which have resulted from the elements mentioned and especially from the extra reproductive loads of having children.

And it is in there where the timid situations of higher participation of men in the reproductive load take place as a result of the adaptation (more than transformation) to the new labour conditions in the traditional model of gender distribution of work.

As we have seen, in automatic insertion there are few workers with household responsibilities and even fewer with family responsibilities. The changing working

times result in problems to adjust concerning health and everyday organisation which must be compensated with a ready-to-adjust family. They are clearly conscious of the fact that their timetables affect the lives of other members in the family living with them, basically mothers and partners. Reproductive work, if done, must be done during time off work taking time from leisure.

“I get up an hour earlier to do the things I have to do. My wife does other things and so it goes. And at the weekends, when I have free time, I have things to do...Well, I don't go out so I can do all things I couldn't do that week” (Insertion, man).

Some differences can be seen between the groups of women in the morning and in the afternoon shifts. Working afternoon shift (which means arriving home at 11pm) makes more visible women's labour participation and their absence from home. This enables a possible negotiation, less explicit than more, of tasks distribution with their partners. On the contrary, women working morning shift tend to assume family responsibilities without questioning it because once they are back from work (at 3 pm) devote all the time left to organise and perform the household activities. However, as we have previously seen, most married women with children would rather work in morning shift.

“But, ok, when I worked mornings I worked harder because in the afternoon I got home and prepared lunch and I prepared dinner, and he got out of it. He tells me, ‘I like better when you work mornings’, and I say ‘to see me or what?. But, let's see, one thing for the other, he helped me. But almost all burden was for me” (Woman, afternoon).

### **Productive or reproductive not-working activities.**

Time off work activities are most frequently done out of the productive and domestic work and they are following ones: going out for lunch, watching TV, listening to music, relaxing, going out for a drink, going for a walk, attending sport venues, practicing sports, having a hobby, taking up courses, going to the cinema, going to museums, taking part in associations, attending religious events...In general terms, it can be seen that leisure activities are kept for the

weekend. These activities are different depending on the family situation, age, and gender of workers. Thus, young workers usually devote the weekend to meet friends or go to party whereas workers with family responsibilities usually spend most of their time with family activities and care of children.

The two variables considered to define the time systems (hours worked and timetables) seem to have more regular and differential influence on all the activities. Workers working less than 40 hours, in production and in morning shift, mainly women, are precisely the ones who state that they do less than the others of all the activities mentioned (except for going for a walk) with a timetable and working hours more suitable to carry out the activities mentioned. Many of these activities are not frequent during the week (religious events, going to the cinema, visiting museums, attending sport venues) so it would seem that morning work in production should not influence. Other activities are more frequent so morning work should give the best conditions to carry them out. However, this 'good working time' in the morning is the one which less 'incites' them to carry out the group of activities. What are the reasons? (i) First, in that section, production, and in that working time, mornings, it is where women are. They accumulate more load of reproductive work so they cannot devote themselves too much to these more or less leisure activities or for their own. (ii) The second clue goes in the same direction. Conditions with bigger family burden are also precisely found in this working time. On the contrary, people working more hours, between 41 and 49 and more than 50, tend to perform the group of activities mentioned more often, except for going for a walk and relax. Surprising? If we consider working times, we can see that these people are in production and design. The first ones, in afternoon working time in production, state that they go out for lunch or dinner, watch TV, listen to music, go out for a drink, go for a walk, and relax. Working time may enable these activities. In this working time and section we find women who, in contrast with women in the morning shift and although they work more hours, are younger and have less family responsibilities. This opposite effect may make us think that, on the whole, the gender reason does not influence so much. The second group performing more activities of taking up courses, participation in

associations, visiting museums, practicing sport is in split working day and design who are usually men and a bit younger.

### **Consciousness and reality of social time as a resource for bargaining strategies**

Productive and social time in general, and particularly of workers, is at present one of the most important bargaining resources within companies. However, it is not assumed or represented by the whole of workers as a good of their own and an object to exchange or a strategy when bargaining. Consciousness of time as a resource and its ownership is more present among their social representatives and, obviously, in the company. Time experience is expressed among workers mainly resulting from the negative consequences of productive time flexibility on their lives, as for example, the social desynchronisation coming after it, the almost-sleepy state and the permanent tiredness it causes, the repercussions and high difficulties shown on health, especially in insertion and design, and the different forms of absenteeism. Therefore, the perception most workers have of social time is from the lack of it in their lives, of not owning it and the negative consequences of use they are obliged to. This is to say, they feel that the time does not belong to them and they see it as something not of their own. At the most, "time for them and for the others" is seen as unattainable wish, an aspiration for a "vague and impossible" tomorrow. The situation established and the external time pressure that workers have to suffer makes difficult consider any other alternative in the perception, representation and projection of social time.

Therefore, it is easy to understand that a proposal for a change in the organisation of working time (for example more availability for the exchange of company time flexibility for and according to more labour security or better sharing of employment with new contracts or, maybe, with a very slight reduction of the whole working time and/or a slight increase in wages) is reluctantly seen owing to the negative effects, as an experiment, that it has on the organisation of

life and the arrangements which have been made up to now if these arrangements, as usually, still follow the exclusive direction of company flexibility.

Company demands of labour flexibility have important consequences on the restructuring of social lives of workers. This flexibility has one of the most determining connotations, not the only one, in the changes and diversifications of working times of workers which mean a change in time regulation and maybe a de-programming in the life of the worker concerning his/her biological, family, personal and social needs. This consequence is strongly showing signs among workers, but in different ways since some working times or shifts adapt better to their necessities than others. Changes would influence more, and they do influence if overruled, lives of women because working time spreads to the rest of the fields in their everyday lives, especially the reproductive time. Therefore, the reluctance to a change is bigger in production. The flexibility is better assumed in design and insertion since their lives are centred on work.

The company time organisation is the result of a restructuring in the organisation within the company. However, there is not perception among workers that time is a bargaining issue and the possibility of “à la carte” working time is far out of question. Only in some cases it is suggested that concrete desynchronisation problems (due to studies or family problems) may be individually considered and a worker interviewed states that when a change in shift has been asked for, the company has usually considered it. However, this is not an open situation in any case, although the discourse of the management goes in that line:

“...what they did say was that...what they would do was...if I have already been working afternoons for a year, so, periodically, go to people, change the working time because ‘it was not fair’, they said, if a person does not like afternoon shift, he/she should not always be working afternoons, shouldn’t he/she?, this is what they said, but afterwards...Lately, I am a bit fed up that...” (Man Production –afternoon shift).

However, the most frequent situation is an adapting attitude to this working time more than the possibility of individual or collective bargaining:

“The morning one...if I got it I'd do it, wouldn't I? Because you have to work, don't you? But I would be very tired, then I would neither go very far with things because I would get home at 3, I would have a nap, get up late and dinner and go to bed again (...), everyone does what they can”. (Woman, production –afternoon shift-).

What is the payback given by the company to obtain this availability? The name (a large company) and a supposed security (when the fieldwork was carried out). Some of the workers interviewed, however, said that they would get other “less interesting” jobs if they were offered a standard working time and they make plans for their futures in other kinds of companies and/or working times:

“For me, as I'm single, it is attainable but for a married person things aren't too good...you have to get up very early to do household chores, go shopping, and if you have children...” (Woman Production –afternoon shift-).

“In five years I see myself having a...fixed working time. This is... I can't imagine this working time. Now because...I'm young and...” (Man Insertion –working shifts-).

In this sense, working time is one of the reasons of the high rotation among staff:

“...young people when they start...(…), well, when they realise they have to work weekends, these people, yes, they resign, they usually resign, there are a lot of people who resign because, obviously, they don't have to pay anything” (Man Insertion –working shifts-).

### **THIRD PART. SOME CONCLUSIONS.**

Strategies used to face the new contradiction we have shown, this is to make working time flexibility compatible with family inflexibilities in the reproductive time and social inflexibilities of the time off work are of an individual kind although some of them are based on strategies of a collective base. We are going to evaluate all of them now going beyond this research and basing on different research carried out by us or by others, (CITAR??) and making hypotheses which may result from the situation as we have witnessed it.

**Individual strategies which clash with the demands coming from productive work.**

A strategy very commonly used by young workers is the no-acceptance of a job which involves such a flexible or desynchronised working time. This is what happens in sectors like hotel business. Spanish young peoples do not accept these jobs or they only accept them for a short period of time since, among other reasons, it may be handicap for the leisure activities at the weekend. Of course, other reasons are usually found, such as low wage level. Consequently, these jobs are gradually being taken by immigrants. Spanish youth may opt for this staying for longer time within the family than it was usual in the past decades.

The strategy of reducing working hours –part-time job-, which enables women to integrate into labour market and, at the same time, still be the key for synchronisation for the rest of the family, is not working in Spain as it is usual in other countries in the Union. Only 8% of the working population have that kind of job. Reasons are related to bad working conditions of part-time: timetables, wages, etc...But also it is related to another more important fact, the choice made by companies for temporary employment as the base for employment flexibility. Neither one way, nor the other mean equal opportunities for men and women neither reconciliation between work and family life is aiming this equality.

Labour absenteeism may also be a response to the difficulties to reconciliation in the availability demanded by companies and the demands coming from domestic obligations and the social pressure of leisure time. Absenteism is high in the Spanish case, especially among young workers.

**Strategies concerning the demands coming from the reproductive work.**

As we have seen in the research which is the base of this paper, two kinds of ways out prevail. The first one consists on the woman finding a working time –prevaillingly morning with a continuous working day- which enables her being in charge of the domestic activities, with some help from the rest of the family, especially from the husband or partner but completely dropping time off work. This is

at the expense of equality in opportunities for men and women no matter some call it reconciliation between labour and family lives. The second one consists on an agreement within the family of working times which enable sharing the domestic obligations and, at the same time, having time off work: there are some cases in the research carried out but at the expense of overcoming the prevailing patterns of gender division of work, which are strongly found between men and women (Michon 1997, Hufton, 1999).

### **Individual strategies concerning time off work.**

Strategies to consolidate time off work, which is partly of the family but should also be of an individual kind, are strongly affected by the pressure coming from other times and particularly from the productive working time. Shift work, long working hours or weekend work considerably shorten the family time off work and practically may reduce to nothing the individual time off work beyond resting. The three-8 model, evening free, and weekend off, which was the ideal everyone could aim for, is increasingly reducing.

### **Collective strategies.**

Obviously, there are also collective strategies. They are aimed at achieving demands concerning productive working time in collective bargaining. A minimal strategy -as we have seen in the company studied- consists on agreeing a working time system for a year or half a year which may avoid more frequent changes disrupting the rest of times. The same may be said for the agreements to change working shift within reasonable periods. "Flexsecurity" agreements are not usually suitable for this issue. Although they make possible control the amount of external flexibility, they do not get into internal flexibility since, precisely, the increase of this flexibility and the transfer of its control to the company are usually the payback (Sisson, Martin, ).

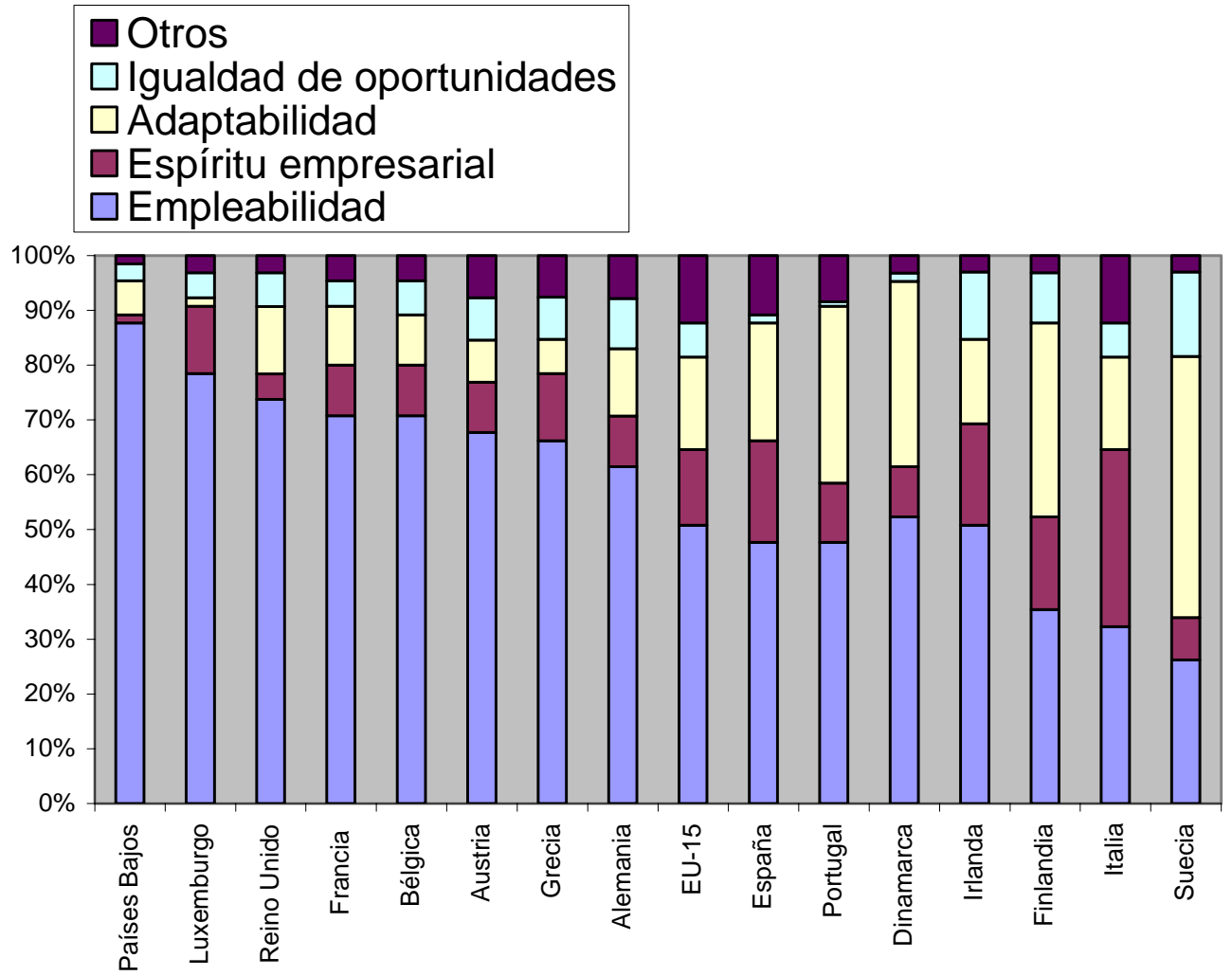
In any case there are few collective strategies on the whole amount of work load which would really allow us speak about reconciliation of work and family-individual life and when they occur only the women is taken as the subject reinforcing the prevailing pattern of reproductive work as her responsibility (Torns,



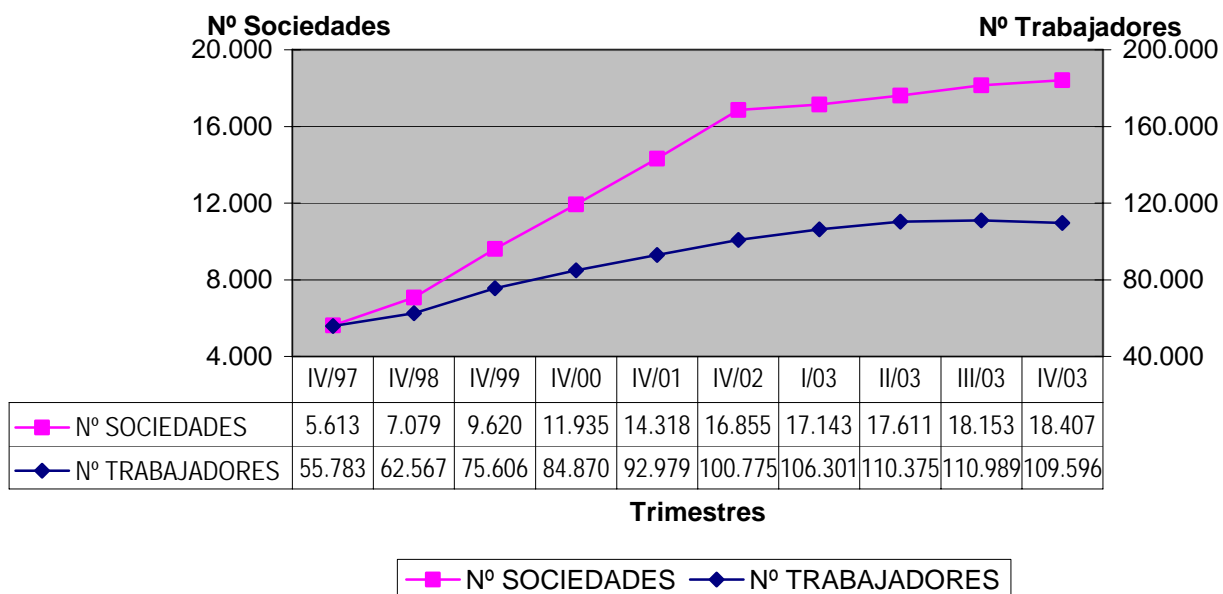
2004). This is the typical case of motherhood leave or reduction in working hours for this reason. Collective demands should be developed for men and women without distinction regarding possibilities to care for children or elderly relatives during concrete periods. This would enable a real sharing in equal conditions of the domestic work between men and women.

As for reconciliation between productive work and leisure time, we think that a difference must be made between industrial companies and services. In the first ones, night working shifts are dubious –except for cases in which machinery is put in danger if it is stopped- as well as weekend working shifts if we consider that people are more important than production. Regarding services companies, it seems obvious that some night or weekend or holidays services must be maintained. But in that case, suitable compensations must be offered as well as suitable rotations. (Miguélez-Torns, 2002).

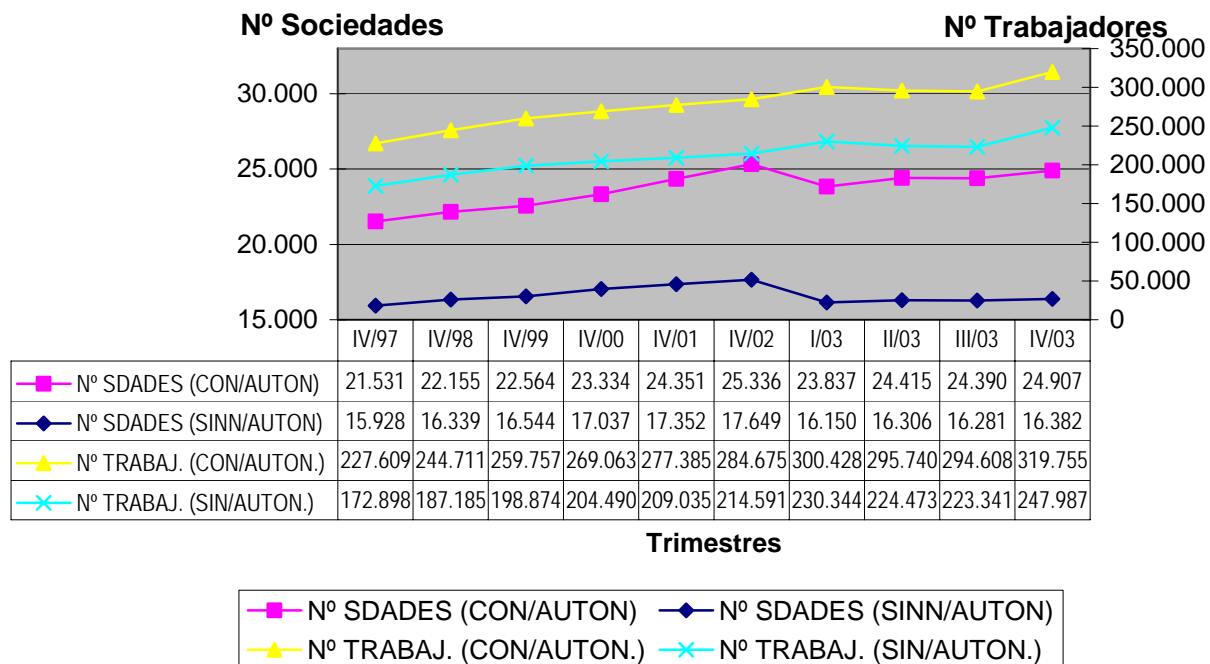
## Gasto previsto del FSE con arreglo a los objetivos nº 1 y 3, por pilares (2001)



### GRAFICO BG-1 SOCIEDADES LABORALES



### GRÁFICO AG-1 SOCIEDADES COOPERATIVAS Evolución del nº de sociedades y de trabajadores



## Los yacimientos de empleo y sus efectos

Yacimientos	Intensidad	Calidad del trabajo	Estatus profesional	Tipo de empleo
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ LOS SERVICIOS A LA VIDA DIARIA</li> </ul>				
1. Los servicios a domicilio	Elevado	Bajo	No definido	Inestable
2. El cuidado de los niños	Elevado	Bajo	No definido	Inestable
3. Las NT de la información y la comunicación	Medio	Alto	En curso de definición	Estable
4. La ayuda a los jóvenes en dificultad y la inserción	Fiable	Medio-bajo	No definido	Inestable
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ LOS SERVICIOS DE MEJORA DEL MARCO DE VIDA</li> </ul>				
5. La mejora de la vivienda	Elevado	Variable	No definido	Variable
6. La seguridad	Elevado	Medio-bajo	No definido	Inestable
7. Los transportes colectivos locales	Fiable	Bajo	Definido	Estable
8. La revalorización de los espacios públicos urbanos	Elevado	Variable	Definido	Inestable
9. Los comercios de proximidad	Fiable	Medio-bajo	Definido	Estable
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ LOS SERVICIOS CULTURALES Y DE OCIO</li> </ul>				
10. El turismo	Elevado	Medio	En curso de definición	Inestable
11. El sector audiovisual	Elevado	Alto	En curso de definición	Estable
12. La valorización del patrimonio cultural	Elevado	Variable	Definido	Variable
13. El desarrollo cultural local	Fiable	Variable	No definido	Inestable
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ LOS SERVICIOS DE MEDIO AMBIENTE</li> </ul>				
14. La gestión de los residuos	Medio	Variable	No definido	Estable
15. La gestión del agua	Fiable	Variable	Definido	Estable
16. La protección y el mantenimiento de zonas naturales	Medio	Variable	En curso de definición	Inestable
17. La normativa y el control de la contaminación	Fiable	Alto	Definido	Estable

**Estatus profesional:** rol en la organización, grado de reconocimiento jurídico y sobre el mercado de trabajo exterior, existencia de carreras

Profesionales, la fórmula *en curso de definición* depende fuertemente del grado de estabilidad alcanzado y la organización del sector de referencia.

Fuente: DGV de la Comisión Europea (1996)

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