

Education and Childcare Policies. An Overview of the Spanish

Magdalena Jiménez Ramírez

University of Granada

madji@ugr.es

Abstract

The aim of this study is to present a contribution on how these policies for childhood have been carried out in the case of Spain, despite the fact that “to speak of childhood and child education is to place ourselves in a complex context of necessities, interests and demands from children, families and society” (Sánchez, 2008: 76-77). To this end, we use some indicators that reflect the expansion of childhood policies, especially educational ones, although they differ depending on the age range considered (less than three or between three and six) and there is, therefore, a limited provision of educational and social policies of attention and care for children younger than three and their families. In some sections, the information is analyzed with regard to the European context, since the development of care services for early infancy is a political priority in the European Union.

This article is structured in three sections. In the first, an overview is given of the development of childcare in Spain, centring on the duality between family and school, and showing how such care for the child population differs according to the age range considered. The second section deals with a number of key elements to be considered concerning the demand for public policies on childcare. Some alternative strategies are then described, given the lack of care policies. Finally, the conclusions occupy the last section.

Parole chiave: Educational policies; childcare; alternative strategies of care, family and gender.

Introduction

In response to fulfilment of the international regulations on child rights and protection, Spain has carried out a number of policies, more recently together with integrated plans for childcare promoted by some Autonomous Communities, that have led to public social provision of some interventions during the first years of life. These policies should be analysed in the context of a welfare state that recognises such rights and is increasingly contributing to the expansion of educational and childcare policies. Nonetheless, the description of Spain as “familiarist” (Esping-Andersen, 2000) is also linked with the orientations given to policies for childhood.

In our present context, social, political and economic changes have encouraged an increasing incorporation of women into the workplace, while also promoting the rise of female emancipation. This situation has had effects on other aspects, such as traditional family organisation, the transformation of masculine and feminine roles, salary-earning employment for women, the fall in birth rates, as well as changes in the ways children are brought up (Alberdi, 1999). In such a context of transformation, the provision of social, educational and childcare policies should make up a care system for childhood, understood as “a permanent structural factor of society and not merely as ‘the coming generation’” (Ancheta, 2008: 1). According to Gaitán (2006), this leads us to analyse childhood as a social phenomenon with a socially constructed sociological dimension.

Moreover, strategies and lines of action must be put forward to combat gender inequalities in childcare, introducing measures that counteract the constant tension between the productive and reproductive spheres for women (Sensat & Varella, 1998). Particularly, if we consider that the changes that have taken place reflect the need to reconcile the professional activity of mother and father with the care of their children, at a time when important changes are occurring in family structure (Flaquer, 2000).

Therefore, after making a review of the literature and a selection of the legislation, the aim of this study is to present a contribution on how these policies for childhood have been carried out in the case of Spain, despite the fact that “to speak of childhood and child education is to place ourselves in a complex context of necessities, interests and demands from children, families and society” (Sánchez, 2008: 76-77). To this end, we use some indicators that reflect the expansion of childhood policies, especially educational ones, although they differ depending on the age range considered (less than three or between three and six) and there is, therefore, a limited provision of educational and social policies of attention and care for children younger than three and their families. In some sections, the information is analyzed with regard to the European context, since the development of care services for early infancy is a political priority in the European Union.

This article is structured in three sections. In the first, an overview is given of the development of childcare in Spain, centring on the duality between family and school, and showing how such care for the child population differs according to the age range considered. The second section deals with a number of key elements to be considered concerning the demand for public policies on childcare. Some alternative strategies are then described, given the lack of care policies. Finally, the conclusions occupy the last section.

Childcare in Spain: between the family and school

A few historical notes on childcare

In Spain, both during the Franco dictatorship and since then, childcare services have been carried out in the context of education. Although it is true that such legislation was aimed at children over the age of three, when they enter the educational system, there has been an almost complete absence of childcare policies for younger children. Little provision was made for childcare services outside the education system and, as a result, these mainly depended on support and welfare of the family sphere.

During the Franco dictatorship, educational services and childcare were not conceived as an activity encouraging equality for women (Valiente, 2008). On the contrary rather, the régime curtailed the rights of women, pushing them towards a subordinate role, with the family unit structured around the male (father, husband and provider) and women seen as mothers and wives – a role initially defined as incompatible with that of the working woman. In consequence, care services for a child's earliest years were considered a family obligation, with the task particularly assigned to mothers in the home (Sánchez, 2008). School attendance later involved segregation based on sex and the separation of boys and girls at school.

During the régime, childcare was linked with education policy by the General *Law of Education and Finance of Reform (14/1970, August 4th)*, which established *pre-school education* as a free, voluntary stage of education in both state schools and those with voluntary aid status. It was aimed at the child population up to five years of age and was divided into two stages: the *kindergarten (jardín de infancia)* for children aged two and three, indicating that their instruction was to be “similar to life in the home”, and *infant school (escuela de párvulos)* for children between four and five years of age.

The second stage was seen as preparation for primary school (known as *educación general básica* or EGB), as indicated by Sánchez (2008: 84) when he states that “in the defence of the pre-school stage, no other intention can be discerned but that of bringing forward several years the children's condition as *pupils*.” Nonetheless, the material and human resources designated for schooling at these ages were very

limited and, ultimately, free attendance was only guaranteed for the second stage, with care up to the age of three remaining in the hands of the family.

Childcare in democratic Spain, as member of the European Union

When the Franco régime ended, from the outset of the “democratic transition”, the Autonomous Communities with their governments of various political inclinations increased the number of places available in state-funded schools, implementing measures of a rather educational nature in their policies for young children between the ages of three and six. According to Valiente (2008), it was easier for the central state authorities to continue with the system already in place from the previous régime, than to create a new educational policy for children under 5 years of age, with the result that a programme of limited coverage became practically universal.

Once democracy had been re-established, the Law of General Ordering of the Education System (LOGSE) (1/1990, 3rd October) represented a turning point in the regulation of educational services and childcare. It introduced an ambitious reform of infant education, regulated for the first time as part of the educational system, and constituting the first stage of the same. Infant education comprised two voluntary, free cycles – the first from 0 to 3 years of age to be carried out by agreements with local Corporations, other public administrations and private, non-profit entities. The law encouraged the public administrations to guarantee sufficient places to ensure schooling for the population that requested it. The second cycle included children from ages three to six and was to be carried out by schools. Consequently, childcare services were guaranteed in the second cycle, unlike the first cycle, where insufficient resources were provided, with the subsequent lack of supply, as we shall see later.

Later, the *Organic Law on Quality in Education* (LOCE, 23rd December, 10/2002) continued to define infant education as voluntary and free, consisting of a cycle of three academic years between the ages of three and six, but merely based on attendance for the stage from 0 to 3 years. At present, the Organic Law of Education (LOE, 3rd May, 2/2006) replaces the two aforementioned laws and dedicates Chapter I of Section I to infant education, which it considers once more as a single, educational stage attending to the infant population from birth to the age of 6. This new law, however, again urges the public administrations to progressively promote an increase in the number of places on offer in public schools or in private, voluntary-funded schools.

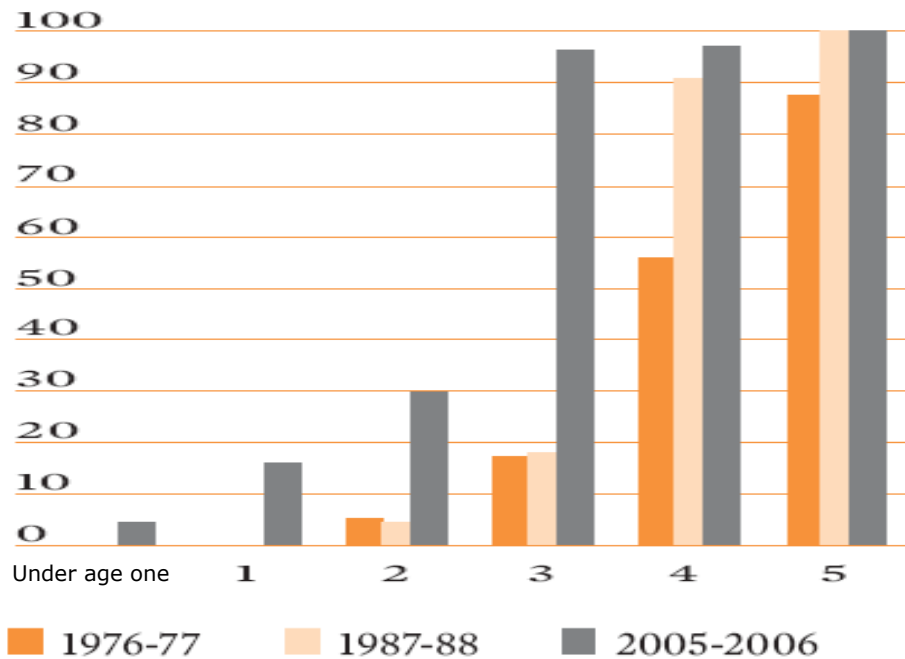
Infant education policies between three and six years of age

In view of the antecedents, we can detect an expansion in infant education in Spain for children between the ages of 3 and 6, carried out by staff with professional pedagogical qualifications within the education system. The main measures carried out are described below. This cycle offers educational services within the framework of the complete school day in schools with other educational levels. They are offered by the State in either public schools or by a grant-assisted scheme (infant schools), although other schools can also be made available by the private sector, and they are therefore controlled by the authorities responsible for education, i.e., the Ministry of Education and the Departments of Education of the various Autonomous Communities.

It should also be pointed out that attendance is free and majority in public and voluntary-funded private schools, with lower schooling (31.5%) in private schools (CES, 2009: 23). Specifically, in Spain most non-state schools depend on the Catholic Church which, as a central actor in educational matters, has favoured the expansion of infant education, under condition that the offer is private and state-funded (Valiente, 2008).

The legal dispositions put into effect have therefore led to an expansion of infant education throughout Spain, as shown by the historic evolution of schooling rates. Diagram 1 illustrates the growth in schooling rates, especially from three years of age upwards. However, it is also clear that only minority percentages of children under the age of 3 receive schooling. The most recent data provided by the Ministry of Education (2007) show that the net schooling rates in Spain for 3, 4 and 5 year olds (respectively 96%, 100% and 100%) are among the highest in the European Union, with almost universal schooling in this second cycle. However, the situation in the first cycle is very different, as described below.

Figure 1. Evolution of schooling rates by ages in 1977, 1987 and 2005 (Schools controlled by the Ministry of Education). Source: Economic and Social Council, 2009.



Invisibility of childcare policies for 0-3 year-olds

In this section, I shall focus on an analysis of childcare policies for infants under the age of 3 within the school system, although it is clear that the care system is much wider and includes other possibilities, such as personal attention at home, private kindergartens and play schools, among others, although it is true that monitoring and analysis of these is very incomplete. Childcare in this stage of the school system has been described as “an invisible stage” (Sevilla, 2002), in reference to the scant political priority given to guaranteeing such care, especially in view of the ongoing process of profound restructuring and change of gender roles regarding those traditionally responsible for rearing and care of children before formal schooling inside the system. Valiente (2008) suggested that the definition as educational programmes rather than care services limits their usefulness for working parents.

This is the situation in a welfare state described in the academic literature as a “familist state” (Ferrara, 1996), with historical antecedents of associating the rearing and care of children with the family sphere, and with a very positive view of

the family at present, above that of any other group of institution (Valiente, 2008). The family therefore continues to play a fundamental role in providing services and care for children, and social policy has not yet substituted the family in providing protection and security for its members (Flaquer, 2004; León, 2002; Moreno, 2001; Moreno-Mínguez, 2004; Valiente, 2008).

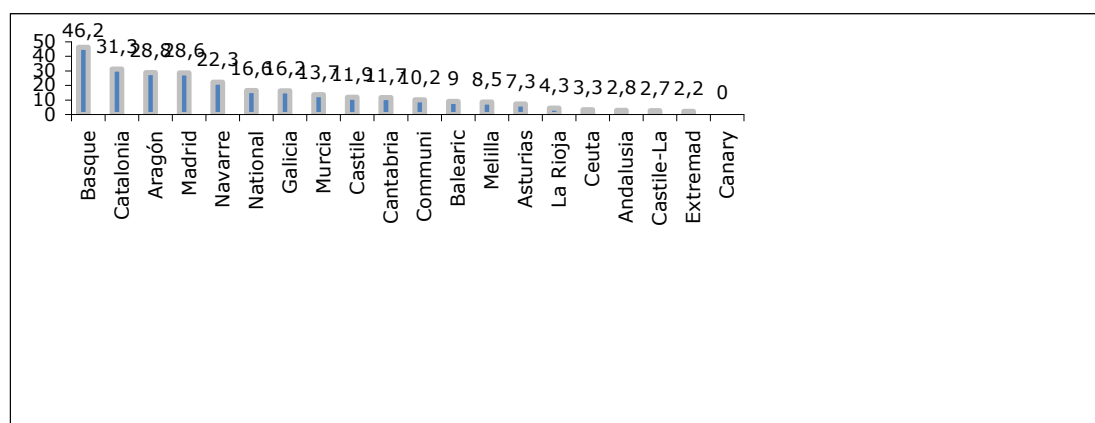
As shown by Figure 1, the schooling rates for the first cycle of infant education are considerably different to those of the second cycle, as mentioned above. It has been shown that there is a lack of places in public schools for children under the age of three (Sevilla, 2002; González López, 2003; Tobío, 2005; Carrillo, 2008). Indeed, this situation is reflected in the “*Educa 3*” Plan, which the former Ministry of Education, Social Policy and Sport intended to implement between 2008 and 2012. Its idea is to promote an integrated programme involving the creation of new school places for children between the ages of 0 and 3 yearsⁱ, reflecting the need to create “a place for every child under the age of three,” and with the commitment for finance to be provided jointly by the State (Ministry of Education) and the Autonomous Communities.

A recent report by the European Commission (2008)ⁱⁱ pointed out the lack of childcare services and the consequent failure to respond to the needs of parents. Although “some progress” has been observed at European level, most countries have missed their targets for childcare services proposed by European leaders at the Council of Europe in Barcelona (2002), which aimed to cover the requirements of 90% of children between the age of three and school age, and 33% of children under three. The report describes how these objectives form part of the EU’s strategy for growth and employment, with the aim of helping young parents, particularly women, to enjoy full employment.

In Spain, the net schooling rate for the 2006-2007 school year was 18.2%, with an age distribution of 4.9% (0-1 years), 17.3% (1-2 years) and 32.5% (2-3 years) (MEC, 2007). It has also been shown that there is higher demand than supply in state schools (Leira, 2002 (in Tobío, 2005); Sevilla, 2002; González-López, 2005). The result is an increase of the private sector for this stage (57%, MEC, 2007), which implies higher cost to the families.

Infant schooling in the Autonomous Communities is irregular and unequal, with higher participation in the Basque Country, Catalonia, Aragon and Madrid, to the detriment of areas in southern Spain, such as Andalusia (see Figure 2). This may be due to cultural, economic or social and employment differences, where the rate of female activity appears as a factor to be considered (DES, 2009). We might also consider that the territorial variations suggest differences in the policies promoted by the different regional governments (González-López, 2003).

Figure 2. Net schooling rates (0-2 years) by Autonomous Communities (schools authorised by the educational administration). Source: Economic and Social Council, 2009.



The lack of supply in the state system implies lack of sufficient childcare provisions for under three-year-olds. This means that in practice there are inequalities in the procedures for caring for and educating children, leaving it up to the families to search out the resources and strategies for these early years, which is almost impossible outside of private care. Moreover, this situation hinders compatibility between professional and family life, especially for women.

The question that arises is what happens to childcare when, on the one hand, the family networks that have traditionally assumed responsibility for young children weaken, and when, on the other hand, more women enter the labour market. One also wonders about services to help “defamiliarise women and mothers” (Esping-Andersen, 2000: 66) to allow them to combine work and the family (Tobío, 2005). Finally, administration of this stage in schools is very variable, corresponding to either the State, the Autonomous Communities or City Councils, and likewise, different departments, such as Education, Social Welfare or Social Affairs. There are, therefore, different centres, infant schools, kindergartens, playschools, and schools managed by Social Affairs, offering services ranging from childcare to education. Given this diversity of situations, the personnel involved do not always have pedagogical or educational credentials, particularly in schools that are private or do not depend on the Ministry of Education. In summary, there are different starting points for setting up infant education and care programmes for the 0-3 year age range. This variety of approaches is due to the disparity of departments in public

administration in charge of the management of infant education, as well as budgetary provisions.

Key factors in the demand for public policies of childcare

Several factors can be seen as relevant to the need for more childcare services in public social and educational policies. It is important to underline the positive effects of schooling and the social function it carries out from early childhood. Article 12.2 of the LOE defines the aim as being “to contribute to the physical, affective, social and intellectual development of children.” The specifying of objectives (Article 13) and a number of pedagogical principles (Article 14) carried out by qualified personnel, and childcare under the supervision of the educational administrations are foundations on which to build up public policies, as opposed to informal or family care for children in their earliest years. Early schooling can also help to prevent inequalities in childcare by promoting individual rights as against family dependence or the use of informal care networks.

Consequently, in Spain there is a very advanced education law, which attempts to promote pedagogical principles to extend education to early infancy. However, it is clear that this law does not enjoy sufficient funding to cover present demand. The legislative precept is therefore more formal than real, since the insufficiently defined legal capacities correspond to different administrations, which has led to the present situation with different autonomous, provincial and municipal organisms for childcare.

Another key aspect is the restructuring of the family, which has become more democratic as an institution (Alberdi, 1999), leading to changes in the social position of women, the creation of different types of family and ways of living together, fall in the birth rate and later parenthood, the gradual entry of women into the labour market, etc. All of these factors have transformed the family as a network that formerly provided a safety net covering the needs for childcare and care of other dependents.

However, the key factor resulting from social change is the incorporation of women into the labour market, as Tobío points out (2005: 18), employment of women, “more specifically mothers”, is what brings about the alteration of the traditional family that breaks with the old model based on division of gender roles. This is the factor triggering the conflict between employment and family life. The national data for Spain shown an increase in female employment, although it is still lower than men (see Table 1) and lower than most of the countries in the European Union (Tobío, 2005). In 2008, the annual average of working women in the European Union was 44.8% as against 42.1% in Spain (Ministry of Work and Immigration, *Statistical Yearbook 2008*).

Table 1. Percentages of women and men by rates of activity, employment and unemployment. Source: Active Population Survey, 2009, 3rd term.

	Men	Women
Activity rates	68.44%	51.51%
Employment rates	56.29%	42.15%
Unemployment rates	17.75%	18.16%

To use the terminology of Balbo (1994), this situation creates a “double presence” resulting from the obligation to make the work of reproduction compatible in the same place and time with productive work. Moreover, regarding the space of reproduction, there is still a low presence of men in domestic tasks (Palomo, 2006; Moreno, 2008) and even in “double employment families” (Martínez, Carrasco & Aza, 2008), domestic tasks continues to follow the traditional scheme. In the view of Tobío (2005: 82), women are at present a “sandwich” generation located between the old family roles and the new working model.

Given the difficulty of harmonising the school day and working life, some alternative measures have been introduced, by extending morning or afternoon childcare facilities in schools. Devices such as the “early morning classroom” or “reception classes”, school refectories, out of school activities and play schools (in the case of kindergartens) have been put into practice, but these seem to be provisional, emergency solutions for a social reality that requires a global vision of specific changes for childcare that are not necessarily without cost to families.

Some authors (e.g., Valiente, 2008) suggest that infant education is, above all, education, rather than an integrated care service, so that it only goes some way to harmonising family life and employment, especially when schools have considerably longer vacation periods and shorter working days than full-time jobs (sometimes interrupted at lunchtime, with no guaranteed catering). Tobío (2005: 15, 229 and ff.) shares this idea, qualifying schools as an “insufficient resource” for childcare before the age of three.

Alternative strategies given the lack of social policies for childcare

In view of the difficulties described above, many different strategies have been developed according to the capacities of the family, the market and public social policies (Esping-Andersen, 2000). In describing these strategies we follow Tobío

(2005), who identified different strategies developed by working mothers to make possible their double presence in the family and full-time employment. The *principal strategies* are those in which the mother's role is taken over by another woman, often the grandmother ("substitute mothers", Guasch, 2006: 191), with male grandparents sometimes also involved in caring for their grandchildren (Tobío, 2005; Martínez, Carrasco & Aza, 2008).

These substitution strategies sometimes choose to use paid home help, frequently immigrant womenⁱⁱⁱ, with hardly any regulation and different categories of assistance – home-help, au-pair and baby-sitter (Tobío, 2005). This situation involves delegation of childcare by some women to others and, consequently, raises the worrying question of who looks after the immigrant women's children. The literature refers to so-called "global chains of feeling or assistance" (Russell, 2000: 188), normally made up of women, which allow us to understand how global capitalism influences a new logic linking the immigration, work and care of women among different countries on a global scale, normally from developing countries towards more developed countries.

Tobío (2005) also found *complementary strategies*, including the possibility of part-time work. This is rare in Spain, with a much lower percentage than in other EU countries. The *Work Forces Surveys 2008* (Ministry of Work and Immigration) show that, of all part-time workers in the EU, men represent a minority in comparison with women, and this disparity is even greater in Spain.

According to the data of the Ministry of Equality (2009: 21), 70% of all part-time jobs and 40% of all full-time contracts are occupied by women in Spain. The data of the Ministry of Work and Immigration are even more clarifying (see table 2), as they break down part-time employment into sex and cause, finding that women predominate in part-time work because of family obligations, such as caring for children and ill or incapacitated adults. Other studies (Economic and Social Council, 2000; Eurostat, 2002; Women's Institute, 2008a) have also found that care for other family members, old people and the sick, as well as most housework, falls to women.

Table 2. Part-time jobs by cause and sex. Annual average. 2008. Source: 2008 Statistical Yearbook. Ministry of Work and Immigration.

	Both Sexes		Men		Women	
	Absolute values (in thousands)	Percentage distribution	Absolute values (in thousands)	Percentage distribution	Absolute values (in thousands)	Percentage distribution
Total	2,425.5	100	491.1	100	1,934.4	100
Family obligations	639.2	26.4	19.8	4,0	619.4	32.0

Another strategy is to be found in *Law 39/1999, to improve the work-life balance of people in employment*, which allows for leave from work to care for children or family members. In the case in hand, this would be up to three years leave for the father or mother to care for children under the age of six. However, this is unpaid leave, and so few parents avail themselves of this possibility (Tobío, 2005: 14). Nonetheless, analysis of the data shows that, when chosen, this option is used by more women than men, with the understanding that childcare is a family obligation for women (see Table 3).

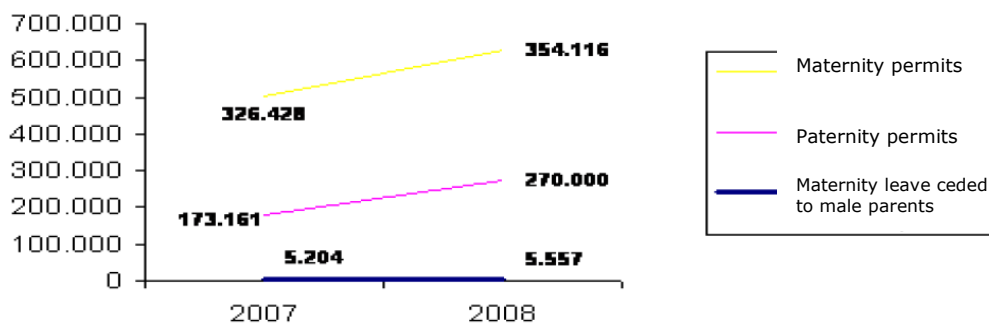
Table 3. Unpaid leave for childcare by sex of beneficiary. Source: 2008 Statistics Yearbook. Ministry of Work and Immigration. (In thousands and percentages).

Year	Both sexes		Women		Men	
	2007	2008	2007	2008	2007	2008
Total	34,816	37,771	33,335	36,300 (96.10%)	1,481	1,471 (3.9%)

Law 39/1999 also regulates the reduction of the working day for reasons of childcare or care of family members, and *Law 3/2007* extended the age of the children to be cared for from six to eight years.

Law 3/2007 on the equality of men and women established for the first time a paternity permit or leave^{iv} allowing male parents alone to enjoy paid leave for thirteen days, with a further extension of two days in the case of multiple births. This permit is separate from the 16 weeks maternity leave already in place, which can also be shared between both parents. Since the passing of this law there has been a notable increase in the numbers of male parents making use of the measure (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Evolution of maternity/paternity permits. Source: Ministry of Equality, 2009.



Finally, consideration must be made of the assistance offered by the Administration through public policies for care and attention of children. Although there are different types of assistance available^v, perhaps the best known and most popular schemes are the monthly grant of 100 € and the so-called “baby cheque” of 2,500 € per birth. The symbolic 100 € per month is awarded to women in employment with children under the age of three. However, regardless of the type of assistance, this implies a restricted understanding of social policy, awarding sporadic grants and assuring direct income for families to take care of their members, rather than providing care services to release the families from such responsibilities (Valiente, 2008; Guijo, 2008).

In addition, such financial assistance can have an unequal impact on the search for alternatives to care, since these grants to families do not cover payment for care services in the private sector (Carrillo, 2008), with more dependence on available family income and on the place of women in the labour market. The principle of equality in educational opportunities is therefore not guaranteed from infancy as a priority for social policy, and family dependence is encouraged, together with recurring gender inequalities (González López, 2003).

By way of conclusion

This study represents a contribution to the development of public educational and social policies for childcare in Spain – a country that has been described as “familist” and where provision for childcare is characterised by being carried out between the family and the school. However, the structure of the family is at present undergoing a transformation, especially because of the incorporation of women, or more exactly “mothers”, into the labour market. This context requires educational and, above all, childcare policies, as well as other measures, to help eradicate the existing inequalities in childcare during the first years of life.

Educational policies have been extended for children aged three and older with the guarantee of places for all. However, the situation is very different for the population under the age of three, with limited provision in the implementation of educational policies and care for this age range. As a result, care falls to the family sphere, as the family must seek out resources and strategies for childcare and which are practically non-existent outside the private sector. It has been shown that different strategies are used, although these are basically carried out by women, apart from the short period available to male parents thanks to the recently approved Law of Equality.

There are alternative measures of childcare such as playschools, morning classrooms, etc., as well as the well-known grants to families that ensure direct income for them to be able to care for their children. However, these are provisional solutions for a situation that demands change, considering the question from a more global viewpoint and providing care instead of having families look for mainly private initiatives. Finally, it cannot be forgotten that one of the social challenges of our time is the need to reconcile the work-life balance with childcare, considering, among other factors, the prevention of inequality in a child’s earliest years.

Bibliography

- Alberdi, I. (1999). *La nueva familia española*. Barcelona: Taurus.
- Ancheta, A. (2008). Hacia una nueva concepción de la educación de la primera infancia como derecho: avances y desafíos globales. *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación*, 47, 5. Available in: <http://www.rieoci.org/deloslectores/2661Ancheta.pdf>
- Baizán, P. y González, M. J. (2007). ¿Las escuelas infantiles son la solución? El efecto de la disponibilidad de escuelas infantiles (0-3 años) en el comportamiento laboral femenino. V. Navarro (dir.), *La situación social en España II* (pp. 411-443). Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.
- Balbo, L. (1994). La doble presencia. C. Borderías, C. Carrasco y C. Alemany (comp.), *Las mujeres y el trabajo. Rupturas conceptuales* (pp. 503-510). Barcelona: Icaria/Fuhem.

- Carrillo, D. (2008). Políticas públicas de apoyo a las familias. S. Adroher Biosca y F. Vidal Fernández (dirs.), *Infancia en España. Nuevos desafíos sociales, nuevas respuestas jurídicas* (pp. 107-124). Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Comillas.
- Consejo Económico y Social (CES) (2000). *La protección social de las mujeres*. Madrid: CES.
- Consejo Económico y Social (CES) (2009). *Sistema Educativo y Capital Humano*, CES, Informe 1/2009.
- Escobedo, A. (2006). El sistema de licencias parentales para el cuidado de los menores. X. Roigé (coord.), *Familias de ayer, familias de hoy* (pp. 235-264). Barcelona: Icaria Editorial.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (2000). *Fundamentos sociales de las economías postindustriales*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Eurostat (2002). *The life of women and men in Europe: a statistical portrait*. Luxembourg: Office for the Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Ferrara, M. (1996). The «Southern Model» of Welfare in Social Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 6 (1), 17-37.
- Flaquer, Ll. (2000). *Las políticas familiares en una perspectiva comparada*. Fundación La Caixa. Available in: http://obrasocial.lacaixa.es/StaticFiles/StaticFiles/8472ce6adfcef010VgnVCM1000000e8cf10aRCRD/es/es03_esp.pdf
- Flaquer, Ll. (2004). La articulación entre familia y el Estado de bienestar en los países de la Europa del Sur. *Papers*, 73, 27-58.
- Gaitán Muñoz, L. (2006). El bienestar social de la infancia y los derechos de los niños. *Revista Política y Sociedad*, 43, 1, 63-80. Available in: <http://revistas.ucm.es/cps/11308001/articulos/POSO0606130009A.PDF>
- González López, M. J. (2003). *Servicios de atención a la infancia en España*. Fundación Alternativas. Documento de trabajo 1/2003. Available in: www.falternativas.org
- González López, M. J. (2005). Igualando por la base: oportunidades de educación y cuidado de la primera infancia en España. V. Navarro (dir.), *La situación social en España* (pp. 415-443). Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, Tomo I.
- Guasch, C. (2006). ¿A la vejez viruelas? El papel de las abuelas en el cuidado de los hijos y nietos. X. Roigé (coord.), *Familias de ayer, familias de hoy* (pp. 179-193). Barcelona: Icaria Editorial.
- Guijo, V. (2008). Derechos de la infancia (0-6 años) y educación inclusiva. En *Revista de Educación*, 347, 55-74. Available in: http://www.revistaeducacion.mec.es/re347/re347_03.pdf
- Gobierno de España (2008). *Programa Nacional de Reformas de España. Informe Anual de Progreso 2008*. En línea: <http://www.lamoncloa.es/PROGRAMAS/OEP/PublicacionesEInformes/PNR/default.htm>

- Gómez-Cornejo, Y. (2009). Empleada de hogar e inmigrante, doble discriminación. *El País*, 17 de noviembre de 2009. Available in: http://www.elpais.com/articulo/internacional/Empleada/hogar/inmigrante/doble/discriminacion/elpepuint/20091117elpepuint_10/Tes
- Instituto de la Mujer (2008a). *Las mujeres en España. Familia y uso del tiempo*. Available in: www.migualdad.es/mujer/mujeres/cifras/tablas/W202.XLS
- Instituto de la Mujer (2008b). *Las mujeres en España. Estadísticas de la población ocupada*. Available in: http://www.inmujer.migualdad.es/mujer/mujeres/cifras/empleo/poblacion_ocupada.htm
http://www.inmujer.migualdad.es/mujer/mujeres/cifras/empleo/conciliacion_vida.htm
- León, M. (2002). Equívocos de la solidaridad: prácticas familiaristas en la construcción de la política social española. *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 31, 137-164.
- Ley 14/1970, de 4 de agosto, General de Educación y Financiamiento de la Reforma Educativa. BOE 6 de agosto de 1970.
- Ley 39/1999, de 5 de noviembre, para promover la conciliación de la vida familiar y laboral de las personas trabajadoras. BOE nº 266, de 6 de noviembre de 1999.
- Ley Orgánica 1/1990, de 3 de octubre, de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo. BOE nº 238, de 4 de octubre de 1990.
- Ley Orgánica 10/2002, de 23 de diciembre, de Calidad de la Educación. BOE nº 307, de 24 de diciembre de 2002.
- Ley Orgánica 2/2006, de 3 de mayo, de Educación. BOE nº 106, de 4 de mayo de 2006.
- Ley Orgánica 3/2007, de 22 de marzo, para la igualdad efectiva entre mujeres y hombres. BOE nº 71, de 23 de marzo de 2007.
- López Álvarez, M. J. (2009). El trabajo de los padres: los retos de la conciliación. S. Adroher Biosca y F. Vidal Fernández (dirs.), *Infancia en España. Nuevos desafíos sociales, nuevas respuestas jurídicas* (pp. 161-178). Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Comillas.
- Martínez, M. P.; Carrasco, M. J. y Aza, G. (2008). Infancia y familias de doble empleo. S. Adroher Biosca y F. Vidal Fernández (dirs.), *Infancia en España. Nuevos desafíos sociales, nuevas respuestas jurídicas* (pp. 145-160). Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Comillas.
- Ministerio de Educación. *Indicadores estadísticos de Educación 2007*, MEC.
- Ministerio de Igualdad (2009). *Dos años de la aplicación de la Ley Orgánica 3/2007, de 22 de marzo para la Igualdad Efectiva de Mujeres y Hombres. Informe-Balance*, Madrid, Ministerio de Igualdad. Available in: <http://www.migualdad.es/ss/Satellite?blobcol=urldata&blobheader=applic>

[ation%2Fpdf&blobheadername1=Content-disposition&blobheadervalue1=inline&blobkey=id&blobtable=MungoBlobs&blobwhere=1244652164361&ssbinary=true](#)

- Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración (2008). *Anuario Estadístico 2008, Encuesta de Calidad de Vida en el Trabajo, Encuestas de Fuerzas de Trabajo*. Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración. Available in: <http://www.mtin.es/estadisticas/ANUARIO2008/welcome.htm>
<http://www.mtin.es/estadisticas/ecvt/Ecvt2008/index.htm>
http://www.mtin.es/estadisticas/ANUARIO2008/EFT/ef08a_top_EXCEL.htm
- Moreno, L. (2001). La «vía media» española del modelo de bienestar mediterráneo. *Papers*, 63/64, 67-82.
- Moreno Mínguez, A. (2004). El familiarismo cultural en los Estados de bienestar del sur de Europa: transformaciones de las relaciones entre lo público y la privado. *Sistemas*, 182, 47-74.
- Moreno Mínguez, A. (2008). Familia y roles de género en España desde una perspectiva comparada: un modelo de transición. E. Chuliá y J. F. Sanz (coords.), *En torno a la familia española: análisis y reflexiones desde perspectivas sociológicas y económicas*, Madrid, FUNCAS, nº 36, Serie Economía y Sociedad.
- Palomo, P. (2006). La doble jornada y la conciliación de la vida laboral y la vida familiar. *Mujeres: usos del tiempo y cambio social*, Revista Crítica, pp. 36-40, nº 933.
- Russell Hochschild, Arlie (2000). Las cadenas mundiales de afecto y asistencia y la plusvalía emocional. En A. Giddens y W. Hutton (eds.), *En el límite. La vida en el capitalismo global* (pp. 187-208). Barcelona: Tusquets Editores.
- Sánchez Sánchez, A. (2008). Enfoque, estabilidad y continuidad de la escolarización en la Educación Infantil (0-6 años). Evolución histórica en la Comunidad de Madrid. *Revista de Educación*, 347, 75-99. Available in: http://www.revistaeducacion.mec.es/re347/re347_04.pdf
- Sensat, N. y Varella, R. (1998). Las políticas dirigidas a las mujeres: la acción pública para la igualdad entre los sexos. R. Gomà y J. Subirats (coords.), *Políticas públicas en España. Contenidos, redes de actores y niveles de gobierno* (pp. 341-361). Barcelona: Ariel.
- Sevilla Merino, D. (2002). Políticas de educación infantil y su incidencia en los procesos de exclusión. Reflexiones en contexto social. M. A. Pereyra, J.C. González y J. M. Coronel, *Infancia y escolarización en la modernidad tardía* (pp. 161-177). Madrid: Akal-UIA.
- Tobío Soler, C. (2005). *Madres que trabajan. Dilemas y estrategias*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra.

- Uroz Olivares, J. (2006). Políticas de atención a la infancia en el marco del Estado de bienestar español: especial referencia a los menores en riesgo. F. Vidal Fernández (dir.), *La exclusión social y el estado del bienestar en España: V Informe FUHEM de políticas sociales y estado de bienestar* (pp. 201-214). Madrid: Icaria-FUHEM.
- Valiente Fernández, C. (2008). La expansión de una política de ayuda (parcial) a las familias: educación infantil y cuidado de los niños pequeños en España. E. Chuliá y J.F. Sanz, *En torno a la familia española: análisis y reflexiones desde perspectivas sociológicas y económicas* (pp. 57-71). Madrid: FUNCAS.
- Valiente Fernández, C. (1997). Las políticas de cuidado de los niños a nivel nacional en España (1975-1996). *Papers*, 53, 101-136.

ⁱ For more detailed information the following web page can be consulted: <http://www.educacion.es/plane/educa3.html>

ⁱⁱ The complete report of the European Commission can be consulted at: <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/08/1449&format=HTML&aged=0&language=ES&guiLanguage=es>

ⁱⁱⁱ In her novel *Contra el viento* (Against the Wind), for which she recently won the Planeta Prize, Ángeles Caso relates the experience of her daughter's care by an immigrant woman. There are also projects in Spain looking into immigrant women and their role in the care services sector as home employment, with the concomitant problems of the underground economy and other situations of vulnerability. See:

http://www.elpais.com/articulo/internacional/Empleada/hogar/inmigrante/doble/discriminacion/elpepuint/20091117elpepuint_10/Tes

^{iv} Escobedo (2006) gives a detailed description of the different systems of parental leave, as well as an explanation of why the term "leave" is preferable to "permit" (p. 238).

^v See Carrillo (2008) for a detailed analysis of the different types of assistance.