

Scottish Fathers and the Labour Market

Written and researched by Stephen Overell on behalf of Working Families for Fathers Network Scotland in April 2013.

Executive Summary

- There needs to be much better data on Scottish fathers working patterns (including single fathers), the take-up of paternity leave and access to, and use of, flexible working.
- What evidence exists suggests Scotland has been slow to adopt flexible working. There are fewer flexible working options available in Scotland than elsewhere; and employees value flexibility less than in other areas of the UK. However, where flexible working is available, take-up tends to be high in Scotland, indicating strong, pent-up demand for it.
- Across the UK, there has been a significant increase among fathers working part-time. The numbers doing so have risen from 242,000 in 2007 up to 366,000 in 2013. We do not yet know if this is due to lack of full-time jobs or more men taking greater caring responsibilities – or possibly both.
- Absence of flexible working options remains a very significant barrier to fathering.
- The Coalition’s proposals on shared parental leave need to be kept under review. The case for “use it or lose it” leave reserved explicitly for fathers merits further investigation in a Scottish context.
- Wider workplace issues beyond flexible working need also to be at the forefront of debates about fathering. Long hours, work intensification, autonomy and job control have a profound bearing on fathers, families and children.

1. Introduction

Any report examining the labour market barriers facing fathers risks painting work as a problem. A preliminary point is that there is overwhelming evidence from many studies dating back as far as the 1930s that the truly devastating phenomenon for the wellbeing of men, women and children is the absence of workⁱ. Work is – although it doesn’t always feel this way - good for health, happiness and wellbeingⁱⁱ. But much depends on the quality and nature of that work, in this case the ability to exert control over it to enhance its compatibility with fathering. The range of issues affecting fathering in Scotland is broad, from childcare availability to poverty and family structures. A report of this length is inevitably cursory. Transcending everything, however, is that given the depth of the fall of output during 2008-13, employment has held up surprisingly well – all the more so given Scotland’s high rate of public sector employment. There are deep and justified concerns about the quality of some of the new jobs, but nevertheless Scotland is among the areas of the UK with the highest employment rate (including of women) and the lowest unemployment rateⁱⁱⁱ: this ought to be seen as positive for Scottish fathers and Scottish children.

2. Scottish fathers: demographic information

Employment is not a devolved area. Therefore, data on many issues pertaining to the Scottish labour market is not as plentiful as UK-wide material; indeed, organisations such as the Scottish CBI refer questions about the employment practices of Scottish employers to its

London head office. This can make specifically Scottish angles on fathers at work difficult to grasp. Data on fathers and the labour market is not collected specifically for Scotland. The Scottish government funds the Office of National Statistics to “boost” the UK-wide Labour Force Survey to provide local authority level information. A research exercise to gather demographic information on Scottish fathers would be relatively straightforward to undertake, but is not at present published.

Employment levels and patterns among UK fathers are generally stable, comparing 2007 with 2012. There has, however, been an increase in the numbers of fathers working part-time: 242,000 in 2007 compared with 366,000 in 2012. It is unclear the extent to which the increase in part-time working among men is an effect of constrained choice or part of a shift towards men taking on a greater share of caring responsibilities – or perhaps a mixture of the two. There is no doubt that it is fathers who are driving the increase in part-time working. There has been talk of a “mancession” in some quarters, as men lose more work-hours relative to women and are pushed towards becoming unwilling part-timers^{iv}. However, there has been a longer, EU-wide trend towards increasing part-time work as a proportion of total employment (including among men) and this predates the recession^v. Table 1 below provides a UK-wide snapshot of fathers.

Table 1: Fathers in the labour market in the UK (000s)

	All Men	Men with dependent children (by age of youngest dependent child)				Men without dependent children
		16 to 64	All 0 to 18	0 to 4	5 to 10	
In employment³	15,119	5,276	2,249	1,435	1,592	9,843
of whom:						
Full-time	12,274	4,676	1,997	1,279	1,400	7,598
Part-time	1,623	366	164	93	109	1,257
Unemployed	1,448	253	120	75	58	1,195
Economically Active⁴	16,567	5,529	2,368	1,510	1,650	11,039
Economically Inactive	3,449	346	131	82	133	3,103
Total	20,017	5,875	2,500	1,592	1,783	14,142
						Per cent
Employment rate⁵	75.5	89.8	90.0	90.1	89.3	69.6
Unemployment rate⁶	8.7	4.6	5.0	5.0	3.5	10.8

Although UK policy has long sought to encourage mothers into the labour market for economic reasons and has collected statistics to enable better understanding of the problem, with fathers the debate runs in a different direction: how to better integrate work with fathering responsibilities. This is not so much driven by economic considerations as those pertaining to the wellbeing of children and families, alongside arguments about equality and choice. At present, a lot of useful data on fathers is either not collected or not

published. There are very strong grounds for collecting more focussed data on how Scottish fathers balance their work with their caring responsibilities.

As an aside it is interesting to note that the collection of official statistics is often shaped by perceptions of social need. One of the unsung successes of feminism is that comprehensive information now exists about the position of women/mothers in the labour market, perhaps responding in a small measure to the classic feminist position that “more and better work” was the answer to the problem of the second class status of women in society^{vi}. Contemporary arguments about equality are more nuanced. Men who choose “less work and more care” are becoming more common, even while there remains strong social attachment to the notion of breadwinning as a masculine virtue. Reaffirming the need to understand more about the diversity of men’s choices around working and caring is a strong message that needs to be sent to government statisticians.

Where the statistics are especially unreliable (due to small sample sizes) is in relation to single fathers. The Growing Up in Scotland^{vii} study provides some insight on this question. Some 21% of Scottish households are single-parent households, 88% of which are headed by the mother. The remaining 12% of single-parent households are overwhelmingly headed by a single father. GUS respondents came via Child Benefit recipients who are mostly mothers and there is a greater emphasis on mothers than fathers in the report from the second cohort: there are 498 references to the word “mother” and 35 to the word “father”. The employment patterns of single fathers appear to be under- - possibly even un- – researched.

3. Flexible working and Scottish fathers

“Flexibility” is a rather contested term in employment; so often when the word is used it refers to issues of power and control in the workplace, which can be affected by many factors, not least the economic climate, bargaining arrangements, sectors and the composition of workforces. When employers talk of flexibility they can mean how easy it is to hire-and-fire and meet customer demands. When employees talk of flexibility they tend to mean how adaptable their work is to their wider life-needs. Flexibility may be a two-way street, but ought not to be viewed as an area of natural consensus. However, advocates of flexible working would argue, supported by considerable research^{viii}, that flexible working can be made to serve the goals of employers for productivity and good employment relations and employees for better work-life integration.

It is also important to remember how historically novel both the concept and the legal mechanisms to support flexible working actually are. Legislation on flexible working has existed only since 2003 for parents of children under six, or disabled children up to 18 (subsequently extended to carers of adults in 2007 and to parents of children up to age 18 in 2009). The legal novelty is that flexible working invokes a *right to request*, not a *right to have*; organisations have a parallel right to refuse the request, provided there are sound business reasons. In effect, it is a law which obliges dialogue between employers and employees around the twin pressures of working and caring.

Unfortunately, while there is a large and growing literature on the subject, little of it deals specifically with Scottish fathers.

Some useful information about Scottish flexible working arrangements comes from BIS's regular work-life balance series of reports^{ix}. The most recent indicates some interesting anomalies between what Scottish parents perceive as available flexible working practices and the take-up of those practices. For example, employees in Scotland reported the lowest availability of flexitime (36% compared with 51% in the Midlands and the South) and the lowest incidence of working from home (22% compared with 34% in the south and 30% in the Midlands). However, when it came to taking up flexible working practices, employees in Scotland were more likely to have taken up flexible working where it is available (66% compared with 39% in the Midlands). Furthermore, the availability of flexible working was "very important" for the lowest percentage of parents from Scotland (16%) as compared with 51% in the South – a very significant difference in terms of the value placed on flexibility. Scottish employees were also less likely to make a request to change working hours in the past two years (17% compared with 25% in the South). Nevertheless, term-time working was most likely among Scottish employees (40%) but lowest among employees from the north of England (21%).

The Fourth Work-Life Balance report indicates that across the UK 22% of employees have requested a change to their working arrangements in the last two years (usually around working time) and that most of these are women, parents and carers (28%, 27% and 30% respectively – fathers are not even mentioned!). There are some questions asked by the BIS survey that would be very relevant to Scottish fathers, but such information is not available in published form (it may be possible to reanalyse the data on request). Specifically, it would be useful to know how often Scottish fathers request to work flexibly and whether Scottish employers are more or less likely to turn them down than their peers elsewhere. An analysis of complaints to employment tribunals about flexible working would also be helpful. For example, how many men have complained to a tribunal after their request to work flexibly was rejected and what did tribunals find in their cases (and what was the outcome of subsequent appeals)?

Across the UK, 61% of flexible working requests were accepted in full and 18% with compromise or negotiation (a rate roughly stable since the previous survey in 2006), according to BIS. Some 18% of men and some 10% of women had their requests turned down (part-timers are also more likely to be accepted than full-timers). At present there appears to be a fairly persistent gender gap in terms both of the likelihood to request flexible working and the likelihood of being accepted for it. A Scottish spotlight on this issue would be welcome.

How should such results be interpreted? Flexible working is one of the central ways in which government policy endeavours to make fathering easier. Perhaps the strongest interpretation is that Scottish working culture has been relatively slow to respond to the flexible working movement. Scotland appears to be very (perhaps unnecessarily) traditional in terms of the "where and when" of work getting done. Flexibility is also not a priority among Scottish employees. However, where it is available, take-up is high, indicating a strong, pent-up demand for it.

Again, the GUS study is a useful source on Scottish workplace flexibility (this captures “parents” rather than fathers). Some 72% of parents who were currently or had been employed said their employer offered at least some policies aimed at family-friendly working. The range of policies offered, and the proportion of working parents who reported each being offered by their employer is shown in Table 2. For the point of UK-wide contrast the GUS data is contrasted with the UK-wide Workplace Employment Relations Survey which has been running at five yearly-intervals since 1980. (Caution needs to be exercised as the surveys use different comparator groups, but are included for the sake of rough-and-ready contrast). An obvious interpretation of both surveys is that, in general, work remains *inflexible*. In terms of barriers to fathering, lack of flexible working options is clearly a very significant issue.

Table 2: Family-friendly policies offered by parents’ employers in Scotland and across UK(%)

Practice	GUS (Scot)	WERS (UK)
Childcare vouchers	36	n/a
Flexible working hours always possible	34	30
Allows parents unpaid time off when a child is sick	33	n/a
Allows parents paid time off when a child is sick (in addition to normal holiday allowance)	31	12
Flexible working hours sometimes possible by arrangement	30	n/a
Allows employees option to job-share	19	4
Allows employees to work from home some or all of the time	13	17
Allows parents unpaid time off during school holidays	8	7
A work place creche or nursery	5	n/a
Subsidised childcare	2	n/a
Something else	1	n/a
None	28	n/a
Job sharing	n/a	4
Compressed hours	n/a	9

Base GUS: All respondents currently working or having previously worked 5168; Base WERS: Employees and managers in 2,680 workplaces

According to WERS, the vast majority of workplaces make flexible working available to all employees rather than just parents or groups with caring responsibilities (10%). This implies normal practice is running ahead of the law (see next section). That said, the take-up of flexible working is more frequently used by carers than others, as table 3 shows.

Table 3: Use of flexible working among carers and others employees (%)

	Carers	Others	All
Flexitime	33	27	30
Working from home	20	15	17
Paid time off - emergency	18	7	12
Reduced hours	12	6	9
Compressed hours	9	9	9
School term time working	9	5	7
Job Share	5	4	4

Source: Workplace Employment Relations Survey

The WERS survey makes some relevant points that help explain why working and fathering are so difficult to integrate – and in some ways are becoming more so.

1. There appears to have been a hardening of attitudes towards flexible working among employers during the recession. Today, reconciling work with the rest of one’s life is seen as an individual (rather than a shared) responsibility in a rising proportion of workplaces. Workplaces where the manager agreed that it was up to individual employees to balance their work and family responsibilities accounted for 71% of all employees in 2011, compared with 56% in 2004. This is especially true in the private sector (77% of managers).
2. Across the UK, 29% of workers say their workload has increased as a result of the recession.
3. Some 27% of workplaces with some female staff offered maternity pay in excess of Statutory Maternity Pay for some of the period of maternity leave. Among workplaces with some male staff, 21% offered paternity pay in excess of the statutory minimum.
4. Cost is rarely the main barrier to flexible working. Far more common was a tendency to identify incompatibility with the nature of the work or the operating hours. Only a minority of managers (27%) reported no constraints at all.
5. Flexible working, and its tensions, remains predominantly “a mummy thing”. Over one third (36%) of managers in female-dominated workplaces (i.e. where more than three quarters of the workforce was female) reported that they were constrained by the pressure that flexible working arrangements put on other employees, compared with 28% of managers in workplaces with a lower proportion of female workers. More than a quarter (28%) of managers in male-dominated workplaces cited a lack of demand for flexible working from employees, compared with 14% in female-dominated workplaces.

In summary, it appears Scotland has an especially long road to travel on flexible working. Scotland could be seen as a “lagging region” in terms of home-working, flexitime and requesting flexible working. Where it is available, however, Scottish workers appear very keen to take it up. Mothers are more likely to work flexibly and have their requests accepted – it remains gendered. Meanwhile, the recession has led more employers to wash their hands of responsibility for better work-life integration; they are more likely to see it as up to individuals. Work is in general becoming harder: a little under a third of workers say they have had their workload increased due to the recession; this is likely to affect good fathering.

4. Policy

Policy increasingly aims at supporting “involved” fathers by recognising that parenting is not just about mothers. For example, Scotland’s National Parenting Strategy launched in October 2012^x places a degree of emphasis on fathers. It reads: “We will better represent fathers, including those who live apart from their children, in our policies and services.” The Scottish government currently supports and funds a number of fathers projects including those run by Children in Scotland, Families Need Fathers, an NHS Health Scotland “Fathers Forum” and backing a “Fathers Roundtable” alongside a “Women’s Employment Summit”.

Fathers are latecomers to the family policy world. Statutory paternity leave has only existed in UK law since 2005, for example (it is currently paid at the rate of £ £135.45 a week). February 2013 saw the first reading of the Coalition’s Children and Families Bill containing two changes to the law that are likely to affect fathers^{xi}. These include the extension of the right to request to all employees and the introduction of shared parental leave. The stated intention is to give parents greater flexibility in terms of how they “mix and match” care in the first year of a child’s life, allowing them to take it in turns or take it together, provided they take no more than 52 weeks in total. A further specific aim is greater involvement for fathers. According to Business Minister Jo Swinson: “Employers will soon get used to more men taking time off after their child is born and more mothers returning to work earlier, shattering the perception that it is mainly a woman’s role to stay at home and look after the child.”^{xii} Fathers-to-be will also gain a new right to take unpaid leave to attend two antenatal appointments. Business organisations such as the CBI, unions and charities such as Working Families have welcomed the proposals, although there are concerns about the complexity of administering the new system.

Will it work? A criticism that can be made of the policy is that it tends to over-simplify the issues affecting fathers. For example, there is a tendency to think flexible working is “the” solution to better fathering without considering working time or workload burdens or the gendered nature of roles both at work (material factors often dis-incentivise the involvement of fathers) and in the home (men often see themselves as “helping” rather than sharing domestic burdens – see final section). In some policy documents fathers are portrayed both as wanting to spend more time with their children and needing the state’s encouragement to do so. There is a striking silence about how parents’ decisions about taking leave (paternity and parental) are influenced by the greater earning power of men and generally better career prospects. According to Work-Care Synergies, a major international project on the integration of work and care, the UK arm of which was undertaken at the University of Aberdeen^{xiii}, most beneficial for children is not shared leave, but “use-it or lose it daddy leave” of two weeks paid at a level of half usual earnings (a highly unlikely prospect in the current climate). Furthermore, the project argues, based on experience with Scandinavian work-life policies, leave should not be taken at the same time that mothers are on maternity leave – a bid to undermine the culture of gendered “provider” and “carer” roles.

5. Case Study 1: Central Scotland Forest Trust

The CSFT has 36 predominantly full-time employees. It began to examine the possibilities of flexible working 12 years ago, as part of a wider management review, necessitated by a bout of redundancies (including doing away with the role of receptionist). “Work-life balance became part of the offer to staff at that time,” says Shona MacDonald, CSFT’s business manager. “It lifted a whole burden off us.”

All men make use of flexible working from time to time. CSFT has a core hours system with staff working flexibly around those hours, without a general expectation to be in the office. “With the right IT, it is quite easy for us to tell what is happening,” says Ms MacDonald.

CSFT has 22 days annual leave and 12 bank holidays, six fixed and six “floating”. It is also possible to convert annual leave into blocks of hours – for example, to make a school pick-up possible. The organisation pays two weeks paternity leave at full pay, has sabbaticals after five years and supports study leave.

Like many small firms, it avoids having policies covering every eventuality. Rather, it leaves employees to negotiate arrangements with their manager. For example, regarding family situations, managers would use their judgement between a genuine emergency, where staff can make up the time lost later on, and where staff should take annual leave.

6. Case Study 2: Heriot Watt University

The University has 1,800 employees, 62% of whom are men. Some 50% of staff have caring responsibilities, but the university does not collect data on the nature of the care (children, disability, elders etc). It pays up to two weeks paternity leave at full pay.

Mark Adderley, HR director, has previously worked in the NHS and in banking. He says universities are more flexible partly because of the nature of the work. While the teaching side of the academic role requires physical presence, research (the aspect that secures personal advancement) can be done from anywhere.

The university does not manage flexibility centrally, devolving that role to line managers in faculties and departments. Unless there is a dispute, the university’s central HR team would not get involved in line decisions about flexible working requests. The university views flexible working neither as requiring central input, nor necessitating data collection.

Significant numbers of staff are on part-time, fixed term contracts. Most of the demand for flexible working comes from women, says Mr Adderley. Rightly or wrongly, within universities the perception remains that when people go part-time, they tend to drop the research part in favour of teaching-only contracts: this is seen as signalling a lack of desire to be promoted. While attitudes are changing, at present, he believes it is women, rather more than men, who suffer more from negative perceptions around part-time work.

7. Conclusion: The culture of work and the culture of family life

Scottish fathers are a conflicted group. Society still asks that they provide by going “out” to work and the fathers of young children work the longest hours of any group of employees^{xiv}; but social change is also serving to greatly complicate the traditional role by pressuring them to be more “in” the home and more child-oriented. Fathers feel these tensions. According to one study^{xv}, 47% per cent of father-respondents felt providing was the role of fathers – but only 23% felt childcare was the primary responsibility of mothers. Fathers emphatically want to spend more time with their children.

Flexible working is one – if not the only – important way in which workplaces can be more father-friendly. However, in practice, flexible working can be rather *inflexible*: it is often offered in only one form (flexitime or reduced hours, say) and taking it up carries career penalties^{xvi}. Furthermore, flexible working has arrived with women in mind. Part-time working opportunities are often unavailable for men, or not taken up by fathers where they do exist^{xvii}. Being physically present in a workplace is not just a source of masculinity, but necessary for continued job security among men in a way that is perceived to be less true among mothers.^{xviii}

Meanwhile flexible working advocates don’t always consider issues such as working time reform, work intensification, or the sense that many people feel “more controlled” or micromanaged in how they do their work (lack of autonomy is closely related to high work-stress^{xix}) to be central to the prospects of better fathering, focussing instead on a menu of flexible working options. This is understandable. But it fails to address a number of key issues that arise from the specifically British way of working. For example, working long hours for extended periods of time is likely to damage mental and physical health. Where people are working very hard, but have little control over their work, then this toxic combination has been repeatedly demonstrated to be ruinous to wellbeing – and not just in the psychological sense: cardio-vascular health is also emphatically linked^{xx} to the high stress-low job control relationship. Stress may thrill the rich, but it kills the poor. These issues need to be seen as being relevant to movements aimed at encouraging fathering alongside the current emphasis on flexible working.

This report is aimed at understanding the labour market barriers for Scottish fathers. But it is also true that work flexibility does not rid the home of father-mother tensions. It has been reported in some studies that mothers are reluctant to relinquish the role of lead parent. Fathers and mothers interpret involvement differently. Fathers exclude domestic labour but mothers see involvement as sharing the more unappealing domestic chores. Women still undertake more domestic labour than men and this applies both to women in part-time work and dual earners^{xxi}. Men may want equality of parenting but do not see equal roles in housework. The flexible father role “is predicated on the expectation of, unsung, maternal support,” as one study put it.^{xxii}

8. Recommendations

1. There is a need for much better data on Scottish fathers within the Scottish labour market.
2. Key research questions include: the numbers, ages, marital status and employment patterns of Scottish fathers; better data on access to and uptake of flexible working; better understanding on why Scottish men are more likely than women to be turned down for flexible working; the extent to which Scottish employers are embracing (or shunning) flexible working; and information about the take-up of paternity leave and/or data on whether Scottish fathers are being forced to use their annual leave instead of paternity leave. Alongside this information, greater understanding derived from employer case studies of how employers manage fathers with work and care responsibilities is also necessary.
3. There is a strong need to develop flexible working in Scotland, as currently too few employees use it. To this end, government should promote flexible working more vigorously, including among men. This includes information campaigns and developing a stronger business case for flexible working for fathers among Scottish employers.
4. Government should encourage more employers to expand the possibilities of flexible working beyond areas such as flexitime to include a wider variety of work options.
5. In Scottish family policy, promoting fathers' involvement with children needs to better recognise the labour market barriers fathers face. Lack of flexibility in work (alongside other factors such as childcare) is a key barrier to encouraging greater involvement from fathers.
6. The practice of shared leave should be kept under review. The case for "use it or lose it" leave reserved specifically for fathers needs to be investigated further.
7. The fathers movement may, over time, wish to broaden its response to labour market issues beyond flexible working to examine issues such as working time, workloads, autonomy and stress among men. The quality of work more broadly affects fathers' ability to engage with their children.

8. With thanks to...

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ⁱ See *Employment and Unemployment: A social psychological analysis*, Marie Jahoda, Cambridge University Press, 1982

ⁱⁱ See *Working For a Healthier Tomorrow*, Black Review of the Health of the Working Age Population, DWP, March 2008

ⁱⁱⁱ See *Labour Market Monthly Briefing, Employment Lifelong Learning and Skills*, July 2012. Available at <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Labour-Market/AnalyticalPapers/LM-Brief-Mar>. The ONS also run a series of articles on mothers in the labour market, see <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/lmac/mothers-in-the-labour-market/2011/mothers-in-the-labour-market---2011.html>. This covers such issues as employment rates, ageing, part-time working, women with and without children and those living in a couple and on their own. Replicating such information for fathers – and indeed fathers in Scotland - would be straightforward.

^{iv} *How Men and women have Fared in teh Post Recession Jobs Market*, Work Audit, CIPD, December 2011

^v *Part Time Work in Eurpe*, Eurofound,

^{vi} See, for example, Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, Bantam Doubleday Dell, 1984, originally published 1963

^{vii} *Growing Up in Scotland: Birth Cohort 2: Results from the First Year*, Scottish Government, February 2013

^{viii} See, for example, *Flexible Working: working for families, working for business*, A report by the Family Friendly Working Hours Taskforce, Department for Work and Pensions, HMP, March 2010

^{ix} *Fourth Work-Life Balance Survey*, Employment Relations Research Series, 122, BIS, July 2012

^x *National Parenting Strategy: Making a positive difference to children and young people through parenting*, Scottish Government, 2012, <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2012/10/4789/downloads>, p35

^{xi} For more on this see <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2012/12/articles/uk1212039i.htm>

^{xii} See European Industrial Relations Observatory, report available at

<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2012/12/articles/uk1212039i.htm>.

^{xiii} *Work and Care: Key Findings and Policy Recommendations from European Research on Reconciling Work and Care for Parents with Dependent Children*, Pamela Abbott and Claire Wallace, University of Aberdeen, Work-Care Synergies, European Commission, 2010

^{xiv} *Collapsing the Boundaries? Fatherhood, Organization and Homeworking*, Susan Halford, *Gender, Work and Organization*, 13(4), 2006: pp.383-402.

^{xv} *Working Better: Fathers, Families and Work – Contemporary Perspectives*, EHRC, Research Summary 41, October 2009

^{xvi} *Hard Labour: The Sociology of Parenthood*, Caroline Gatrell, Open University Press, 2005

^{xvii} *Whose Child is it anyway? The negotiation of paternal entitlements within marriage*, Caroline Gatrell, *The Sociological Review*, 55 (2), 2007, pp353-373

^{xviii} *The Time Bind: When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work*, Arlie Russell Hochschild, Henry Holt, 1997

^{xix} See *Working for a Healthier Tomorrow*, *ibid*

^{xx} On these are related issues to do with the interaction between job design, job status and health, see Black, *ibid*; *Status Syndrome: How Social Standing Affects Our Health and Longevity*, Michael Marmot, Bloomsbury, 2004

^{xxi} *Fatherhood and flexible working: a contradiction in terms?* Burnett, S.B., Gatrell, C, Cooper, C. & Sparrow, P. in S. Kaiser, M. J. Ringlstetter, M. Pina e Cunha & D. R. Eikhof (eds.), *Creating balance?! International perspectives on the work-life integration of professionals*, Springer, 2010

^{xxii} *Ibid*, p16