### UNAF Report





Joint responsibility and work, personal and family life balance in Spain. Inequalities and transformations following COVID-19



#### **Credits**

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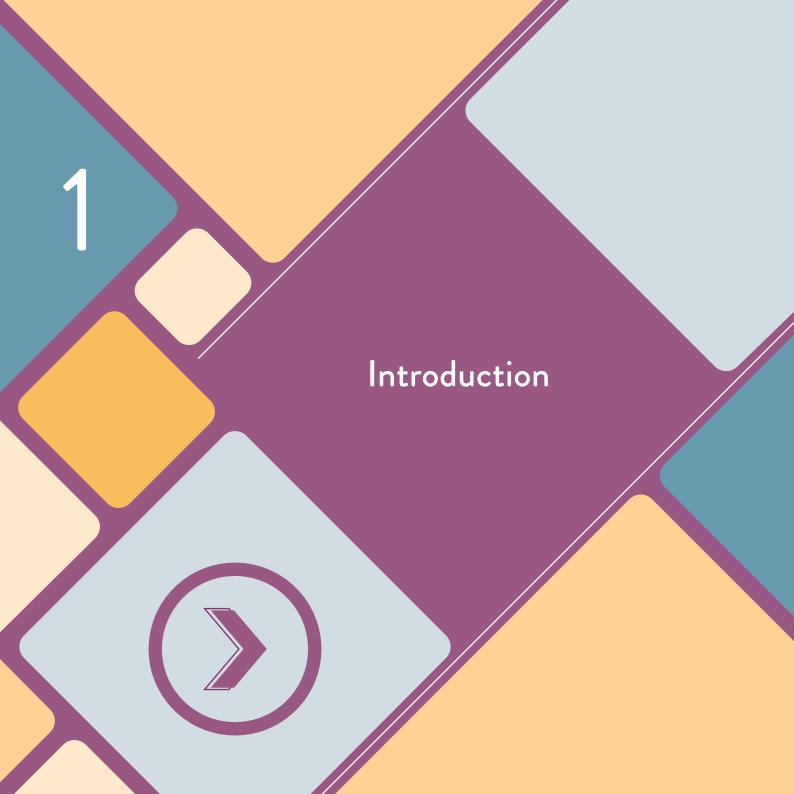
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Since 14th March 2020, when the first state of alarm linked to the Covid-19 pandemic was decreed, Spanish society has faced a series of phenomena unprecedented in modern history, deriving from the need to maintain physical distance between non-cohabiting persons in order to halt the spread of the Sars Cov2 coronavirus. As a result, all organisations (private companies, educational centres, public bodies) have seen their activities altered (when not completely suspended). This has disrupted, to a greater or lesser extent, paid work; one of the main elements providing structure and stability to the lives of the majority of adults. Those who, in addition, have responsibilities for care, saw their routines altered to an even greater degree, as many were not able to depend on the support of educational or family centres, as had previously been the case. Many people, in addition, added psychological discontent, health problems or the loss of family members and friends caused by the virus to these anomalies.

We are therefore facing an economic, heal-th and, ultimately social crisis, which is multi-faceted in nature. This report will focus on the problems of reconciling employment with personal and family life. We are defining the concept of work-life balance in its widest sense, as "personal and social strategies aimed at guaranteeing the economic resources and time necessary to meet productive and reproductive functions in a sustainable manner, without negatively affecting personal health

or the health of other members of the family, and ensuring equality of opportunities for development of all members of the family". We understand the aim to reach a suitable balance as the responsibility of the citizens, the business community and the State, and we thus looked at the joint responsibility of men, women, companies and Public Administration. We assumed that the healthy, equal development of minors and the adequate care of elderly dependants was a primordial objective not only for those with family responsibilities but for society as a whole. The more those with responsibilities for care can reduce the conflict between work and care in an adequate, shared way, the better will be the well-being of the dependants and the carers. Personal we-II-being indirectly impacts the productive capacity of a country and its economic and social prosperity. If we do not take care of ourselves within families and the workplace, we will end up with organisations that function poorly and dysfunctional families.

The pandemic has reminded us that we all need to care and be cared for at some point in our lives. In the majority of cases, this has been done by women as partners, mothers, educators, domestic workers, nurses, daughters and daughter-in-laws, although sacrificing their jobs, careers, health and well-being. This social contract from the last century is broken. Women must also have the same employment opportunities as men, and be able to enjoy a healthy balance between work, family

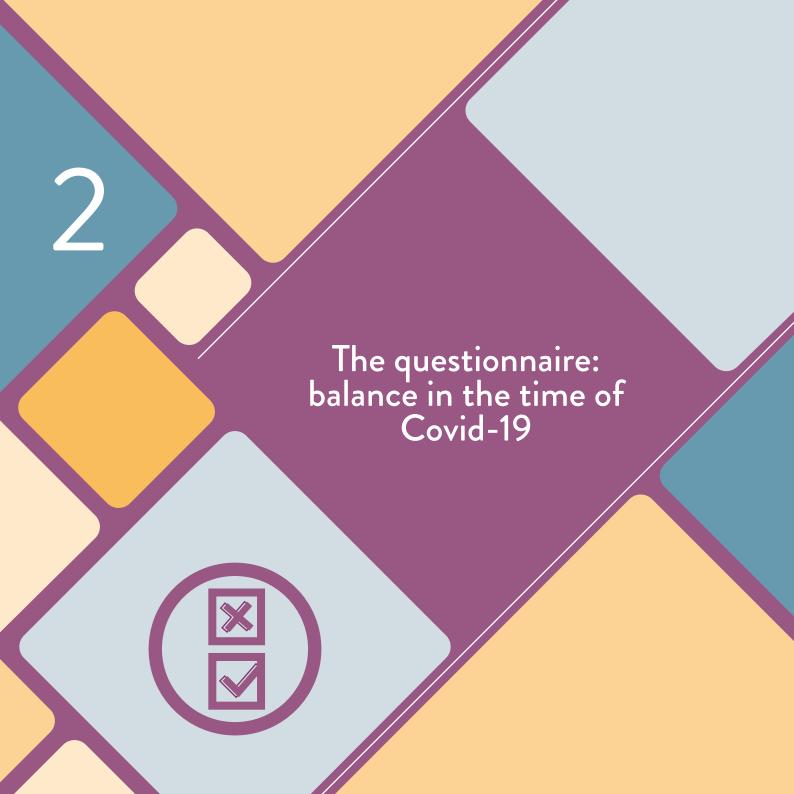
and personal life. They will not now put up with inequalities, subservience and violence against them. Now is the time for men to realise that they must care more and better for their loved ones, because it is necessary for the successful functioning of their families and companies, and because it is fair. For that reason we begin from a perspective of gender and society in order to look at how the pandemic has affected individuals and the balance between their work, personal and family lives, and endeavour to provide a response to the following questions:

- 1. What impact has the pandemic crisis had on employment and income for people and households in Spain and Europe?
- 2. How are public and company policies used to provide balance?
- 3. How is work and care distributed throughout the life cycle?
- 4. Who need to become more involved in care and who more involved in work in order to strike a better balance between work, personal and family life?
- 5. What improvements de we need in public and company policies?

This report is the result of collaboration between UNAF and the UNED, and was made possible by financing from the Ministry for Social Rights and Agenda 2030.¹ The questions guiding this analysis will be answered with reference to a European viewpoint and a Spanish State viewpoint in order to better understand where we are regarding well-being and balance, and where we could be if we made an effort to improve. The questionnaire itself also allows us to focus systematically on social and gender differences in order to subsequently make recommendations regarding the most pressing needs, what effect current policies are having, and how to improve them.

This study provides continuity following a previous UNAF report on "Policies on balance between work, personal and family life in the European Union" (Campillo, 2019), which will allow us to see how we have progressed despite the pandemic, or in what aspects this has made us move backwards. The representative questionnaire for the Spanish population with ages ranging from 25 to 65 made expressly for this study allows an exploration of the situation regarding the balance between work, personal and family life to June 2021.

<sup>1.</sup> Grant charged to the tax assignment of 0.7 per cent of company tax, recognised under Royal Decree Law 33/2020, of 3rd November. 2020 Call.



This report looks at the data obtained from the telephone survey "Consequences of Covid-19 on the family and childhood" (henceforth, "UNAF survey") carried out in Spain between 14th May and 7th June. The aim of the survey was to discover and look at how Spanish families balance work and family life, starting out from a broad view of balance, as set out in the introduction. It was a random telephone survey representative of the entire national territory, comprising 1522 interviews with between the ages of 25 and 65, in other words, persons of working age with potential care obligations for minors or dependent parents (see survey technical file in Annex 1). The survey also includes an over-represented sub-sample of 250 cases of families with minors up to 5 years of age, with the aim of carrying out a specific analysis of a group with special needs regarding balance, including the use made of one of the main balance policies, namely leave for birth and care, which have seen significant changes in the last five years<sup>2</sup>.

The questionnaire (see Annex II) includes the following thematic blocks, in addition to several socio-demographic and classification questions:

- Employment and economic effects of the pandemic
- Changes in cohabitation since 14th March 2020
- Balancing employment and care, personal discontent and discontent with partner
- The use of leave and services in households with under-5s

The UNAF survey constitutes an updated source of information on balance and well-being of families more than a year after the emergence of Covid-19 in Spain, at a moment when there are still no official surveys reflecting the reality of post-pandemic Spain. In addition, and this is one of the main added value points of the survey, it is a representative survey of the Spanish population, which attempts to overcome "Middle class bias" (Warren, 2015) which often emerges in academic studies on balance, in other words, disregard for the needs of families with a low socio-economic background, in many

<sup>2.</sup> Paternity leave has gradually increased from 2 weeks in 2016 to 16 weeks in 2021. See section 5.

cases because access to these through classic research tools is often more difficult. The UNAF survey thus looks at the specific needs for material well-being, but also at balance and time policies for families with a low academic and/or income level, as the latter variable was also covered. The representativeness of the survey also guarantees the elimination of other biases (gender, life cycle, etc.) which are common in studies and policies on balance, in coherence with a concept of balance that goes beyond the narrow notion associating it with the needs of "middle class working women". On the other hand, the survey includes a longitudinal perspective, as it included retrospective questions which are particularly focused on a comparison with the pre-pandemic situation. Therefore, and given that in the case of cohabiting couples with children, the negotiation within the couple is essential in order to understand the decisions regarding balance and care that they adopt, those interviewed also provide some information about their partners.

The results obtained through the survey will be completed and given perspective through data obtained from official sources for the European Union as a whole updated on 15th September 2021, according to information available in Eurostat, official statistics from the Spanish State and other sources.





#### Setbacks in personal and family well-being

1

Migrants have accumulated the greatest number of disadvantages following the pandemic: greater work intensity, lower income, and 34% of their households struggle to reach the end of the month. Some 27% want to work more hours.

2

Those with the lowest academic attainment continue to carry the burden of disadvantages, with 28% of households suffering economic stress.

3

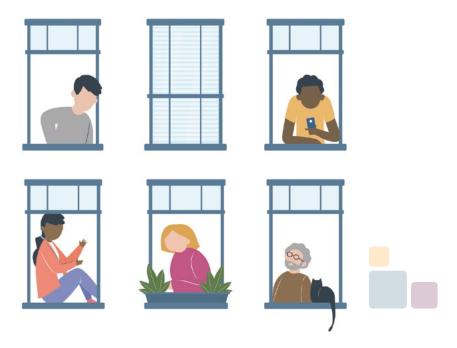
The pandemic has particularly affected women migrants and women with compulsory schooling or less (some 39 and 34% respectively have suffered a loss of income).

4

Young women and men between 25 and 34 years of age suffer more than older groups from unemployment and a drop in working hours, and they want to work more hours.

Setbacks in well-being in these social groups make it difficult to form a family and enjoy family life without hardship and pressing economic concerns.

It is necessary to promote full time employment among migrants, those without a university education and young people, in order to ensure personal incomes at least at the level of the Minimum Inter-professional Salary which guarantees the well-being of the entire family unit.



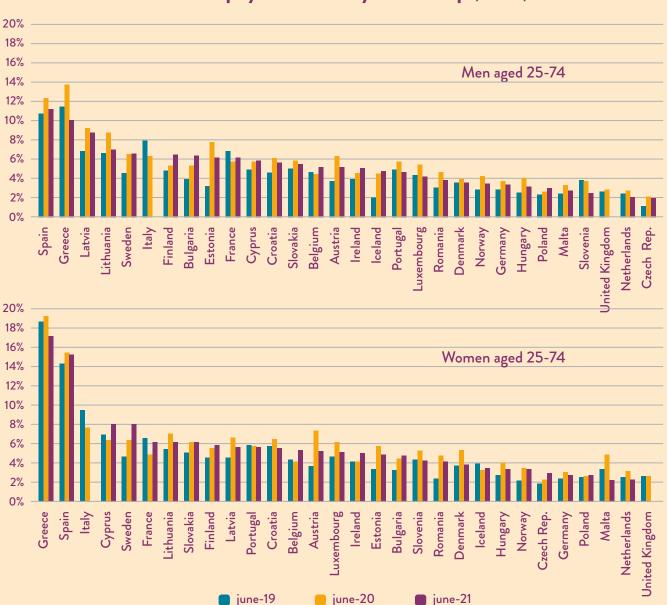
People in the Spanish State were affected by a long, strict home confinement in the spring of 2020 and subsequent restrictions with significant consequences for health and material well-being, at both a personal and family level. In this section we are providing an overall view of which groups of people suffered the greatest loss of employment, hours of work and personal income<sup>3</sup>, and what type of households faced the greatest economic difficulties in June 2021 due to the employment crisis caused by the measures taken against the pandemic.

This overall view is necessary in order to understand to what extent and in which groups the problems of balance are due to a lack of work intensity to a greater extent than a lack of personal and family time.

In comparison with other countries within the European Union, and considering the months of June 2019, 2020 and 2021, Spain already had very high unemployment before the pandemic, in June 2019, with it affecting women (14%) more than men (11%) (Chart 3-1).

<sup>3.</sup> Personal income refers only to income obtained directly by the person, in other words, in contrast to income per consumer unit, it does not take into account the income of other members of the household.

Chart 3-1. Rate of unemployment (June) by sex in Europe, 2019, 2020 and 2021



**Note:** Some data are provisional for Austria, Portugal, Germany and Greece, and data for Italy is missing. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/UNE\_RT\_M\_custom\_1155328/default/table?lang=en

Unemployment among the 25 to 74-year-old population<sup>4</sup> in Spain rose a little during the start of the pandemic between June 2019 and 2020, but in comparison this rise was not one of the largest in Europe, as in some countries it rose by more than three percentage points, as was the case with male unemployment in Estonia or female unemployment in Austria. Later, in June 2021, unemployment in Spain was a little lower that the year before, but had not yet returned to the levels of 2019. In eastern countries and also in Sweden, Austria and Germany, unemployment rose more than in Spain at the start, but by June 2021 it was already shrinking in most of them. Female unemployment has hardly gone down in Spain and in June 2021 it still stood at 15% of the active population, the highest rate of all the EU-28 after Greece. The different incidence of unemployment in Europe depends on the political measures implemented by governments to mitigate the economic effects of the pandemic, and their economic structures. In Spain, various public administrations have attempted to ensure the maintenance of personal and family income through credit and support aimed at companies temporary redundancies (ERTE in their initials in Spanish), local support, and the creation of a Minimum Living Wage (MLW) at a State level. In addition, state unemployment insurance in Europe ensure the maintenance of income for employed persons with a minimum record of paying into the social security system.

Thanks to these benefits and support, the high rates of unemployment do not necessarily lead to material difficulties in households, if the unemployment is for a relatively short period. In addition, there is another factor that cushions the effects of unemployment, which is the combining of several personal incomes in many households. If an adult is unemployed, but in their household there are others providing incomes, the basic family well-being may be guaranteed, while the household remains intact.

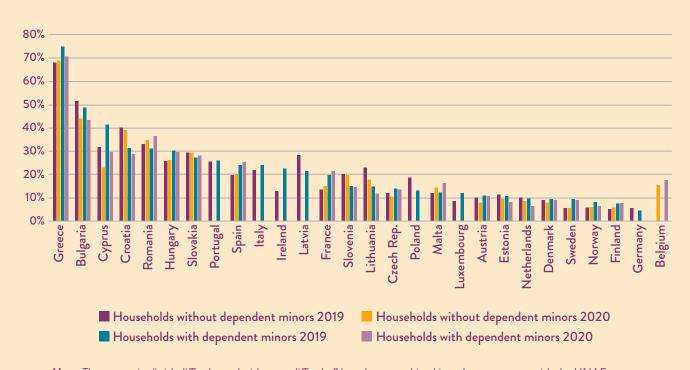
The economic stress indicator, which measures the perception people have on the difficulty or huge difficulty their household has in reaching the end of the month, allows us to see how the loss of employment during the pandemic has affected family well-being in 2020<sup>5</sup>. Firstly, it is worth recalling the situation in 2019, when the difficulty in reaching the end of the month in households with and without minors in Spain was set at a intermediate-high position (Chart 3-2). In Greece, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Croatia, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia and Portugal, households with minors had greater economic difficulties than Spain, while there were countries with greater levels of material well-being, such as the Scandinavian countries, Germany and Austria. In Spain in 2019, some 20% of households without minors had difficulties reaching the end of the month, in comparison with 24% of households with minors. This is not a huge

<sup>4.</sup> The Eurostat database for this homogenised series that tracks very recent changes in the measurement of unemployment do not allow us to delimit the 25 to 65 age group.5. Data from the Living Conditions Survey for 2021 are only available in 2022.

difference, as with eight other countries, while in the rest the differences are non-existent or even the reverse (more difficulties among households with only adult persons). In any case, even before the pandemic almost a quarter of households in Spain with minors suffered economic stress. With the existing data to date it

does not appear that the pandemic has affected the levels of difficulty in reaching the end of the month in any type of household in a significant way, at least during the first year of the pandemic for countries providing data for 2020, with the exception of Romania.

Chart 3-2. Proportion of households facing difficulties to reach the end of the month by presence of dependent minor in Europe (2019 and 2020)



Note: The categories "with difficulty and with great difficulty" have been combined in order to compare with the UNAF survey.

Source: Eurostat, 15/09/2021 (without data for Iceland, United Kingdom and a series break for Belgium).

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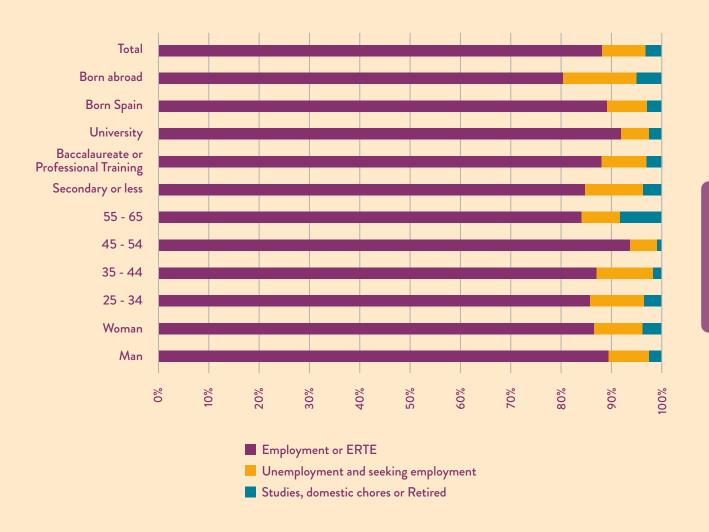
https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/ILC\_MDES09\_custom\_1155809/default/table?lang=en.

How has material well-being evolved in the various households in Spain to June 2021? The UNAF survey provides further details regarding the evolution of material conditions for those between 25 and 65 and their families in the Spanish State, because it asks them about the situation before 14th March 2020 and after 9th May 2021. It is important to understand who have suffered a worsening of their working conditions and income, because the first requirement in order to balance work, family and personal life consists in having employment or income which allows personal and household needs to be covered.



Chart 3-3 shows by sex, age, country of origin and academic attainment the employment situation in June 2021 for those employed before the pandemic, in other words in March 2020. Here we are focusing on the incidence of the pandemic on the employed population, although evidently it has also had a negative impact on those seeking employment. It can be seen that among those employed before the pandemic, women, young people, those with compulsory education or less, and those born outside Spain were the most affected by the pandemic as a result of loss of employment, as between 10 and 15% are unemployed and seeking employment, despite the end of the state of alarm on 9th May 2021 and the reactivation of the greater part of the economy. Unemployment affects those born in Spain (8%) to a lesser extent, and those born out of Spain (15%) to a greater extent. Among the 55 to 65 age group, the percentage of persons who retired (8%) is the same as those who lost their employment. Sex differences in unemployment are not pronounced (8% for men versus 10% for women). These unemployment rates would have been higher without public aid, but together with Greece they remain the highest in the EU by a large margin (see Chart 3-1).

Chart 3-3. Employment status in 2021 of persons employed before Covid-19, by sex, age, academic attainment and country of origin<sup>1</sup>



**Note 1:** There is no further breakdown by sex due to the low number of cases in the last two categories. Sample: age 25-65 employed in March 2020 (n=1.121). **Source:** UNAF survey 2021.

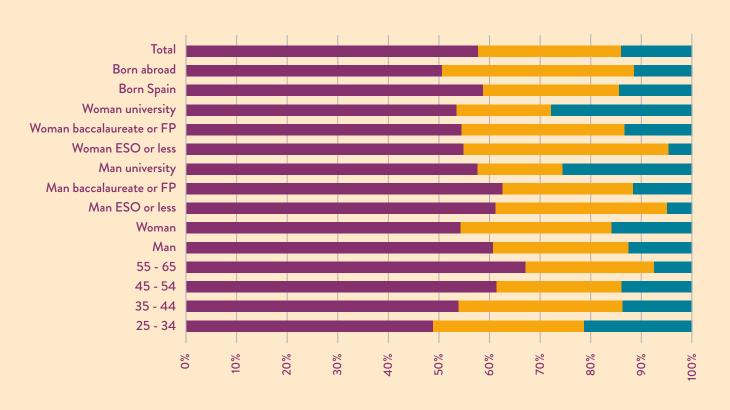
The evolution of work intensity throws up data of even greater concern. There are many people who have regained or retained their employment, but they have seen their hours of paid work reduced (Chart 3-4). Of all those who were employed, on ERTE or unemployed in June 2021, some 28% had seen their working hours reduced in comparison to before confinement. Once again, those most affected continue to be those who achieved compulsory education or less,

and this affects women (40%) more than men (34%). The gender gap closes as academic attainment increases, as female university graduates saw their hours reduced to a similar extent as male university graduates (19 v. 17% respectively), which shows that women with lower academic attainment are the most disadvantaged by social and gender inequalities. Furthermore, migrants have been mare affected than those of Spanish origin (38% v. 27%).6



<sup>6.</sup> No breakdown by sex as there are insufficient cases.

Chart 3-4. Change to hours worked, by sex, age, academic attainment and country of origin, persons employed, taking temporary redundancy or unemployed



Now working the SAME HOURS as before confinement

Now not working or working FEWER HOURS

Now working MORE HOURS than before confinement

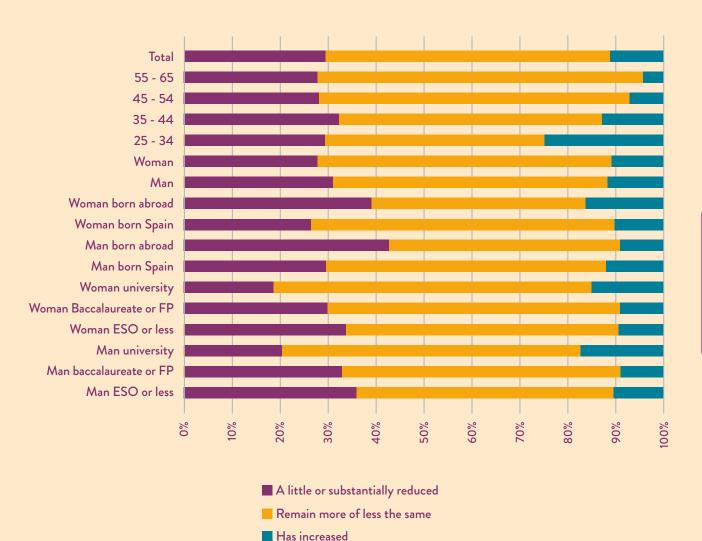
**Sample:** Age 25-65 employed, on ERTE or unemployed in June 2021 (n=1253). **Source:** UNAF survey 2021.

How has unemployment and a reduction in hours worked affected personal income? If we now refer to all the persons interviewed (Chart 3-5), whether employed, unemployed or economically inactive, in June 2021 some 29% had seen their personal income diminished a little or substantially in comparison to before confinement in 2020. In particular, some 43% of men born outside Spain, followed by women born abroad (39%). Some 34% of women with the lowest level of academic attainment have seen their incomes

go down, compared to 19" of female graduates, while some 28% of all women identify as affected, compared to 31% of men. Overall the condition of being a migrant with low academic attainment has affected loss of income more than sex. It must not be forgotten that here we are looking at all people, including those who are economically inactive, such as housewives. This explains the fact that there are more women declaring that their incomes remain more or less the same, in comparison to men.



Chart 3-5. Change to personal income between March 2020 and June 2021, by sex, age, academic attainment and country of origin



**Sample:** entire population age 25-65 (n=1522).

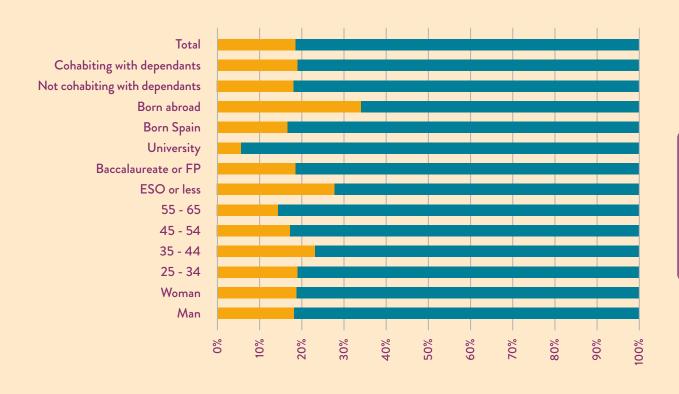
Source: UNAF survey 2021.

It is important to understand how the reduction in personal income has affected family well-being. The majority of people share a household with other people who could mitigate the deficiencies. We have seen that at a European level the Spanish State occupies an intermediate position when looking at difficulties in reaching the end of the month. In the UNAF survey we asked a similar question regarding April 2021. In total some 18.6% of those interviewed affirmed that their households had encountered difficulties in reaching the end of the month; a similar figure to the one from Eurostat for 2019. As was to be expected, this figure rose to 34% in households of migrant origin, to 28% of the person interviewed achieved compulsory education or less, and to 23% for those in the 35 to 44 age range; a vital period with more responsibilities regarding minors (Chart 3-6). If we take into account the type of household with regards to cohabitation with minors under 18 years of age or adult dependants, the differences by type of household are insignificant and approach to average percentage for households with difficulties in reaching the end of the month (18% and 19% respectively)<sup>7</sup>. Once again, the groups most affected by the employment setback, in particular migrants, also suffered from a greater worsening in material conditions in their households, despite public aid they were able to receive, perhaps because those who were born outside Spain may lack to a greater extent the right to aid in order to maintain income or lack the information necessary regarding its existence and processing, just as with those with a basic level of academic attainment.



<sup>7.</sup> Nor did households with minors of 5, 18 or 25 years of age report greater difficulties in reaching the end of the month than the average percentage (18%), except for households with minors of 18 years of age if the person interviewed had basic education or less (25%) or had been born abroad (31%).

Chart 3-6. Difficulty of household to reach the end of the month by sex, age, academic attainment and country of origin for person interviewed



Sample: population age 25-65 (n=1522). Source: UNAF survey 2021.

Yes No

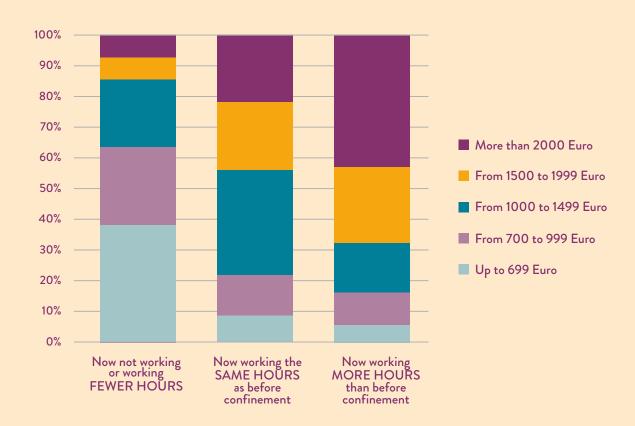
In view of the characteristics of those who have suffered most from a reduction in their working hours or have lost their jobs, it is certain that a reduction in work intensity affects households with fewer economic resources more, producing the so-called Matthew effect<sup>8</sup>. Those experiencing greater employment setbacks during the pandemic will be those whose households also began with fewer resources. Chart 3-7 shows that some 38% of those with lower work intensity following the pandemic live in a household with an income per con-

sumer unit<sup>9</sup> of €699 or less, while those working more hours than before are concentrated in households of over €2000. This is highly relevant when studying what balance measures the various types of person and families need. The pandemic has intensified the lack of job opportunities in households with a low level of income, and this means that perhaps a section of the population has a greater need to increase their income than to have more time to balance (see section 9).

<sup>8.</sup> This refers to the affirmation in the Gospel "For to him who has will more be given; but from him who has not, even what he has will be taken away."

<sup>9.</sup> Income per consumer unit is calculated using household income and takes into account the number of cohabitants and whether it is a single-parent household, in accordance with the weighting used to calculate the MLW figure.

Chart 3-7. Change in work intensity since the start of the pandemic by income per consumer unit



Note: See footnote 8 on calculation of income per consumer unit.

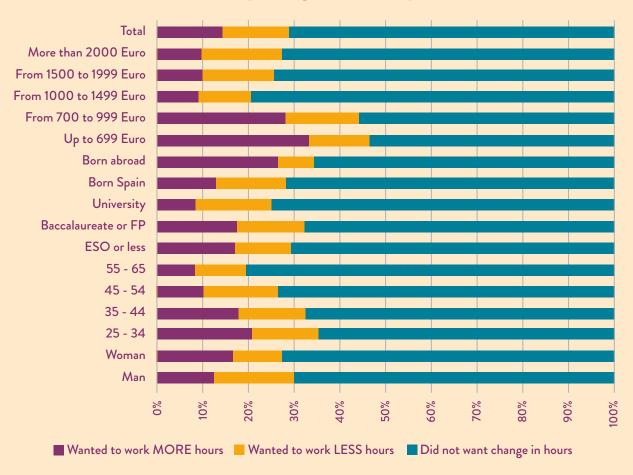
Sample: population employed at start of March 2020 or in June 2021 n=1341.

Source: UNAF survey 2021.

In the UNAF survey people employed in June were asked "how many hours would you like to work if you knew that your salary would vary in the same proportion, in other words, what if by working less you earned less and working more you earned more". Chart 3-8 shows once again that those in households with income per consumer unit of up to €999 and those born out-

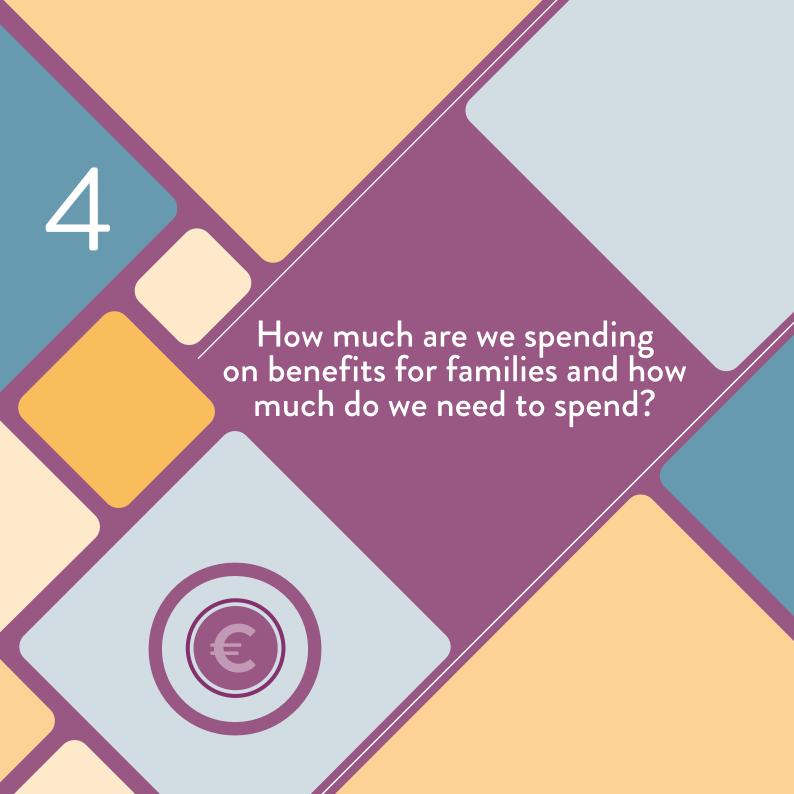
side Spain, which in many cases coincide with this income range, are the social groups expressing greater need to work more hours. A greater desire to increase work intensity was seen among young people, among those with a basic level of education, with professional training or baccalaureate, and among women, all in comparison to their respective reference groups.

Chart 3-8. The desire to work more or fewer hours by sex, age, academic level, country of origin an income per consumer unit



**Sample:** population employed in June 2021 n=1007. **Source:** UNAF survey 2021.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the period of the pandemic has not only intensified the already important problem of unemployment, but has also deepened employment poverty resulting from a reduction in paid working hours among the 25 to 65 population, in an unequal manner among the various groups.



## How much are we spending on benefits for families and how much do we need to spend?

1

Spain remained, in 2018 (the most recent data available), among the European Union countries with the lowest level of spending in monetary benefits for families per inhabitant.

2

Family-related tax deductions represented, in 2018, some 53% of the spending on monetary benefits for families, and this hinders a reduction in child poverty.

3

With the introduction of the MLW in 2020, the benefit per child of €588 per year has disappeared, in exchange for a complement to the MLW of €1692 per year, but this will reach fewer families.

4

We need up-to-date studies on fiscal policy and its impact in the material well-being of families, to see whether it meets the aims of social progressiveness and equality of opportunities by gender.

5

Some 60% of families with under-25s, who have incomes of up to €1000 do not reach the end of the month. To what extent do members of those households take advantage of tax deductions and relief? These people are not normally obliged to submit a tax return, and are often unaware of these advantages.

6

Among those potential beneficiaries of the MLW, some 58% do not reach the end of the month if they live with under 18s, despite its implementation during last year. This should be tackled through improvements to real access to the MLW and with a specific supplement.

The well-being of the family depends on income through employment, on the unpaid work by its members, on possible public income and benefits to which they have access. Public benefits which affect family well-being are varied in nature, and include the general benefits for the maintenance of income (due to unemployment, illness, invalidity, widowhood, retirement and poverty) and those specific to the care and maintenance of dependent minors and adults (benefits for birth, benefits to cover costs of children's services, care in the home, care homes for the elderly, etc.). In addition, there are

public benefits in the form of tax reductions or deductions.

All countries in the EU have social benefits aimed at covering the needs of families in order to maintain and take care of their members, although the variation between countries is great. How much do we spend in Spain in comparison with other countries in our context and how has this spending evolved? In this section we are providing data compared at a European level and we are looking at the recent evolution in Spain in greater depth.

#### 4.1.

# Evolution and comparison of social spending on families in Europe

Social spending on families<sup>10</sup>, measured in Purchasing Power Standards (PPS) by inhabitant<sup>11</sup>, grew between 2016 and 2018 in all European countries except Ireland and Malta. However, the increments vary considerably among countries, in addition to the level of spending per inhabitant reached by each of them. As shown in Chart 4-1, in 2018, Germany and Denmark, followed by Sweden, Austria and Finland, showed the greatest level

of spending per inhabitant (above the 1.000 PPS). These were followed by France and Belgium (with spending of between 700 and 800 PPS per inhabitant). Spain, with spending of 348.8 PPS per inhabitant, was positioned among countries with a lower level of spending (between 250 and 350 PPS per inhabitant), although ahead of other Mediterranean countries, such as Greece, Italy and Portugal. Expressed in Euro, in Spain the total spending on

https://www.mites.gob.es/estadisticas/seepros/notas\_metodologicas.pdf).

11. Spending data is expressed in a fictitious currency, the Purchasing Power Standard (PPS), in order to eliminate differences between countries in price levels (1 PPS allows the enjoyment if the same quantity of goods and services in each country). However, it should be taken into account that spending per inhabitant may be conditioned by demographic factors which affect the size and composition of the population.

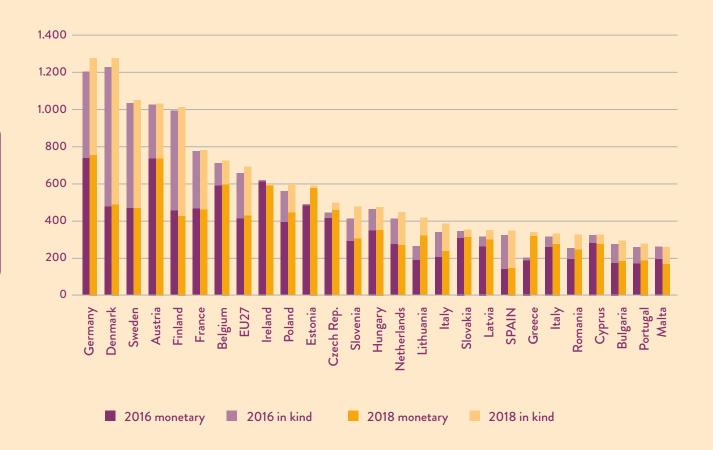
<sup>10.</sup> Social spending in family/children function in accordance with ESSPROS classification: monetary or in kind/service Benefit in relation to the cost of pregnancy, birth and adoption, the upbringing and care of children, except medical care and education costs from primary education. Benefits for adult dependants or tax deductions for minors are not included. Under the heading of infant day care is spending on the infant education stage provided by the Ministry for Education and Professional Training and by the Educational Administrations of the Autonomous Communities https://www.mites.pob.es/estadisticas/seepros/notas metodologicas.pdf).

the family function reached €300.26 per inhabitant in 2018 in constant prices from 2010, in comparison with €788.89 in France. Regarding the variation in spending per inhabitant with respect to 2016, the greatest percentage increases can be seen in Greece (66%) and Lithuania (57%) countries with spending per inhabitant below 450 PPS. For their part, countries with a greater level of spending per inhabitant (Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Austria and Finland) show increases of below 6%. Spain, despite being among the countries with a lower level of spending per inhabitant, shows modest growth of 7%.

As already noted in the previous UNAF report on balance policies (Campillo, 2019), the majority of European countries target a major part of their social spending on families on monetary benefits (chiefly benefits associated with

leave or benefits for dependent children), with benefits in kind being lower (such as infant care services, among others). Spain and the Nordic countries (Denmark, Sweden and Finland) are an exception, where monetary benefits have a weighting of below 50% (from between 35% and 45% in 2018). That said, Spain, in contrast to Nordic countries, has a low absolute level of spending per inhabitant on in kind/services (Chart 4-1). At the other end of the spectrum, there are countries that stand out for allocating more than 90% of the spend on monetary benefits: Ireland, Estonia, Czech Republic and Greece (countries with an average or low level of spending per inhabitant). Spain stands out for continuing to have the lowest spending per inhabitant on monetary benefits in the European Union (€128.31 per inhabitant in constant prices from 2010).

Chart 4-1. Social spending on benefits aimed at families/minors (PPS per inhabitant) by type of benefit in Europe, 2016-2018



**Note:** Luxembourg not included. **Source:** Eurostat, 15/09/2021.

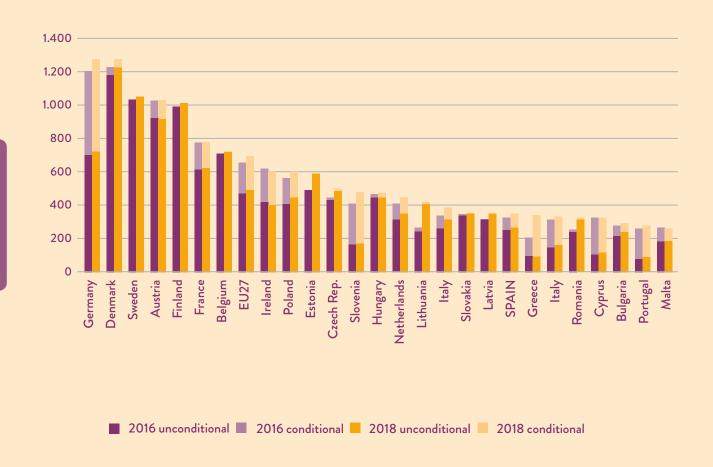
(https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/spr\_exp\_ffa/default/table?lang=en)

On the basis of the conditional or unconditional nature of the benefits<sup>12</sup> (Chart 4-2), it can be seen that in the majority of European countries the is a mixed system in which benefits that are not the subject of means testing predominate, with the exception of various Mediterranean countries (among them Spain), where conditional benefits account for more than 50% of the spending; a trend already pointed out in the previous UNAF report on balance (Cam-

pillo, 2019). In 2018, the only countries within the EU-27 that gave greater weighting regarding conditional benefits are Greece, Portugal, Cyprus, Slovenia and Italy (countries with a low level of spending per inhabitant). In the remaining member states unconditional benefits have the greater weighting, with percentages ranging from 56% in Germany to 100% in Sweden, Finland and Estonia, with the figure standing at above 75% in the majority.

<sup>12.</sup> Benefits and services for families can be of a universal nature, because all citizens have a right to them, or they are based on prior social contributions, and are classed as unconditional (e.g. Infant education services from the age of three, or birth leave in Spain). Benefits or services of a conditional nature are those for which the need of potential beneficiaries is checked using income (e.g. Benefit per dependent child).

Chart 4-2. Social spending on benefits aimed at families/minors (PPS per inhabitant) by benefit conditions, EU-27 (2016-2018)



**Note:** Luxembourg not included. **Source:** Eurostat, 15/09/2021.

(https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/spr\_exp\_ffa/default/table?lang=en)

As evident from the comparative analysis, in 2018 Spain was among those EU countries with a lower level of spending on the family per inhabitant. It also stands out for being the only member state that, having a low level of spending per inhabitant, prioritises benefits in kind over monetary benefits (with the weighting

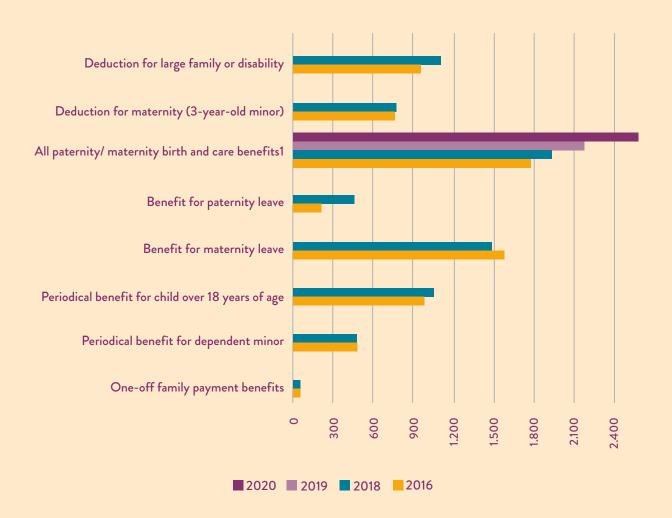
for the latter being 43%). With respect to the conditional nature of the benefits, Spain follows the majority trend, with greater preference for benefits that are not subject to means testing (77%), being, however, an exception among Mediterranean countries.

# Monetary benefits and tax deductions for families in Spain

As already indicated in the previous UNAF report (Campillo, 2019), Spain is among the minority of European countries that lacks universal benefits for dependent child, which is one of the most widespread family policies in the EU. Benefits for dependent children in Spain are conditional on household income and, despite the changes introduced since 2018, continue to be the subject of means testing. Spending on this benefit as also very small in comparison with those in kind (infant education services, among others). Recent studies show that countries that do not have benefits per dependent child of a universal nature (as is the case in Spain) are those with the highest incidences of child poverty in the EU (Canto, 2020). Spending on benefits for dependent minor in 2018 represented 0.7% of the spending on monetary benefits and tax deductions aimed at the family (Chart 4-3).



Chart 4-3. Spending on direct benefits and tax deductions aimed at families with minors or members with a disability, €M 2016-2020



**Note:** (1) Since 2019 the benefits for maternity and paternity have been replaced by the benefit for "birth and care of the minor".

**Source:** Ministry for Work and Social Economy yearbooks 2017-2020, data available at 15/09/2021. (https://www.mites.gob.es/es/estadisticas/contenidos/anuario.htm)

However, the Spanish State invests more in the family than shown in the data published by Eurostat, as the data do not include tax reductions and subsidies related to the family<sup>13</sup>. Several analysts consider this tax cornerstone of family policy administered by the tax Office to be more important than the cornerstone of direct monetary benefits (Sanz et al., 2009; Cantó, 2011). Chart 4-3 shows the set of direct benefits and tax deductions without including tax reductions. In fact, tax deductions due to maternity, large family, or member with disability represented 53% of the spending in 2018 (without including tax reductions through joint tax returns or family minimum exemptions due to dependent offspring or persons). Total spending on monetary benefits and tax deductions increased between 2016 and 2018. From less to more, spending on periodical benefits for dependent child over 18 years of age with a disability<sup>14</sup>, deductions for large family or

persons with a disability and benefits for paternity has increased.

The latter is to a large extent in response to the increase in paternity leave to 6 weeks in July 2018<sup>15</sup>. Since July 2020 new periodical benefits for dependent minors have not been granted, due to the implementation of the MLW, so this heading, the lowest of the periodical ones, is going to disappear<sup>16</sup>. Single payment benefits represent a very small heading<sup>17</sup>.

According to experts, fiscal policy aimed at families is regressive, in other words, it benefits to a greater extent those with larger incomes<sup>18</sup>. The limited redistributive effect of taxes is one of the factors that explains the high incidence of economic vulnerability in households with minors in Spain and the high rates of child poverty in Spain compared to Europe. According to Cantó and Ayala (2021, p,28) "The inciden-

<sup>13.</sup> Since 2003 there has been a tax deduction for working mothers with children under 3 years of age paying into the social security system and who contribute at least 100 Euro per month, with the figure reaching €1200 per year. Since 2018 this benefit can be increased by an additional €1000 for authorised nursery or infant education centre costs for under 3s. Since 2015a tax deduction has been in place for large families according to the number of minors and type of family, with the figure also rising to €1200 per year for families with 3 children (Ministry for Social Rights and Agenda 2030, Guide to support and services for families 2021, https://www.mscbs.gob.es/ssi/ familiasInfancia/pdf/Guia\_ayudas\_y\_servicios\_para\_familias\_2021.pdf).

<sup>14.</sup> The periodical benefit for dependent children has four modalities: 1. Under 18 without disability or with disability of less than 33% (expired on 1st June 2020). 2. Under 18 with a disability equal to or greater than 33%. 3 Over 18 with a disability equal to or greater than 65%. 4 Over 18 with a disability equal to or greater than 75% and the need of another person.

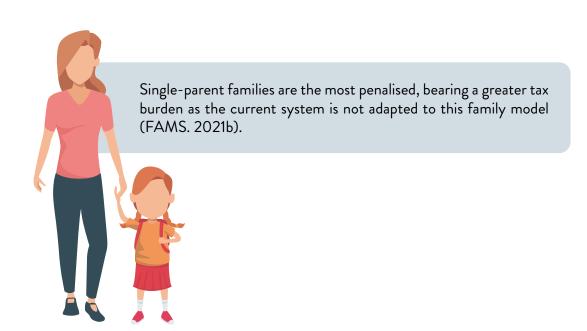
15. From 5th July 2018, through final provision 28 of Law 6/2018, of 3rd July, on General State Budgets for 2018, the duration of paternity leave

was extended to 5 consecutive weeks. On the use of parental leave and súbsequent extensions, see section 5.

 <sup>16.</sup> From 1st June 2020, the new MLW benefit came into force and the benefit for dependent child under 18 years of age without a disability or with a disability of below 33% was eliminated (one of the benefits with the greatest number of beneficiaries and causes).
 17. Social security also provides single payment benefits due to birth or adoption of a child, for large or single-parent families or for disabled progenitors conditional on family income, and to all families in the case of multiple birth or adoption (Guide to support and services for families 2021).
 18. We should remember that those whose full taxable income (including, among other items, pensions and allowances, including those originating abroad, and compensatory pensions and non-exempt food annuities) dues not surpass the figure of 22,000 Euro per year do not have to file a tax return if they have a single payer (2020). tax return if they have a single payer (2020).

ce of poverty in minors in markedly superior to that which would fit with our per capital GDP" and this is in part due to the predominance of family tax policies, which do not redistribute resources towards households with the lowest incomes, in addition to the lack of direct monetary benefits (Cantó and Ayala, 2021). It is also worth taking into account that the joint income tax return for couples in which the woman does not work represents a disincentive to female unemployment and equal opportunities between men and women (Pazos Morán, 2005).

Once again we come up against the problem of a lack of up-to-date statistics in determining how public spending on families has varies since 2019<sup>19</sup>. Three legal reforms have been introduced that are set to change investment in policies for families; the extension of paternity leave to make it equal to maternity leave( social security benefit for birth and care of the minor), the increase in the allowance per dependent child in 2019, and the new MLW in June 2020 (see table 1).



The Ministry for Work Yearbook contains recent (partial) data on birth benefits, but only provides highly provisional data for 2019 and no data for 2020 with respect to benefits and deductions per dependent child.

### Chart 4-1. Main changes regarding monetary benefits aimed at the family, **Spain (2018-2021)**

The matching of leave for progenitors, in virtue of RD-Law 6/2019, of 1st March, on urgent measures to guarantee equality of treatment and opportunities between women and men in employment and occupation (full implementation in 2021).

On 1st April 2019, in virtue of RD-Law 8/-Law 8/2019, of 8th March, on urgent measures for social protection and the fight against workday employment insecurity, the figure for the allowance per dependent child under 18 years of age without a disability or with a disability of below 33%, went from 291 to 341 Euro per year, and also defined an improved allowance of 588 Euro for the most disadvantaged families.

From 1st June 2020, by virtue of RD-Law 20/2020, of 29th May, establishing the minimum living wage, the new MLW benefit came into force and replaced the previous allowance per dependent child under 18 years of age without a disability of with a disability of below 33% (understood to be contained within the MLW).

Chart 4-3 shows the increase in spending through the birth and care of the minor benefit, which rose from 1700 million Euro in 2016 to 2565 in 2020, and without doubt represents the greatest increase in spending on families in recent years. Only the overall spending is published, which does not allow a comparison of the distribution of the spending between mothers and fathers<sup>20</sup>. However, the design of this benefit ensures equality of opportunity by gender, because it is based on an individual right which is non-transferable between progenitors and which in payment terms covers 100% of the contribution base<sup>21</sup>. Its application is another question, and it is covered in sections 5 and 10.

<sup>20.</sup> The spending on birth benefit is not now broken down by sex, despite this being obligatory under article 20 of Organic law 3/2007, of 22nd March, for the effective equality of women and men.21. With an upper limit of €4070 per month in 2021.

# 4.3.

# The Minimum Living Wage and the well-being of families in Spain in 2021

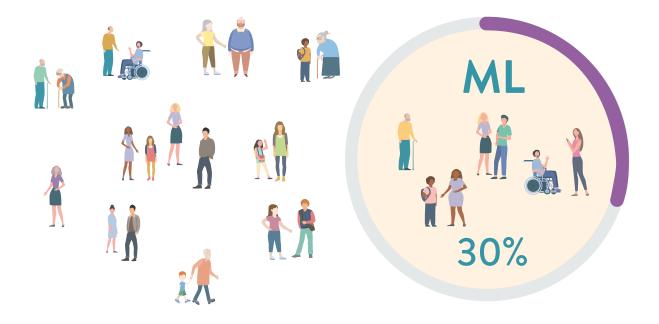
The creation of the Minimum Living Wage (MLW) in 2020 implied the disappearance of the benefit for dependent child under 18 years of age without a disability or with a disability of below 33%. Access to the MLW is limited to cases of severe poverty, and thus excludes a group of potential beneficiaries from the benefit for dependent child (although the figure for this benefit was only €341 per year). Will the new MLW be able to alleviate the high rates of child poverty? The MLW is not a family benefit and does not include either within its 2020 formulation or its 2021 review any special payment per child<sup>22</sup>, but represents progress in the well-being of families in situations of severe poverty as it has created a subjective right which guarantees continuous income while the situation of economic need lasts (Cantó and Ayala, 2021). In addition, the MLW has a single-parent complement an additional 22%) and the amounts for the MLW increase in accordance with the number of household members. In 2021 the amount rose to an additional €141 per month for each additional person, and €245 for single-parent status. In comparison to the €588 per year of the benefit per dependent child for the most disadvantaged families, the MLW implies an increase to €1692, in other words, the amount has almost tripled, but it leaves out many families as they are above the maximum income threshold for the lowest entry point. According to early comparative calculations on the minimum income figures in Europe, the MLW will position Spain at an intermediate point with respect to benefit generosity for families with minors (Cantó and Ayala, 2021). It remains to be seen how the MLW will be coordinated with the existing minimum inclusion incomes in the various Autonomous Communities, and what legal and practical barriers to access the most vulnerable groups, such as the migrant population, will encounter (Peris-Cancio, 2021).

What have we learned in the year following implementation of the minimum living wage about its impact on family well-being? The UNAF survey provides an understanding of the difficulties in reaching the end of the month by household income. As shown in Chart 4-4, economic stress affects 83% of families with under-25s with an income of up to  $\leq$ 600 per month, and 50% of those with incomes of between 601 and 1000 $\leq$  as is to be expected,

<sup>22.</sup> The Ministry for Inclusion, Social Security and Migration promised in June 2021 to create a complement per child of around €50 for families with very low incomes.

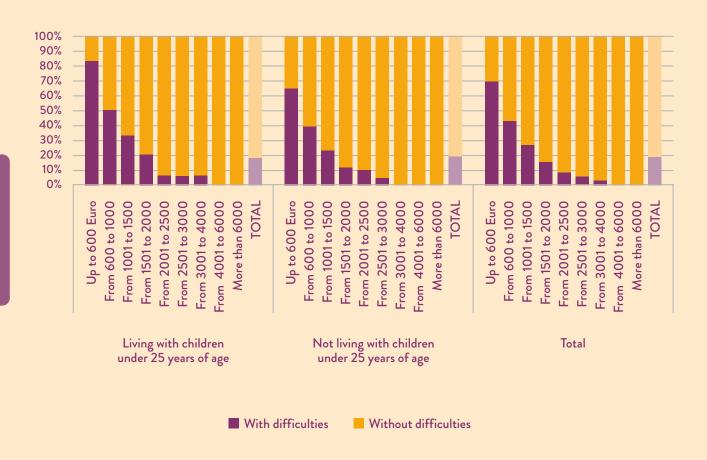
economic difficulties diminish as incomes increase, but still affect 33% of households with incomes of between 1001 and €1500, and 21% of those with incomes of between 1501 and €2000. In comparison with households without under-25s, cohabitation with children of that age group increases the risk of suffering economic difficulties in all households with incomes below €2000. Taking into account that the maximum amount of the MLW for 2.2 or more consumer units is €1034 per month in 12 payments, we can conclude that the MLW taken alone, without the combination of Minimum In-

comes for inclusion or a supplement per minor, could alleviate severe poverty, but it will not eliminate economic stress for the majority of families with minors. This occurs, among other reasons, because the MLW has not reached all the potential beneficiaries: to May 2021, only 30% of the 850,000 households that were calculated to be possible beneficiaries received the MLW, because it seems that the state administrations are having difficulties in processing it and because it is precisely the most vulnerable families that are encountering various barriers in practice (Llano and Quiroga, 2021)<sup>23</sup>.



<sup>23.</sup> Through Royal Decree-Law 3/2021, of 2nd February 2021, modifying some details regarding the MLW, which could facilitate processing. In particular and as an exception, during the subsequent five years, Third Sector Social Action organisations are allowed to issue accreditation certificates.

# Chart 4-4. Difficulties for households to reach the end of the month by cohabitation with children under 25 years of age and range of household incomes



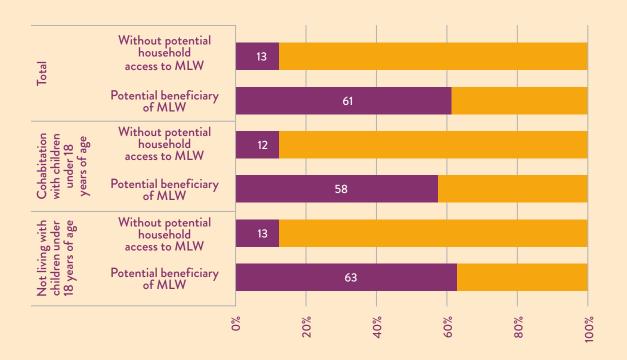
**Note:** In the group living with children below 25 years of age and with household income up to €600 there are few cases, and the conclusions are therefore exploratory. Lost cases are not included. **Source:** UNAF survey 2021.

The UNAF survey has allowed us to explore the level of economic stress reported by potential beneficiaries of MLW<sup>24</sup>. Taking into account the eligibility criteria for the MLW (specifically the income means-testing thresholds) and the guaranteed income, it is not surprising that economic stress for the potential beneficiaries of the MLW is much greater than for those that are above the access thresholds (61% against 13%). However, in consonance with the aim of the MLW to reduce severe poverty, particularly child poverty (and despite the problems of access and implementation that there has been a progressive attempt to address), a

lower incidence of difficulties for households in reaching the end of the month when living with under-18s within the group of potential beneficiaries of the MLW can be seen (Chart 4-5). Some 58% of potential beneficiaries with minors have difficulties in reaching the end of the month, which is somewhat lower than the 63% of their equivalent without minors. In addition, if we compare the two groups of potential beneficiaries with those that did not have access to the MLW we find that they in fact have much lower levels of economic stress (12% and 13% respectively).

<sup>24.</sup> To do that we have used the MLW means-testing income thresholds, the number of consumer units in the household according to the MLW scale and the ranges of household incomes (up to €600 and from 600 to €1000 as potential beneficiaries depending on the composition of the household). The MLW threshold for an adult person is €460, for two adults and two minors €874, and for two adults and three or more minors €1012.

# Chart 4-5. Potential MLW beneficiaries and difficulties for households in reaching the end of the month



- With difficulties in reaching the end of the month
- Without difficulties in reaching the end of the month

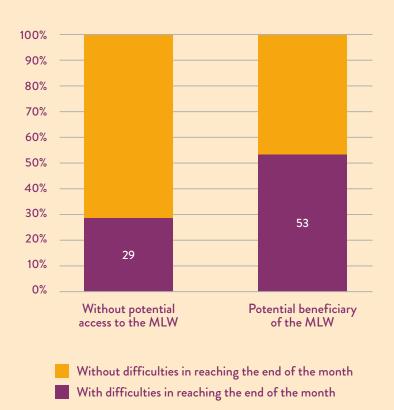
**Sample:** population age 25-65 (n=1522).

**Source:** UNAF survey 2021.

We have also been able to analyse in more detail those households with monthly incomes of between 600 and €1000 and potential beneficiaries (Chart 4-6). If all these households accessed the MLW, it would reduce the

percentage of households that cannot reach the end of the month among those with incomes of between 600 and €1000 because the most in need could increase their incomes.

Chart 4-6. Households with incomes of between 600 and €1000 by potential right to MLW, and difficulties in reaching the end of the month, 2021

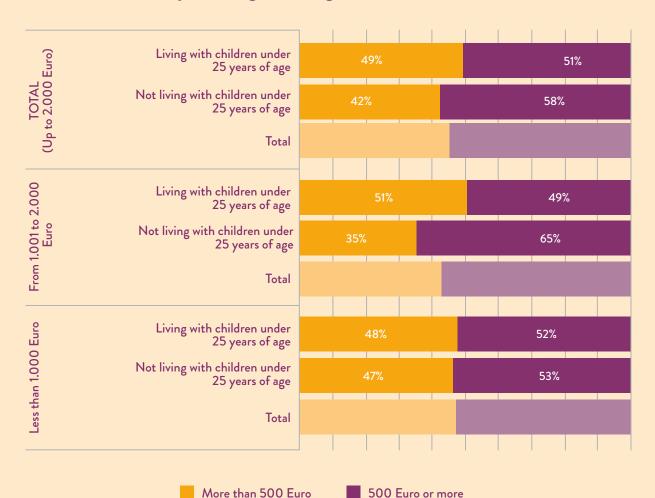


Sample: population aged 25-65 in households with incomes of between 600 and €1000 (n=148). Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

As we have seen, the population in the 25 to 65 age range with greatest economic stress has household incomes of below 2000 Euro, with greater difficulties as household income diminishes and among those who live with a child/ children under 25 years of age (Chart 4-4). Not only is there a greater proportion of households with under-25s that cannot reach the end of the month in the lowest income ranges, but in addition the amount that they estimate they need varies with respect to those who do not live with minors, although only for the range of incomes above the poverty threshold (1001 to €2000). In this group, when they live with under-25s some 51% say they need more than €500 to reach the end of the month, in contrast to 35% who do not live with minors (Chart 4-7). In the group with lower income (up to €1000) there is no difference between living or not living with minors, and they share in a very similar manner those who need more or less €500 to reach the end of the month. In May 2021 the average figure granted to beneficiaries of the MLW stood at €448.67<sup>25</sup>, a figure which seems insufficient for around 58% of potential beneficiary households with dependent minors, which need even more than €500 per month (48% of them). These results support the demand for a supplement for dependent minors which goes beyond the current complement for each additional member of the household.

<sup>25.</sup> https://revista.seg-social.es/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Dossier-IMV-mayo.xlsx

Chart 4-7. Complementary income that the household would need to reach the end of the month without difficulties by cohabitation with children below 25 years of age and range of household income



**Note:** (1) Based on the question: "please estimate how much more money the household needs as income in order to cover basic costs by end of the month (housing, utilities, food, transport and education and health services)".

Sample: population in 25-65 year old age range, with household income of up to 2000 Euro, who express difficulties in reaching the end of the month (n=236).

Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.



## Starting out in life: equality in leave for birth and care

- Some 19% of those between 30 and 39 years of age have postponed plans to become mothers or fathers due to the pandemic.
- Those who have formed/increased their families in 2021 have encountered significant new legislation: the leave for "birth and care" (equal and non-transferable) and "joint responsibility for breastfeeding infant care" have respectively replaced leave for paternity, and maternity and breastfeeding (RD 6/2019). Spain is thus positioned among the most advanced with respect to the equitable design of leaves.
- The new leaves may allow the new-born to be looked after at home by either of its two progenitors, up to 26 weeks consecutively, if the leaves are used one after the other. However, more than 75% of fathers used the birth leave simultaneously with mothers in 2019 and 2020. Fathers and mothers have enjoyed an average of 5 weeks' simultaneous leave in the 2016-2021 period.
- Despite legal equality with respect to leave duration, the use of this leave is not as fully taken up by men as by women, to the extent that both men and women recognise that the work of the man carries more weight that of the woman when deciding how to use the leave. Some 12.6% of the men who used the leave between 2016 and 2021 used at least a week part time (possibly due to work needs), against 3.5% of women.

The number of children born in Spain per woman of childbearing age was 1.18 in 2020, following a downward trend which began in 2015 (from the seventies, in fact, if slight upturns are ignored). That fall, however, does not yet fully reflect the effects of the pandemic, and thus it is expected that the fall in fertility will

be sharper in coming years (Castro-Martín et al. 2021). According to the UNAF survey, some 19% of those between 30 and 30 years of age (the millennial generation, born in the 80s and early 90s) have postponed their plans to become mothers or fathers due to the pandemic. The limited investment in the family

which was previously referred to in section 4, the difficulties in balance and, above all, obstacles that the generation encounter to become independent and find stable employment, increased by the current crisis, helps to explain

why births in Spain are fewer that almost all countries in the EU. Only some 77% of men and some 67% of women interviewed between the ages of 30 and 39 were working at the time of the interview.

## 5.1.

# Regulations on leave for birth and care of minors in Europe and Spain

However, those who have decided to become fathers or mothers in 2021 have encountered significant new legislation: since this year, in virtue of Royal Decree 6/2019, progenitors have enjoyed 16 weeks of non-transferable leave, independent of sex. Thus, the new leave "for birth and care of the minor" and "joint responsibility for breastfeeding infant care" respectively, replaced the leave for paternity and maternity and extend the leave for breastfeeding when used in a similar way for both progenitors, aimed at eliminating the main gender biases which previously existed.

As already seen in the previous UNAF report on balance (Campillo, 2019), the map of parental leave is highly diverse in Europe, with respect to three main dimensions; the total time of parental leave to look after the baby in the home, gender bias in design (based on whether the ownership of the right is exercised by the mother, the two progenitors individually or the family, and the degree of transferability) and their remuneration (see Chart 5-1). Countries from Eastern Europe, in general, have extended remunerated parental leave, but in practice they are considered as an extension of maternity leave (Humer, Hrženjak and Frelih, 2021; Warat, Ciaputa and Krzaklewska, 2021). Some countries will modify their legislation before August 2022, the deadline for the transposition of the European Directive on Work-Life Balance<sup>26</sup> which has already been applied in many others<sup>27</sup> (see table 2). Countries such as Italy or the Netherlands have recently changed their legislation applicable to paternity leave (to date non-existent in the Netherlands).

<sup>26.</sup> Directive (EU) 2019/1158 of the European Parliament and of the Council, of 20th June 2019, on work-life balance for parents and carers, and repealing Council Directive 2010/18/EU.

<sup>27.</sup> Paternity leaves were regulated for the first time at a European level under the directive, but they already existed in a majority of national legislation.

Chart 5-1. Months of leave for birth sufficiently remunerated, by ownership of leave, individual or family right, Europe, 2021

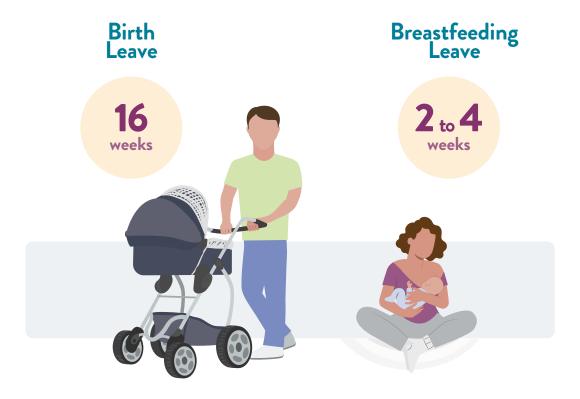


Notes: "Sufficient" remuneration is taken to mean a minimum of 66% of prior income. Block filling indicates that there is no maximum limit to the leave remuneration. The leave for the father and the mother would correspond to the periods assigned to each progenitor respectively, and be non-transferable, except in exceptional circumstances (except in Bulgaria, Poland, Czech Republic and Croatia, where part of the maternity leave is transferable to the father in all cases); parental leave on occasions in individual and/or non-transferable, but the ownership of the subsidy is by family. A month is calculated as 4.3 weeks. \*In Greece, maternity and parental leave in the public sector is 9 months. \*\*In Norway, the leaves may be extended to 4.2 months (parental) and 4.4 months (paternity and maternity) receiving 80% of the prior salary instead of 100%.

Source: Koslowski et al. 2021 (updated in April).

In Spain, the minimum requirements with respect to the duration of the leave for fathers (paternity and parental leave) are widely surpassed, particularly following the passing of Royal Decree 6/2010, while the new regulation may generate doubts regarding compliance with the minimums established for leaves available for

mothers (De la Corte 2020)<sup>28</sup>. Currently, mothers and fathers have 16 weeks' leave for birth, from two to four weeks leave for breastfeeding (in cases where leave can be accumulated under the collective convention) and three years' parental leave (long-term leave) (see Table 2).



<sup>28.</sup> However, under the European Directive on Work-Life Balance, it is assumed that "granting the right to paternity and maternity leave has similar aims, in other words, to create a bond between the progenitor and the child". Thus, "member States shall not be asked to modify the denomination or change in any other way the various types of family leave contemplated under national legislation provided they meet the minimum established requirements" from that directive and that which separately regulates maternity leave (Directive 92/85/CEE), "and which does not reduce the general level of protection guaranteed for workers", such as protection of fair, non-discriminatory treatment obtained on having equal leaves for all persons, independent of their sex. Article 20.6 of the Directive allows the transfer between paternity, maternity, parental or carer leave, in such a way that all the minimum requirements for the various leaves are met. Thus, in the case of Spain, given the current system of parental leave, any reform to birth leave or long-term leave would have to be the same for all progenitors, as the national regulations have guaranteed the principle of equality.

### Chart 5-1. Birth leave in the EU and Spain

### **European Legislation**

#### Spanish Legislation

### **Paternity**

Maternity

**Parental** 

leave

#### Directive 2019/1158 (art.4)

Two weeks with minimum remuneration equivalent to statutory sick pay benefit.

#### Directive 92/85 (art. 8)

14 weeks distributed before or after birth (minimum two around birth date). Remuneration equivalent to temporary incapacity pay benefit.

Four months, of which two are non-transferable, remunerated in accordance with that established by the "member state or social interlocutors" to guarantee that "both progenitors can enjoy the leave".

# Article 48 of the ET, modified under RD 6/2019

16 non-transferable weeks for each progenitor, six of obligatory use following birth, and ten before the first year of life. Remuneration of 100% of salary base (maximum 2021: €4070.10 per month)

#### Directive 2019/1158 (art. 5)

Long-term leave. Up to three years following birth. Individual, non-transferable, non-remunerated right at a state level (applied in some Autonomous Communities), although the social security is covered with respect to retirement, health and subsequent birth leaves.

Art.46.3 of the ET

**Notes:** in Spain, parental leave has gone from two weeks (from 2007) to 4(2017, 5 (from July 2018) to 8 (2019), 12 (2020) and 16(2021) in the latest reform. The period of obligatory use following birth has also been modified: 4 (from 2018), 2 (2019), 4 (2020) and 6 (2021). In the case of adoption the conditions governing the use of the leave are different. Maternity leave has not changed in duration since 2016.

Source: our preparation using Koslowski et al. 2021 and Directive 2019/1158.

#### 67

Beyond what is legal, while the weeks of leave for mothers following birth are fully assumed in organisations and within couples, the use of paternity or parental leave which is exclusive to the father is usually negotiated both within companies and within the couple<sup>29</sup>. Empirical research shows that the most effective design for a high uptake of leave by fathers is that of individual, non-transferable leave with at least 80% remuneration, as shown in the cases of Slovenia, Iceland, Spain, and Norway, with rates of uptake of 80%, 86%, 87% and 90% respectively (Koslowski et al. 2021).

However, in Spain, despite the legislation, following the reforms of 2019, which are among the most advanced in the worked in terms of gender equality in leave, given that there is no difference between mothers and fathers with regards to ownership, there continue to be cultural barriers and some legal and administrative questions that are preventing the effective use of the leave from being equitable.

# 5.2. The use of birth leave in Spain from 2016 to 2021

As shown in Chart 5-2, in decisions on the use of leave within couples, the influence of work on men and women is different.



<sup>29.</sup> This negotiation within the couple is strongly conditioned by gender structure and relations. For that reason, on the charts, with respect to analysis of some decisions, only heterosexual couples have been included.

Chart 5-2. The influence of work on decision-making regarding the use of parental leave



Sample: aged 25-65 in heterosexual couples who were working and were father/mother between 2016 and 2021 (n=108 men and 91 women). Those surveyed responded regarding the influence of the work of both members of the couple.

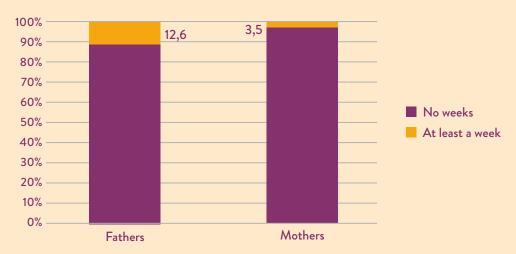
Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

Thus, in the case of men, if the worker does not have sufficient bargaining power, the company can ensure that enjoyment of the leave is not optimised from the point of view of care of the baby: encouraging, for example, part-time use, in such a way that the worker does not "disconnect" from their work (see Chart 5-3), or simultaneously with the mother following birth<sup>30</sup>. On the other hand, on

occasions mothers still exercise "situational power" (Gatrell, 2007) deriving from the cultural assumption that they are "naturally prepared" for this care, excluding the man from it. Thus, for example, both men and women admit that the women's opinions carry more weight that the man's when determining the joint use of birth leave, as shown in Chart 5.4.

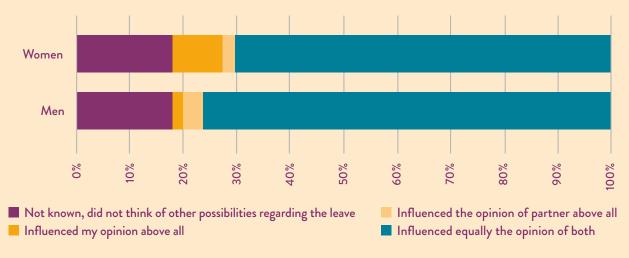
<sup>30.</sup> The obligation to enjoy 6 weeks' leave simultaneously with the mother following birth makes autonomous care of the infant difficult for men, as it is reduced, in any event, to the 10 voluntary weeks if these are enjoyed alone. However, the drawing up of RDL 6/2019 and the procedure for the use of these 10 weeks (subject to an agreement with the employer) is simpler id it is continued beyond the obligatory weeks than months later (on occasions it is in fact the only possible use, as explained here:https://igualeseintransferibles.org/blog/grafico-carrera-de-obstaculos-hacia-la-corresponsabilidad/

Chart 5-3. Use of part-time paternity/ maternity leave, 2016-21



**Sample:** aged 25-65 in homo or heterosexual couples who were working and used maternity/paternity leave between 2016 and 2021 (n=203 men and 196 women). In some cases the person surveyed was the partner. **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

Chart 5-4. Main factor in taking decisions on use of leave



**Sample:** aged 25-65 in heterosexual couples who were working and used maternity/paternity leave between 2016 and 2021 (n=114 men and 112 women). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

The leave used solitarily by fathers, and not simultaneously with the mother, contributes to an essential lesson: that of exercising true responsibility over care, beyond the role of mere "helper" (O'Brien and Wall, 2017). Some countries, such as Sweden, have gone further that the introduction of incentives so that fathers use the leave (such as individual, non-transferable leave), also introducing measures so they do it solitarily<sup>31</sup>. In Spain, more than 75% of fathers used their leave weeks in an uninterrupted manner, in other words, simultaneously with the mothers, between April 2019 and December 2020 (Social Security 2021). According to the UNAF survey, those who had a child between 2016 and 2021 enjoyed an average of over 5 weeks' simultaneous leave with the other progenitor, meaning some 36% of the leave enjoyed by women but up to 85% of the total weeks enjoyed by men. This simultaneous care makes it difficult for fathers to assume responsibility regarding care at a later time. It is worthwhile evaluating the use made of the new leaves for birth and care, and

incorporating the necessary changes in order to increase autonomous care by fathers: Can care of the baby in the household be extended in the majority of families? Why is simultaneous use the majority choice? Who use the leave to prolong the time that the baby is looked after at home?

In addition to the gender gap, other gaps affect access to the right to paternity and maternity leave, to which must be added here: the percentage of persons whom, despite working, do not enjoy all the legally entitled leave, or even enjoy no weeks of leave, is particularly high in those with a very low level of academic attainment, and lower still among foreigners<sup>32</sup>. As shown in Chart 5-5, a not inconsiderable percentage of women and men (more than 5% in both cases), did not enjoy any weeks' leave despite working at the time of birth<sup>33</sup>. Almost 20% of mothers and 40% of fathers used less leave that legally established from 2016 to 2021.

<sup>31.</sup> In Sweden the simultaneous use of leave by both progenitors has been limited to a maximum of 4 weeks (Koslowski 2021). With respect to incentives to use the leave, whether or not solitarily, Austria, for example, economically incentivises the use of parental leave in an equitable manner (at least in a 60-40 ratio); Germany provides longer parental leave if the father enjoys at least two months' leave; Norway has gone from three non-transferable weeks in 1993 to five, six, 10, 12 and 15 weeks in 2018, and Spain from two weeks in 2007, then to four, five, eight, 12 and 16 in 2021 (OECD 2021a).

<sup>32.</sup> However, given the reduced size of the sub-samples, the data must be viewed with caution.

<sup>33.</sup> The reduced number of cases (8 men and 3 women) does not allow a clear profile to be determined, although some traits can be outlined: for example, no one had a permanent contract. In addition, in the case of men, the majority were self-employed with, as a minimum, professional training; in the case of women, there was a self-employed graduate, and two women with a low level of academic attainment (with no contract and with a temporary contract at the time of birth).

## Chart 5-5. Percentage of persons using less leave than is legally established



■ No leave

At least a week but less than the entitlement

Sample: aged 25-65 in homo or heterosexual couples who were working and were father/mother between 2016 and 2021 (n=112 men and 95 women). See legal evolution of paternity leave in note to Table 5.1.

Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.



# Up to 17 years of age: Is joint responsibility with minors possible?

- In 42.3% of households with minors, they have spent at least a week in at home quarantine. Consistent with that, around 40% of those with dependent minors indicate that the pandemic has involved an increase in time spent on their care. This increase is greater between those with incomes below 1500 Euro and those with university studies.
- The majority of mothers and fathers (particularly mothers) do not appreciate that there is joint responsibility in the assumption of domestic tasks and care in their couples. Among couples in which the two work full time, which are somewhat more equitable than the group of couples with minors, the majority of women do not appreciate that joint responsibility.
- Some 17% of fathers and mothers living as a couple indicate that arguments within the
  couple have increased since the start of the pandemic. The main reason differs for women and men: the division of domestic chores for women, and the intensification of
  cohabitation for men.
- Access to non-remunerated work-life balance measures have gender bias: some 21% of fathers and 10% of mothers who do not use these indicate their companies or positions as the main reason for not accessing them.
- There is also social class bias: working from home and flexitime are accessible to professional occupations; a change of shift for a minority of more elementary occupations. In general fewer measures are used when academic attainment or income of the occupied persons is lower.

In 2021, the Minister for Equality promoted the passing of the Joint Responsibility Plan<sup>34</sup>, which recognises as one of the challenges of

care systems the promotion of "joint responsibility between women and men, State, market, family and community" (Equality Sector Con-

<sup>34.</sup> Passed by Council of Ministers in April 2021, the plan, which features a provision of 190 million Euro, aims, in collaboration with the Autonomous Communities, on the one hand, to improve the provision of public services of extracurricular care for under-14s, and boost the professionalisation of care work, on the other.

ference, 2021, p.1). In fact, the most desirable notion of joint responsibility is one which goes beyond joint responsibility within families, to include public powers and society in the wider sense.

Has this joint responsibility been achieved? Is progress being made towards that end? Two main obstacles are currently making joint responsibility difficult with respect to the care of minors. On the one hand, an insufficient (and unequally distributed by Autonomous Community) provision of educational places for the 0 to

3 age group, in alignment with a general feeling that it is exclusively a subsidiary work-life balance resource for the family. On the other hand, long working hours, still based on the model of the male breadwinner without care responsibilities, and which leads to dual career paths (those of whom do not assume care responsibilities and those of whom need to use work-life balance measures, bearing the cost individually). In this section we shall see how work-life balance in Spanish families with dependent minors is achieved, together with the level of joint responsibility reached within families in post-pandemic Spain.

## 6.1.

# Regarding obligatory schooling; the use of 0-3 education services in Europe and Spain

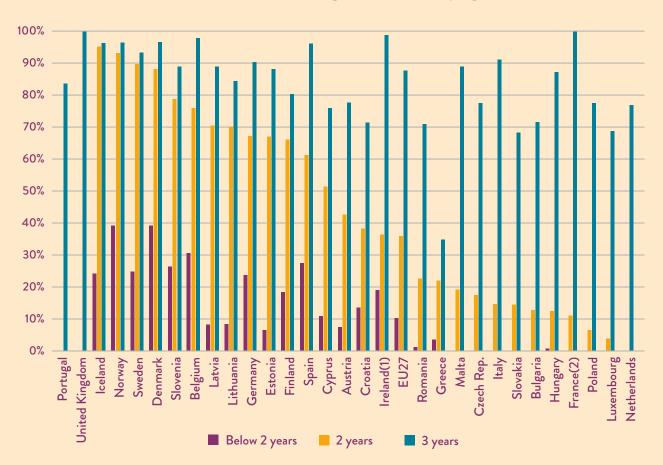
It is striking how, despite recognition of the importance of the first years of a person's life for the subsequent development of their capabilities and personality, it is the infant education (0 to 5 years) stage in which the least money is invested: annual public spending per pupil in 2018 (5069 Euro<sup>35</sup>) was lower than all the other educational stages, set at just above half the 9311 Euro invested for each university student (Ministry for Education and Professional Training, 2021). Infant education to 3 years, in other words, first cycle infant education (not obligatory in Spain) suffers, firstly, from a lack of social recognition enjoyed by subsequent educational stages, and consistent with that, insufficient financing to achieve universal schooling<sup>36</sup>, which has not yet been achieved in Spain, as we shall see below.

Despite not being its main function, schooling before the age of three, in other words, during the first cycle of infant education (not obligatory in Spain) could be the main work-life balance resource for families, as the pandemic showed in the case of primary and secondary education. After enjoying leave for birth and care, the real challenge of work-life balance begins for fathers and mothers who have

<sup>35.</sup> A breakdown of spending on the two stages of infant education (0-3 years and 3-6 years) is not available.
36. For an estimation of the investment necessary to achieve universal schooling in Spain to 3 years of age, guaranteeing the quality of the system, see Castellanos-Serrano and Perondi, 2018 and Castellanos-Serrano, 2020.

to return to work and seek an alternative for the care of the minors. In Spain, the rates of schooling are particularly high in comparison with the EU27 at 3 years of age, as shown in Chart 6-1, but not as much prior to that age.

Chart 6-1. Rate of schooling for under-3s by age, 2019



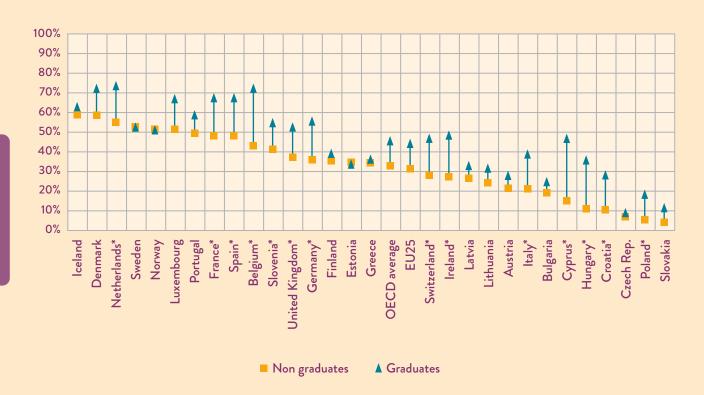
**Notes:** (1). Estimation. (2). Provisional data. The definition of schooling differs for the EU27, Belgium and Malta in the first two levels and for Portugal at 3 years. **Source:** Eurostat.

In addition, this schooling during the first years of life for children gives rise to a "precarious balance", due to frequent absences due to illness, which force the progenitors, normally the women, to take time off work or, in the worst cases, leave it entirely. Thus, among couples that enjoyed a paternity or maternity leave in the 6 years prior to the UNAF survey, in 23.1% of cases the woman took extended leave or left work directly, while in only 5.2% of cases did the man do that. The 2-3 first years of life for children thus constitute a parenthesis in the working lives of one in four women, because on occasions it is assumed and in others there is no alternative than for her to provide exclusive care for the child, even if this places at risk her future employability.

One would hope that these difficulties or reluctance to achieve regular attendance at infant school has increased following the interruption of the pandemic: however, only a minority (fewer than 2% of progenitors) with minors of up to three years of age when Covid-19 arri-

ved in Spain (in other words, who would still go to infant school during the 2020-2021 academic year) renounced schooling for a reason related to the coronavirus. There are thus other cultural or material factors that discourage or render impossible this early schooling, and these affect more sharply those families with low academic attainment (Chart 6-2) and, within these, particularly the most disadvantaged, which are precisely the ones that could benefit most from the equalising potential of the subsequent educational achievement of that schooling (Cebolla-Boado, Radl and Salazar, 2014). Thus, given the insufficiency of the 0-3 educational provision in Spain (despite significant regional differences), admission criteria often prioritise families in which both progenitors are employed, assuming that they are the ones with the greatest need for work-life balance, forgetting searching for employment also requires a lot of time (Save the Children, 2018a), and thus condemning many mothers to a vicious circle of unemployment or sub-employment.

# Chart 6-2. Participation in care or schooling services, 0-2 years of age, by academic attainment of mother, 2019



OECD estimates based on EU-SILC **Note:** \*differences between academic attainment statistically significant at p<0.05 Data refers to children using centre-based services (for example, nurseries or day centres and pre-school centres, both public and private), organised family nurseries and care services provided by professional carers of children (paid), independently of whether the service is registered or recognised by CINE. Data for Iceland and United Kingdom refer to 2018. **Source:** OECD Family Database: Participation rates in early childhood education and care by income, 0- to 2-year-olds.

Thus, despite the increase in the rate of schooling in recent years, families of migrant origin, those with low incomes but also those with medium-low incomes, those with lower employment intensity and particularly vulnerable families due to a specific problem of another type, often do not overcome the obstacles (summarised in table 3) that impede universal schooling before 3 years of age in Spain. Often, for example, the prices of the public infant schools give rise to access in the form of a "U" which leaves out a significant number of familiary to the price of the public infant schools give rise to access in the form of a "U" which leaves out a significant number of familiary that the prices of the public infant schools give rise to access in the form of a "U"

lies with medium-low incomes that surpass the threshold for obtaining more generous benefits or exemption from payment, but that cannot pay the ordinary fees (ibidem). As seen in section 4, difficulties in reaching the end of the month also affect levels of income that could a priori be considered average (up to 2000 Euro per household). According to the UNAF survey, some 12% of minors between 0 and 3 years of age born after 2015 have not attended or are not going to attend an infant school<sup>37</sup>.



<sup>37.</sup> The main reason put forward is the lack of need as there is the possibility of caring for the minor within the family, followed by the difficulty in finding an affordable place. However, the reduced size of this sub-sample (n=30) prevents statistical analysis with an acceptable degree of significance.

## Chart 6-1. Main barriers regarding access to first cycle infant schooling

#### **Barriers**

# Proposed measures by Save the Children

Cultural barriers: unawareness of existence or benefits of early schooling, language barriers, etc.

Stigma associated with free access through social services.

Criteria for obtaining place that favour families with work stability and/ or middle and upper middle class.

Economic barriers; excessively high fees for families with medium-low incomes (access by social class in form of "U").

Lack of adaptation to atypical working hours.

Campaigns and other proactive policies to stimulate demand (beyond emphasis on "waiting lists"), including foreign languages.

Replacement of that requirement by strictly income-based criterion.

Faced with a lack of supply, points systems which give priority to income and unemployment status.

Extension of free access to al lease income threshold 1<sup>1</sup> used to award university grants, including meals and extended timetable. Until there is quality universal access, the introduction of systems of "progressive social fees" which guarantee equality.

Greater flexibility with timetables and adaptation to the specific demands of families in the area.

**Notes: 1.** The income thresholds for grants depend on the number of family members; for a family of four, the latest reform to the grants and benefits system studied (Royal Decree 688/2020) sets it at 22,177 Euro per year.. **Source:** our preparation using Save the Children, 2019a.

# 6.2.

# The increase in care of minors during the pandemic

In addition to the so-called "hard confinement" (March to May 2020), from September 2020 many families with minors have experienced additional difficulties in achieving work-life balance due to the temporary quarantines imposed on schools<sup>38</sup>. For school-aged minors, these quarantines have been frequent: of those interviewed who live with under-18s, in 42.3% of cases the minors had spent at least a week in quarantine, and in many cases it was necessary to respond through work-life balance measures. Consistent with that, around 40% of those with dependent minors<sup>39</sup> indicated that the pandemic had implied an increase in the time dedicated to their care (Chart 6-3). Probably due to the special burden involved in the supervision of off-site or hybrid teaching for older minors, differences based on the age of the minor are practically non-existent. In view of the data from the survey, it is not possible to conclude that the pandemic has increased the differences in time dedicated to care between fathers and mothers of minors from 6 to 17 years of age, while it must be taken into account that the starting points are already unequal, according to the findings of a variety of studies on the use of time (Craig and Mullan, 2011; González, Domínguez-Folgueras, and Baizán, 2010; Sayer, Bianchi, and Robinson, 2004).



<sup>38.</sup> It is, however, worth highlighting that Spain is among the OECD countries, together with Netherlands, Norway and New Zealand, where educa-

tional centres for all levels have remained closed for fewer days since the start of the pandemic (OECD, 2021b).

39. Henceforth, we shall refer to "fathers" and "mothers" for the purposes of simplicity, but the analysis refers to adults living with minors, independent of their kinship. In a minority of cases these would be persons without responsibility for the care of those minors, such as working adult siblings.

Chart 6-3. Increase in care time for minors following the start of the pandemic, by sex of progenitor and age of minor



**Sample:** population aged 25-65 living with minors (n= 355 women and n=3'6 men). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

If the data is examined in the light of the socio-economic gap (personal income<sup>40</sup> and academic attainment) it can be appreciated that those with lower income levels (up to €1500) are those who to a greater extent have increased the time dedicated to care: some 41% of women and 43% of men have increased a little

or quite a lot, compared with 36% of their fellows with personal income above 1500 Euro (Chart 6-4). However, it is moreover those with university studies that have to a greater extent increased, at least "a little", the time dedicated to care<sup>41</sup>, as shown in Chart 6-5.

<sup>40.</sup> See footnote 3.

<sup>41.</sup> As shown in section 9, the impact of the pandemic in terms of time available and/or economy differs according to academic attainment, with the first being the sharpest among graduates and the second among those with attainment below university level.

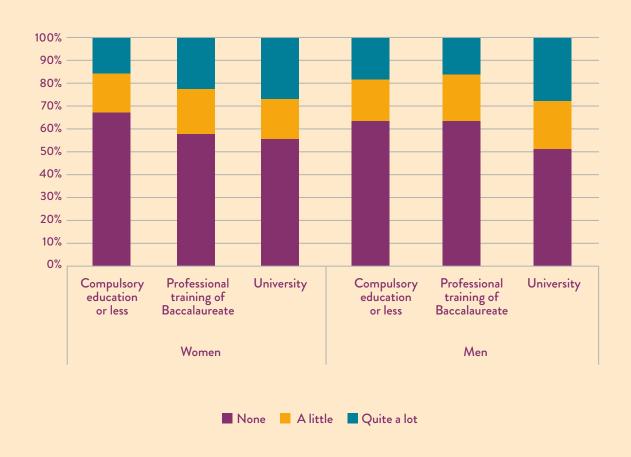
Chart 6-4. Increase in care time of minors following the start of the pandemic, by sex and personal income



■ None ■ A little ■ Quite a lot

Sample: population aged 25-65 living with minors (n= 355 women and n=3'6 men). Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

Chart 6-5. Increase in care time of minors following the start of the pandemic, by sex and academic attainment



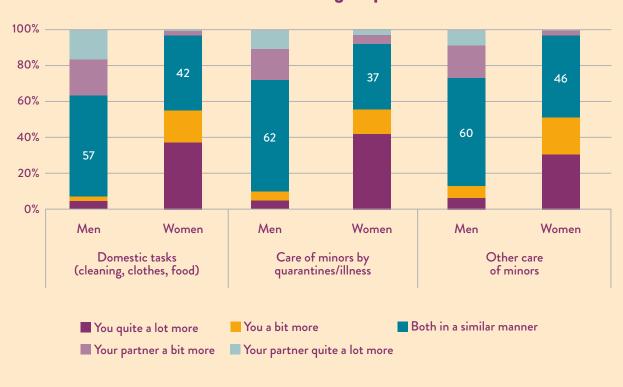
Sample: population aged 25-65 living with minors (n= 355 women and n=3'6 men). Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

#### 6.3. Joint responsibility after Covid-19

All this brings us to a panorama in which joint responsibility in unpaid work between couples is not effective for more than, at most, half of couples (while perceptions of men and women

differ), not even in those in which both members work full time, which supposes that they should also assume a symmetrical burden of unpaid work (Chart 6-6).

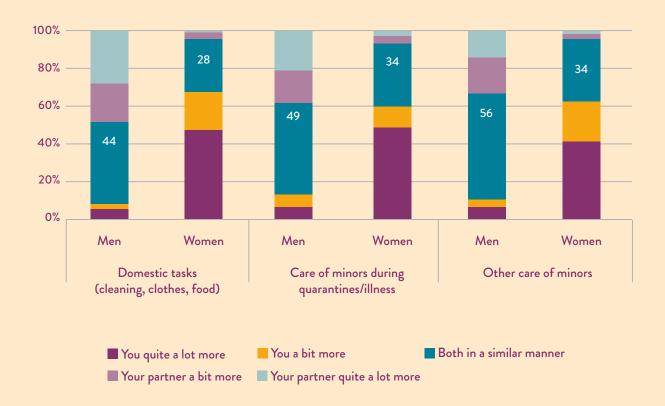
Chart 6-6. Joint responsibility for domestic tasks and care, full-time working couples



**Sample:** population aged 25-65 living as a couple and with a minor, and with them and their partner working full time (n=137 men and 137 women; not paired) The percentages refer to self-identifying as jointly responsible.

Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

#### Chart 6-7. Joint responsibility for domestic tasks and care, all couples



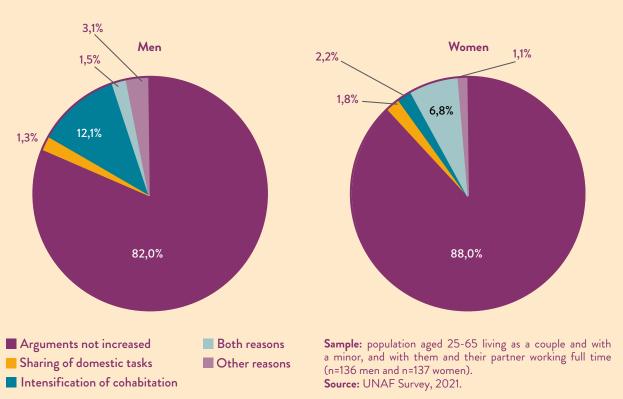
Sample: population aged 25-65 living as a couple and with a minor (n= 292 men and n=308 women). The percentages refer to couples self-identifying as jointly responsible.

Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

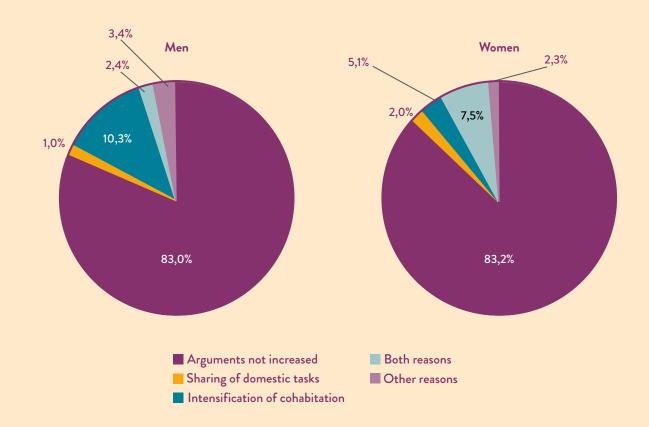
In fact, only for a minority of couples has the sharing of unpaid tasks been a source of arguments between them since the start of the pandemic, for both couples working full time (Chart 6-8) and the entire set of couples (Chart 6-9). However, for 9.5% of women living as part of a couple, the sharing of domestic tasks was a source of arguments (against 3.4% of their male counterparts); a percentage

that falls a little for women working full time. It is worth pointing out here how men and women have different perceptions on the reasons for the increase in arguments within the couple (which, in principle, should coincide): while women attribute it to a large extent to the distribution of tasks, the men attribute it more to the intensification of cohabitation and to "other reasons".

Chart 6-8. Increase in arguments within the couple following the pandemic, couples working full time



## Chart 6-9. Increase in arguments within the couple following the pandemic, all couples



Sample: population aged 25-65 living as a couple and with a

minor (n= 291 men and n=308 women).

Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

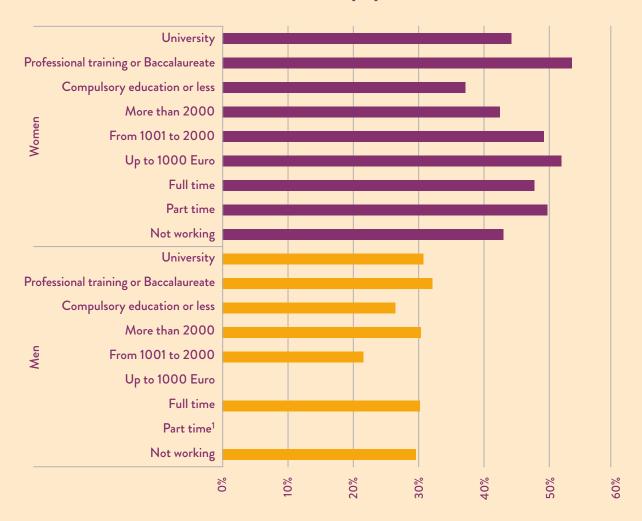
Finally, it should be pointed out that "burnout" is a general feeling for many groups, particularly among women (Chart 6-10). It is true that the interpretation that each person gives to that term varies, and with that their causes, which were not asked about in the survey: from physical tiredness to psychological distress (including the so-called "pandemic fatigue" or "mental workload"), financial worries<sup>42</sup>, high social demands associated with bringing up children these days (associated with the so-called "mental workload" caused by assuming a wide variety of daily responsibilities). In any case, the fact that the subjective perception exists in more than half, for example, of mothers with academic attainment of Professional Training or Baccalaureate continues to be relevant. Data from other studies confirm that tiredness following the working day is more frequent among women than men, for example, for those living as a couple with children and who worked from home from the start of the pandemic (36% v. 18%), as are problems of concentration at work (31% against 14%), according to study 3298 by the Centre for Sociological Research (Economic and Social Council, 2021). While it is striking that women working part time feel more "burnt out" that those working full time, that could be understood if we taken into ac-

count the fact that women working full time share more equally than women as a whole the domestic tasks and care with their partners, as was seen previously, which, added to the fact that they enjoy paid help to a greater extent (19.5% of mothers working full time, against 10.6% of those working part time), could contribute to the fact that they have achieved a better work-life balance. While it falls outside the scope of this report, it would be interesting to explore the hypothesis of the overall work overload of women working part time.



<sup>42.</sup> See section 3 in relation to the problems of families in reaching the end of the month.

Chart 6-10. Frequent sensation of "burnout" for fathers and mothers, by sex, academic attainment, income per consumer unit of the individual and employment status



**Notes:** (1) Sub-samples excluded due to insufficient n. (2) Persons responding "yes" to the question: Do you often feel burnt out or overwhelmed?

**Sample:** population aged 25-65 living with a minor (n=41, 241, 79, 194, 107, 108 and 92 men and 130, 51, 171, 36, 124, 189, 82, 130 ad 143 women, from bottom to top).

Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

With respect to the use of work-life balance measures, as shown in Chart 6-11, mothers use all the main work-life balance measures more, but the gender gap is particularly sharp in those that imply a reduction in income, such as a reduction in hours worked. The resource of long-term unpaid leave, as a measure which supposes a greater loss of income, is currently of minority use among mothers with under-18s<sup>43</sup>, while, as we saw earlier, it is much

more common if the analysis is restricted to mothers of under-6s. The "Plan Me Cuida" (I look After Myself Plan), set up to contribute towards alleviating the new work-life balance needs imposed by Covid-19, does not introduce, in reality, huge changes with respect to the legal measures already available: the adaptation of the working day and working conditions, long-term leave and reductions in the working day (the last two, without remuneration)<sup>44</sup>.

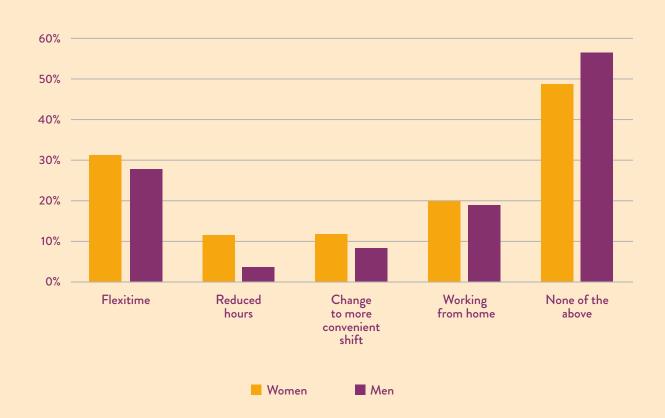


43. However, it is a stock measure, in other words, it only covers those who at the time of the survey were using those measures, thus excluding those who at toma point following the start of the pandonic had to make use of long-term leave.

who at some point following the start of the pandemic had to make use of long-term leave.

44. The "Me Cuida" Plan (Royal Decree-Law 8/2020, of 17th March, on urgent extraordinary measures to confront the economic and social impact of Covid-19) recognises the right of those responsible for the care of family members up to 2nd degree of blood kinship to apply for work-life balance measures in order to adapt to the situation: change of shift, reduction to working day with reduction in salary, working from home or change of workplace, among others. In essence the plan dose not add new measures because the right to a reduction in the working day was already a recognised right for progenitors of under-12s or dependants, in addition to carers of adult dependants. Furthermore, Royal Decree 5/2019 already approved the right for workers (with children up to 12 years of age or other non-established work-life balance requirement) to request in their workplace "reasonable and proportionate" adaptations to the length and distribution of the working day, modifying article 34.8 of the Workers' Statute. The latest extension to the "Me Cuida" plan extended its validity to 30th September 2021.

## Chart 6-11. Use of chief work-life balance measures by those with dependent minors (% by sex)



**Notes:** Those enjoying paternity or maternity leave who are not enjoying any other measure are excluded. In some cases the person surveyed was the partner.

**Sample:** population aged 25-65, working and living with minors (n= 515 men and n=436 women).

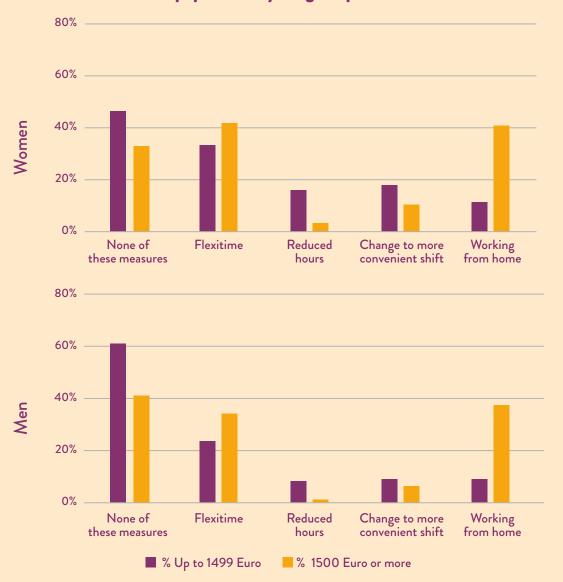
Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

The level of personal income for female workers determines to a large extent the use of work-life balance policies (Chart 6-12). In view of the data, it can be concluded that the aforementioned right to the "reasonable and proportionate"45 adaptation of the working day is applied with clear class bias. While the prerogative to decide "where and when one works" (flexitime and working from home) can be applied above all by those who hold management and professional positions (Metzger and Cléach, 2004), in lower occupational levels, where shift work in more common without flexibility with respect to start and finish times, a greater relative use of change of shift is seen, particularly among women. In any case, both measures (flexitime, but above all change of shift), are still only used by a minority, particularly among men with the lowest incomes. It is also worth pointing out how a reduction in the working day is a measure that, in Spain, does not guarantee income beyond 1500 Euro except in a minority of cases, particularly among women: specifically, some 10.3% of women, compared to 18.8% of men, enjoying a reduction in working hours surpass this income threshold (UNAF survey). Examining the

relationship between academic attainment and access to work-life balance measures (Chart 6-13) shows once again a gap which is particularly sharp among men. For all measures and academic levels, women make greater use than men, with two exceptions: flexitime (among graduates) and working from home (among those with professional training and graduates). These differences can be understood if it. is taken into account that these work-life balance measures are, to a large extent, intrinsic features of the job function, and are granted within a context of marked occupational segregation by gender. It is worth recalling that both unions and business organisations show reticence about considering working from home as a "work-life balance measure", considering it more a "new way of organising work" (Economic and Social Council, 2021, p. 12). In this study we consider that working from home may be taken to be a work-life balance measure, because it eliminated travelling time from the home to the workplace, and if combined with flexitime it allows the working timetable to be adapted to school timetables and may sometimes alleviate situations resulting from short periods of illness in minors.

<sup>45.</sup> See previous footnote.

Chart 6-12. Use of chief work-life balance measures by those with dependent minors (% of population by range of personal income)



**Notes:** Those enjoying paternity or maternity leave who are not enjoying any other measure are excluded. **Sample:** : population aged 25-65, working and living with minors (n= 245 men and n=230 women). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

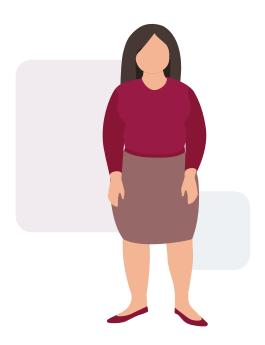
Chart 6-13. Use of chief work-life balance measures by those with dependent minors (% of population by academic attainment)



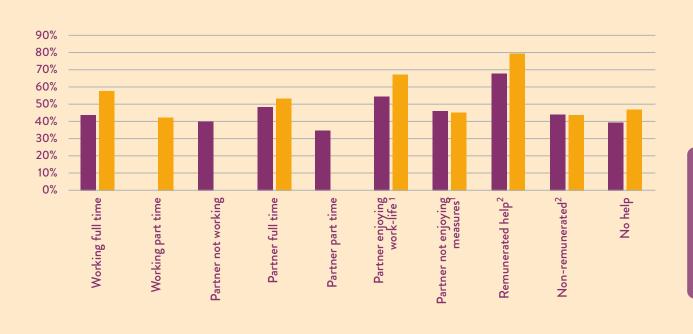
**Notes:** Those enjoying paternity or maternity leave who are not enjoying any other measure are excluded. **Sample:** population aged 25-65, working and living with minors (n= 245 men and n=230 women). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

It is to be hoped, on the other hand, that the work-life balance measures adopted were a substitute for other resources available in order to achieve work-life balance. However, data from the UNAF Survey show us that there is a certain correlation between the use of various resources (for example, those whose partner enjoys some measure is more likely to use their own) in such a way that, for example, women who have at least 3 hours' paid domestic help per week are one of the groups that most access work-life balance measures (Chart 6-14). That would reinforce the already mentioned idea that the availa-

bility and use of work-life balance measures depends to a large extent on the structural features of the job function, and not so much on people's real needs. Gender, in any case, determines to a large extent the ease of access to work-life balance measures: some 21% of men and 10% of women living with minors who are not enjoying work-life balance measures cite their company or job as the main reason for not accessing them (Chart 6-15). The gap explains why it is those earning more than 1500 Euro that have the most difficulties, compared to those earning below that amount, who are chiefly women.



### Chart 6-14. Those using some work-life balance measure<sup>1</sup> (percentage by type of working day, employment status of partner and external support)

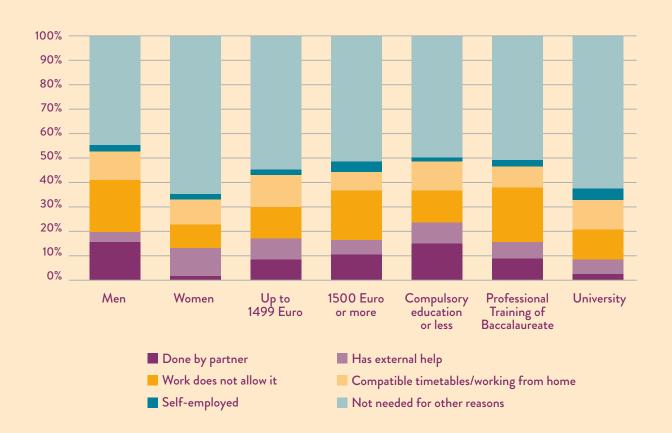


**Notes:** (1) Including long-term leave, flexitime, reduction in hours worked, change to more convenient shift or working from home. (2) At least 3 hours per week of external support. Some sub-samples excluded due to insufficient "n". In some cases the person surveyed was the partner. **Sample:** population aged 25-65 occupied and living with a minor (n=486, 158, 266, 68, 203, 38, 69, 81 and 371 men, and 316, 84, 354, 159, 69, 72, 80 ad 290 women, from left to right). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

Men

Women

#### Chart 6-15. Reason for not using main work-life balance measures



**Notes:** population 25-65 years of age, working and living with a minor and not enjoying any of the following work-life balance measures; long-term leave, flexitime, reduction in working hours or change to a more convenient shift (n= 147, 107, 135, 119, 83, 97 and 74 from left to right). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.



## Adult dependants: Does care still fall chiefly on women?

- Public investment on benefits and services for long-term care is very scarce and among the lowest in the European Union.
- Some 80% of those employed in long-term formal care and 87% in residential care homes for the elderly are women. To the work in residential care homes, with very precarious employment conditions and non-compliance of the agreed care ratios, is added the high degree of informal work in homes.
- With respect to informal care (provided by family or friends), during the pandemic the proportion of men with responsibilities for the care of adult dependants has increased, but in 2021 the gender gap continues to be significant; some 27% of women between 55 and 65 years of age are responsible, against 18% of their male contemporaries.
- Some 55% of those with responsibility for an ill or elderly adult often feel burnt out, and some 33% would like to have more time for their personal lives.
- In comparison with the care of minors, only half or fewer of those carers of dependants
  use some work-life balance measure, despite the hight levels of burnout. This question
  deserves more detailed research in the future.

We have seen that gender inequalities in the care of minors persist, although during the pandemic some men increased their participation. In this section we are going to analyse the care of dependants<sup>46</sup> (the ill, elderly or those

with a disability), for which the joint responsibility between men, companies and the State is even more important because Spanish society is ageing, and shall be even more so in the future, and the pandemic has shown that the

<sup>46.</sup> In this section in particular and subsequently in the report, when speaking about dependants we are referring exclusively to dependent adults, with an illness or disability. Minors, whether dependants or not, and their care are covered as care of minors. Furthermore, for the sake of simplicity we, on occasions, speak of "carers of dependants" or "responsible for the care of dependants" to refer to those who have responded affirmatively to the question "Are you currently responsible for the care of an ill or dependent adult?"

infrastructure, benefits and services for elderly dependants must be reconsidered and reappraised. We are assuming that the majority of adult dependants are elderly and require care resulting from age-related issues. For that reason, in the brief description of policies we focus

on policies aimed at long-term care. The aim of this section is to understand how the care of dependent adults has increased, how this work is shared between men and women and in accordance with what social conditions, and how joint responsibility could be improved.

#### 7.1.

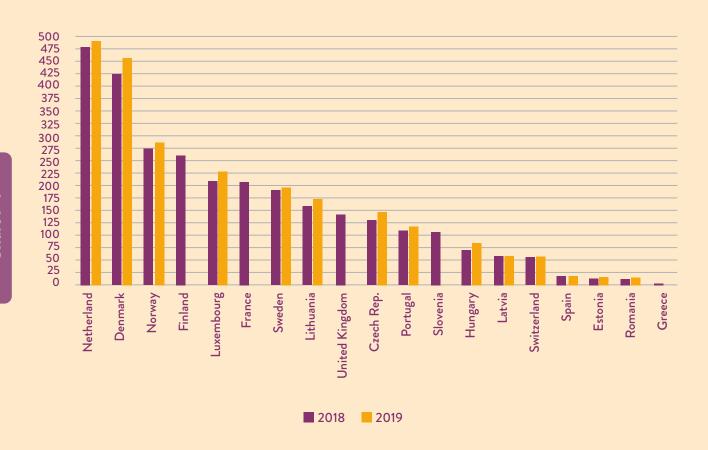
## Public spending and informal care in long-term care in Europe

Firstly, we are going to show the spending on social benefits and spending on the care of dependent adults in Europe in 2018 and 2019, also known as long-term care. This statistical series is very recent, and thus many member States have not yet provided data. However, Spain has provided data and this has allowed us to compare spending per inhabitant in the Purchasing Power Standard (PPS) fictitious currency<sup>47</sup>. The System for Autonomy and Dependency Care was created later in Spain than in other European countries (2006), suffered significant funding cuts following the 2008 economic crisis, and has suffered the effects of the pandemic in a wide variety of ways. Mortality in residential care homes of the elderly was very high and difficulties in providing safe home help, day centre and residential care home services was exceptionally high for a system already suffering from many problems. All countries have had to get through the shock of the pandemic as best they could, but undoubtedly the un-

der-funding of the Spanish system, the way residential care homes are managed, employment conditions for carers and difficulties regarding governance and coordinated management between the various administrative levels have made adaptation to the pandemic difficult (see analysis by Mabán Gallego et al. 2021, Montserrat, 2020; Del Pino et al. 2020). Chart 7-1 shows that Spain is at the end of the line regarding investment in the public system of dependency care. As a consequence it also leads the European ranking for women dedicated to providing intense informal care. In 2016, in Spain, more than a quarter of women between 45 and 64 years of age were informally looking after a dependent adult, while some 12% of their male counterparts were informal carers. In addition, 31% of the informal carers dedicated more than 40 hours per week to care, against some 13% of their male peers, with the proportion of high intensity informal carers also the highest in the EU-27 (European Commission, 2021)

<sup>47.</sup> See footnote 11.

### Chart 7-1. Spending on social benefits for long-term care, by PPS per inhabitant, 2018 and 2019



Note: Long-term care (social) in relation to the elderly include the benefit for accommodation and, sometimes, maintenance of retired adults, whether in specialised institutions (residential care homes for adults, homes for the elderly,) or accommodation in the family. It also includes help with carrying out daily tasks, home help, or the payment of a subsidy to the person who acts as carer for an elderly person. Countries for which data are available are shown.

Source: Eurostat, to 23/09/2021.

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/HLTH\_SHA11\_HCHFcustom\_1244637/de-fault/table?lang=en

In Spain, in addition, most formal employment related to long-term care is done by women who work as personal carers in homes or residences, and only a minority (2 out of 10) are nurses (European Commission, 2021, p.65). Regarding Spain there is a recent detailed analysis with the Continuous Sample of Working Lives on the employment conditions for those working in residential care, which shows the highly precarious situation regarding security and salary in the sector (Montserrat, 2020). The most recent data refer to 2018 and show that employment in this sector grew considerably from 2012 to 2018, with an increase of 2 percentage points in male employees, although they only represent some 13% of those employed in residential care. According to data from the Active Population Survey, the proportion of men employed in personal care occupations in Spain rose from 8% in 2011 to 12% in 2017 (Abril et al. 2021). If women look after the elderly more with respect to informal care, in formal care they are almost alone in providing care under working conditions far below other occupations in the service sector. They are predominantly women between 35 and 55 years of age, with compulsory studies or first level professional training. In addition, a very high proportion is of foreign origin (European Commission, 2021). Some 70%<sup>48</sup> of effective employment is concentrated in residential care managed by private for-profit entities. Around 30% of employment is fixed term or other types of temporary contracts, and the rate of temporariness in elderly residential care is triple the general rate for temporariness in Spain and is six times greater that the average for the European Union. In addition, it shows 25% of the work is part time or of a different type (not full time). The gross salary is some 24% lower that the equivalent in the service sector and calculations of the net salary show that 80% of those employed receive, as an average, a monthly net salary of below €1000 (the salary is higher in publicly run residential homes). In addition, Montserrat (2020) made an estimation of true compliance with carer to resident ratios, and this throws up an average of the ration of staff per occupied place of 0.27, which is a long way from the ratio established in the corresponding agreement from the Territorial Council (between 0.45 and 0.47). Clearly those employed in the residential care sector, and probably in day centres, have precarious employment conditions which negatively affect not only the quality of care provided, but also the material and personal well-being of those employed and their families (see also sections 4 and 9). Regarding recommendations, the author calls for the application of efficiency and effectiveness

<sup>48.</sup> This measures the "personal equivalent of full time" in accordance with annual hours set out in the VII collective convention state framework for dependent persons care services, considering both days under contract and contracted hours. The difference between the "total number of persons employed" and the "total number for effective employment" is significant. In 2018, the number of persons employed was 153,625, while "effective employment" was 89,248. It must be taken into account that these figures do not cover the important presence of informal work in the household sector.

criteria in the financing of public places to private management organisations, a tightening of controls on compliance with requirements for accreditation for centres and those set out in the agreement clauses, and checks by independent external bodies through audits of the annual accounts, including a salary audit and

monitoring of the staff/user ratios. Finally, it is hoped that the Public Sector Contract Law of 2017 will open new avenues of collaboration between non-profit private organisations and Public Administrations, and will promote the use of other criteria, in addition to financial criteria, in the adjudication of residential care places.

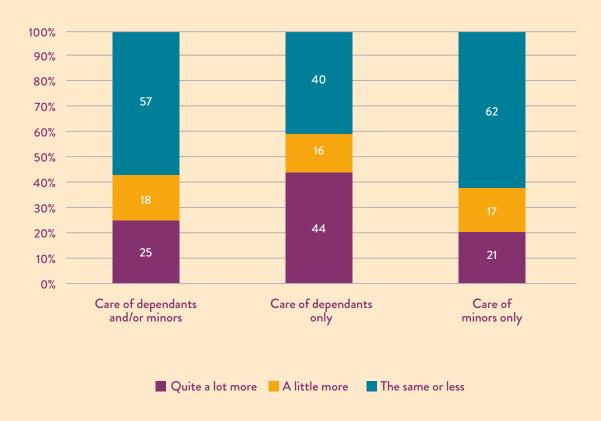
# Responsibility for informal care of dependants during and after the pandemic

The burden of care for adult dependants has increased to a greater extent during the pandemic than the burden of care for minors (Chart 7-2), perhaps due to the greater impact of Covid-19 on the elderly in comparison with children. Another factor could perhaps also be the return to school from September 2020, while the situation in residential care, day centres and regarding home help for the elderly returned to normal at a slower rate, above all following vaccination at the beginning of 2021. Thus, in June 2021, some 60%

of the population between 25 and 65 years of age with responsibilities for the care of an adult dependant (cohabiting or not)<sup>49</sup> stated that they dedicated more time on the care of family members than before the pandemic, and a large majority (some 44%) indicated that the hours dedicated to that care had increased "quite a lot" (Chart 7-2). This increase happened within a context in which long-term intensive informal care in Spain was already the highest in the European Union.

<sup>49.</sup> Excluding those living with an under-18.

### Chart 7-2. Effect of the pandemic on time dedicated to the care of family members by responsibility for care<sup>1</sup> of a dependant and/or minor



**Notes: (1).** S. Cohabiting with minors is considered to constitute their care: in the case of adult dependants, they may or may not live within the home. **Sample:** population 25-65 years of age with responsibility for the care of a sick or dependent adult and/or living with an under-18 (n\_770). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

As shown in Chart 7-3, the increase in the burden of care for dependants during the pandemic appears to have affected men(63%) to a greater extent, and women (55%) to a lesser extent. This could be related to the similar cohabitation of sick or elderly adults in the homes of the men and women interviewed after the pandemic. This could be a foretaste of the slow but growing incorporation of men in the care of dependent adults due to a reduction in the number of children, the high rates of only children in Spanish families and the increase in female employment, although for the moment it does not significantly modify the distribution of these care responsibilities by sex (Chart 7-4). Sharper differences can also be seen based on the situation regarding employment and income per consumer unit in the household. As was to be expected, time dedicated to the care of family members increased to a greater extent

among those who do not have paid employment (69%) and among those with consumer unit income below 1000 Euro (65%), increasing to a lesser extent in the group of the employed (54%) and among those who have income per consumer unit of 1000 Euro or more (52%). We cannot know whether those who are not employed have lost their employment as a result of having to care for an adult or if through having more time available they have taken on the care. Having greater economic resources has certainly allowed the hiring of people following the first State of Alarm and confinement. On the other hand, cohabitation or not with the sick or dependent adult also makes a difference, with the increase in the burden of care being greater when the person lives within the home (62%) and lesser when that is not the case (55%), probably due to differences in the autonomy of the dependant.

# Chart 7-3. Effect of the pandemic of care time for sick or dependent adults by sex, employment status, income per consumer unit and cohabitation with dependent adult, 2021



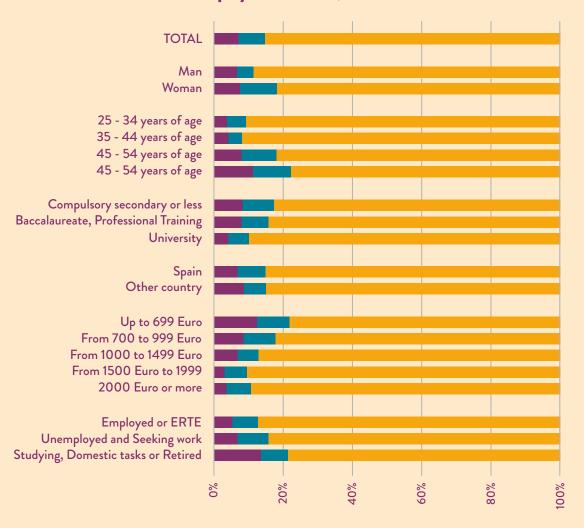
- A little or quite a lot more than before the pandemic
- The same or less time that before the pandemic

**Sample:** population 25 to 65 years of age with responsibility for the care of a sick or dependent adult (n=162). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

Following these changes to care, What is the situation in June 2021? Following over a year of pandemic, some 15% of the population aged 25 to 65 is responsible for the care of a sick or dependent adult, whether cohabiting (7%) or not cohabiting (8%)<sup>50</sup>. This responsibility for the care of sick or dependent adults does not affect all groups equally (Chart 7-4). Its incidence is higher among those between 55 and 65 years of age (22%)<sup>51</sup>, among those with incomes per consumer unit below 700 Euro (22%) and among those who are studying, are dedicated to unpaid household work or are retired (21%). The UNAF survey also shows the persistence of significant gender differences, despite the greater increase in responsibility for care among men during the pandemic. Women between 25 and 65 are responsible for an an adult dependant to a greater extent than men (19% against 12%), and this responsibility increases with age up to 27% for the 55-65 age group (18% among their male counterparts). The differences seen by sex is chiefly a response to the differing incidence of responsibility for care for non-cohabiting adults (higher than the average among women -11% and lower among men -5% ), with the percentage of those responsible for the care of cohabiting dependants in the two groups being similar to the average. In contrast, the difference between groups by income per consumer unit responds chiefly to the differing incidence of responsibility for care for cohabiting adult dependants (higher among those with income below 700 Euro -13%and lower in groups with incomes of 1500 Euro or more -3% and 4%—), with no significant differences seen regarding responsibility for care of non-cohabitants. Women and men with personal income above €1500 can certainly externalise the more intense care they need, such as in the case of cohabitation, and for those with low incomes the care of a dependent person in the home often represents the chance to have additional income (e.g. in the form of the pension of the person being cared for). Furthermore, the greater incidence of responsibility for care of dependants among those who are economically inactive responds particularly to the differential incidence of the responsibility of care for cohabitants (Chart 7-4).

<sup>50.</sup> This analysis is based on the question, Are you currently responsible for the care of a sick or dependent adult?
51. Remember that the sample set for analysis is the population aged 25 to 65 (the population older than 65 is not analysed).

Chart 7-4. Responsibility for the care of a sick adult or dependent adult by sex, age, academic attainment, country of birth, income per consumer unit and employment status, 2021



■ Caring for dependent cohabitant ■ Caring for dependent non-cohabitant ■ Not caring for adult dependants

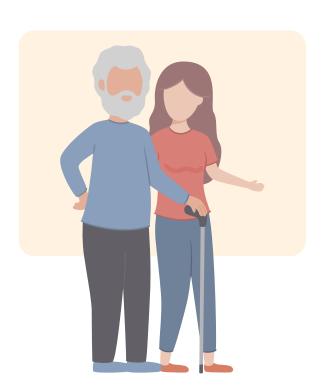
**Sample:** population 25 to 65 years of age (n=1522). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

#### 7.3.

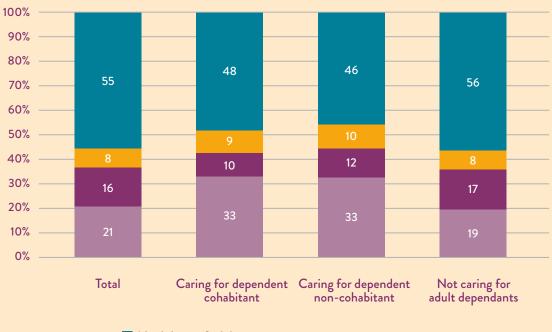
## Consequences of informal care of elderly dependants on personal well-being

The care of the elderly, above all if the intensity increases, such as during the pandemic, can result in a lack of personal time, lack of time to dedicate to work, or an imbalance in the two. As shown in Chart 7-5, the population from 25 to 65 years of age with responsibilities for the care of sick or dependent adults express discontent with the distribution of their time to a greater extent than those without these responsibilities (54% against 44%), due above

all to the lack of personal time. The discontent deriving from not being able to dedicate more time to personal life is significantly higher that for those without responsibility for the care of dependent adults (33% against 19%). Other differences between carers and non-carers of the elderly are more reduced, such as the desire to dedicate more time to employment. Thus, the main discontent related to the care of dependants appears to be related to intensity.



### Chart 7-5. Discontent in the sharing of time by responsibility for care of a sick or dependent adult, 2021



- No, I do not feel discontent
- Would like to spend more time on work
- Would like to be able to dedicate more time to family life
- Would like to dedicate more time to personal life

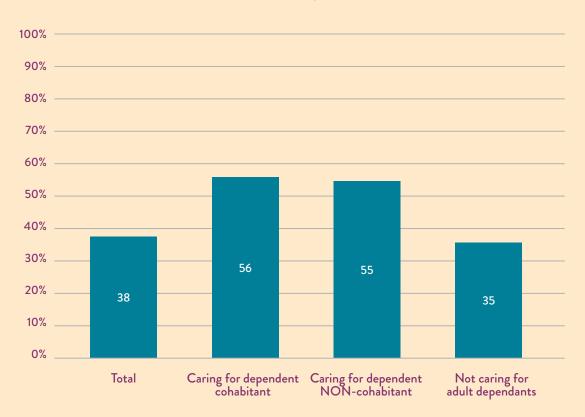
Sample: population aged 25 to 65 excluding cases in which care is provided for a dependent adult and is cohabiting with minors (n=1468).

Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

The lack of time for self-care could lead to a situation of burnout. As shown in Chart 7-6, the population aged 25 to 65 with responsibility for the care of an adult dependant fe-

els frequently burnt out or overwhelmed to a greater extent than those who do not have these responsibilities (55% against 35%).

Chart 7-6. Frequent feeling of "burnout" by responsibility for the care of a sick or dependent adult, 2021



**Note:** (1) Persons responding "yes" to the question: Do you often feel burnt out or overwhelmed? **Sample:** population aged 25 to 65 excluding cases in which care is provided for a dependent adult and is also cohabiting with minors (n=1468).

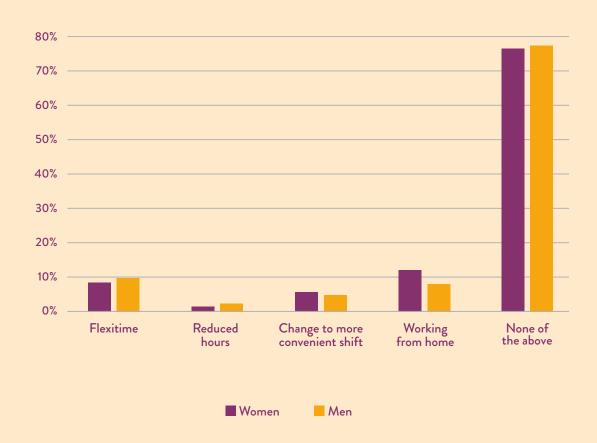
Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

Could this discontent and burnout be related to a lack of work-life balance measures or of not making use of them? We are going to present the use of work-life balance measures for the care of adult and elderly dependants with the aim of determining whether those who care for adults use the measures in a similar way to those caring for minors. In principle, the company work-life balance measures, flexitime, working from home and change of shift, are available for work-life balance needs in general, and not only for the care of minors. A reduction in working hours is allowed for the care of a dependent family member (Article 37.6 of the Workers' Statute)<sup>52</sup>. If we compare Chart 6-11 with Chart 7-7, we can see that those caring for a sick or elderly adult use the work-life balance measures with a significantly lower frequency, whether statutory or company measures. All measures are used half as frequently (working from home and change of

shift) or even less (reduction in working hours and flexitime). The measures most used are working from home and flexitime, which are two working adaptations that do not reduce income and enjoy a greater uptake among men. Why is there such a high proportion of carers that do not use any measure? Among those employed, some 18% report that they do not need to use the work-life balance measures (without further clarification), some 15% report that they work from home or that their working hours are compatible with care, another 15% report that they have family or external help, 8% that their company does not or would not allow it, and some 17% for other unspecified reasons. These results seem to indicate that many carers have not considered using the work-life balance measures as opposed to a minority who consider it to be impossible in their companies, despite the high levels of burnout and lack of personal time.

<sup>52.</sup> There is a difference with respect to the 100% maintenance of the salary base that extends to the first two years for minors, while for the care of other family members, the 100% maintenance only remains for the first year.

## Chart 7-7. Use of work-life balance measures for the care of sick or dependent adults by sex



**Note:** In some cases the person surveyed was the partner. **Sample:** population aged 25-65, working and responsible for the care of a dependent adult (n= 122 men and n=202 women). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.



#### What are companies doing for joint work-life balance?

- The lack of personal and family time is more frequent among the self-employed, in a private company and in high-level professional occupations, at the same time as in more elementary employment.
- There are two large occupational groups in which 45-50% of those employed have a maximum personal income of €1000 per month, which generates discontent.
- The company work-life balance measures that are most used, flexitime and working from home, benefit more those higher-level occupations, but they are also often linked to working overtime, despite the fact they are being used by people responsible for care.
- The change of shift is the most used company measure, except in more elementary occupations and catering, personal, protection and sales services. This measure often causes conflict in the work team.
- The perception of security, collective agreements which include work-life balance gender equality measures, the ease of using work-life balance measures and gender equality training encourage male joint responsibility.
- For committed paternity, the attitudes of fathers and agreements with the partner take precedence over the organisational culture. A company with a "high" degree of joint balance promotes the involvement of fathers, but does not ensure it.
- A strong focus on employment and positions of responsibility are not necessarily incompatible with joint responsibility for care if companies have organisational cultures which favour work-life balance. In addition, managers who share responsibility may serve as role models within their organisations.

Companies<sup>53</sup> can facilitate balance between work and personal and family life or make it difficult, depending on the organisational characteristics, the type of task, working hours, the relationship between customers or users, work-life balance measures offered and the business culture. Not only families with minors are in need of work-life balance measures, but also those who have to care for the elderly or those who want to balance working hours with leisure hours. Companies have an interest in promoting a good balance between work and personal life, because healthy, content staff are more productive and take less time off, and because today's minors are the workforce of the future. The pandemic has shown the importance of good physical and mental health in order to be able to perform work tasks, adapt to new needs and be able to innovate in order to maintain and even improve business performance.

How do companies facilitate work-life balance among their staff? How do the salaried fare

compared to the self-employed, those in the public sector against those in the private, and those in different occupations?

In sections 5, 6, and 7 we have looked at the work-life balance needs for carers according to their family and demographic characteristics, while in this section we are assuming that all those employed have the need to achieve a good work-life balance. Companies not only have an interest in that being the case, but also the social responsibility for the care of their staff. In order to achieve adequate work-life balance, joint responsibility among the employed, the supervisors and the management is necessary. The UNAF survey does not delve into details regarding the world of employment, as it is very varied and the company work-life balance benefits depend not only on the willingness of those in charge, but also on the characteristics of the company, but it does describe the situation in the various large occupational groups.

<sup>53.</sup> We are also including public administration and Third Sector institution workplaces.

8.1.

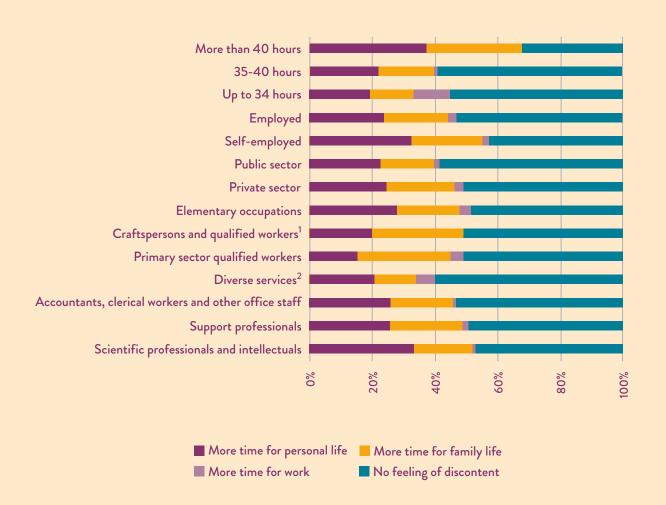
## Discontent regarding work-life balance by type of work and occupational group

The first condition in order to strike a good balance between work and personal/family time resides in the number of hours dedicated to work. The dedication of many hours to employment and/or very intense work may cause discontent with the division of time and/or burnout, independent of the domestic and care workload, which of course also exerts an influence on work-life balance (see sections 6 and 7). Feelings of discontent with the division of time and burnout are by definition subjective. However, the division of time also has an objective dimension, because long working hours are incompatible with school timetables and those of other care services. Shift work and unusual hours also make balancing work with family and personal life difficult, if not complementary with the timetables of services. The UNAF survey allows

us to study the subjective part of work-life balance and how this depends on occupation, the type of activity and hours worked.

Chart 8-1 shows that in fact the number of hours worked influences the perception of the balance between working life and personal/family life: the fewer hours worked, the lower the desire to dedicate more time to personal or family life, although this does not correlate with the absence of discontent. Those working up to 34 hours express quite a lot of discontent, because a significant number would like to work more hours. The lowest discontent is found among those who work between 35 and 40 hours, in other words, a full-time day in public administration or the majority of private companies in which there is no overtime.

Chart 8-1. Discontent with the sharing of time by nature of employment, 2021



Note: (1) from manufacturing and construction industries (2) Catering, personal, protection and sales. Three occupational groups have been omitted due to lack of sample: the military, directors and managers, machine operators and fitters.

Sample: population age 25-65 employed (n=918).

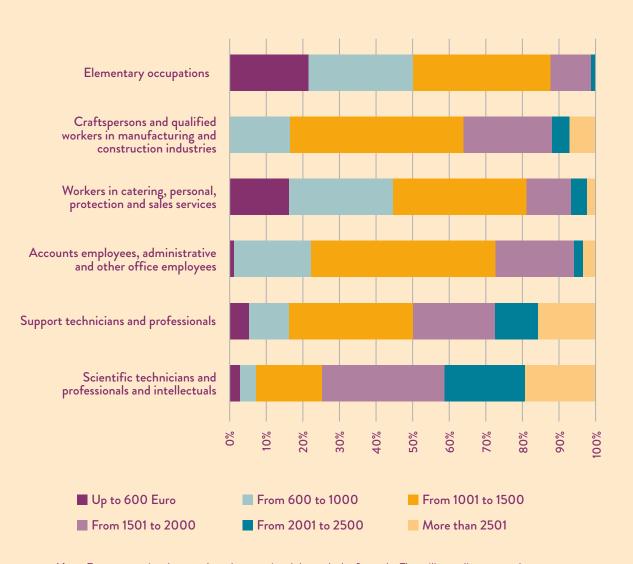
Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

With respect to the type of occupation, the working conditions of those occupied in catering, personal, protection and sales services seem to have on average a lower level of discontent compared with other occupational groups. In this large group, which includes waiters/waitresses, call centre operators, shop assistants, janitors and police, there is a lot of rotating and permanent morning and evening shift work, which in theory makes achieving balance more difficult. For that reason the relatively positive average evaluation of work-life balance is surprising, although discontent with a lack of work is relatively greater (6%). In a part of these occupations relatively few hours are worked, at least in June 2021 (23% up to 34 hours), which leads to a significant proportion of those in this group having very low salaries<sup>54</sup> (some 16% earn up to €600) or low (54% up to €1000), as shown in Chart 8-2, although in exchange they have more time. In the group of elementary occupations there is a similar discontent with the lack of work (and income), but also with the lack of personal and family time, despite the fact that a large proportion also work few hours. This group includes those working as cleaners, domestic employees, kitchen assistants, delivery people and waste collectors, once again occupations with shifts and atypical hours. Perhaps the very low salaries (21% earn up to €600 and 49% up to €1000) make access difficult to infant education or elderly care services that could offset the expressed lack of personal and family time. Once again, these two groups of occupations show the pertinence of studying balance in the wider sense, which includes not only a balance between times but also the basic condition of having adequate income for personal maintenance and that of dependent family members. In these types of occupation the companies could facilitate work-life by paying higher wages, which could be boosted through a rise in the minimum inter-professional salary.

Continuing with the characteristics of the jobs that present the most difficulties with respect to balance, those who in June 2021 were self-employed stand out, because they also show relatively high levels of discontent in comparison with working for others (Chart 8-1). It is noteworthy that some 32% want to dedicate more time to their personal lives and some 23% more time to family life. Once again, if we look at the hours they work, some 49% in this group work more than 40 hours per week, while only 22% of those working for others surpass that threshold. This explains why for this type of employment, discontent with distribution of time dominates.

<sup>54.</sup> The survey asked about personal income, but as here we are only looking at those in work and in occupations with low salaries, we may assume that in almost all cases their income is exclusively through work, in other words salaries.

Chart 8-2. Personal income by occupational group



Note: Four occupational groups have been omitted due to lack of sample: The military, directors and managers, machine operators and fitters, qualified workers in agriculture, livestock and fishing.

**Sample:** population age 25-65 employed (n=887).

Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

### 8.2.

## Company measures: flexitime, change of shift and working from home

The UNAF survey does not allow us to delve deeper into the use of all work-life balance measures by occupation due to the low number of cases of some of them<sup>55</sup>, although we can partially analyse how the two work-life balance measures that depend on companies vary. Among those aged 25 to 65 who are employed and live with an under-18 or are responsible for an adult dependant, a greater proportion use the work-life balance measure that allows a flexible working timetable (30%) in comparison with their peers who use the chance to change to a more convenient shift (12%). Other measures, including a reduced working day or long-term leave, are used a lot less (see sections 6 and 7). The various work-life balance measures are also specific to some occupations, as their uptake depends not only on the carers' needs, but also on the possibilities of the business to grant them. The nature of the tasks being carried out, the relationship with the customer and other organisational questions may prevent them being granted even when the company management is willing to improve the work-life balance of its staff.

Flexitime is a low-cost measure for companies and users, and perhaps for that reason it is the most popular, and between 30 and 40% of those in service, office and professional occupations used it in June 2021, as shown in Chart 8-3. However, this measure carries the danger of being granted in exchange, either explicitly or implicitly, for working more hours. In fact, among female carers using flexitime some 33% work more than 40 hours, against some 28% of those who do not use the measure, and this proportion rises to 44% against 35% respectively among their male counterparts. For those men, flexitime does not necessarily promote their involvement in care, while among women there is less connection between flexitime and overtime.

Change to a more convenient shift to achieve balance is a highly contentious measure in companies, as we will see below. It is unsurprising that it is used little in all occupations, although it could clearly contribute greatly to improving work-life balance in occupations with rotating shifts or fixed evening shifts which do not permit

<sup>55.</sup> Questions regarding the use of various work-life balance measures were only put to those with responsibilities for care of whose partners cared for minors or elderly dependants.

good balance. Chart 8-4 suggests that this is more necessary in elementary service occupations and in support technician groups (nurses, laboratory technicians and manufacturing technicians), as in these groups those not using this

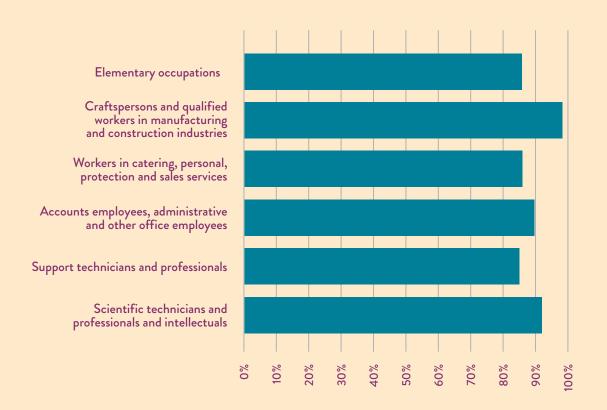
measure represent a somewhat lower proportion that in other occupational groups. This complex topic would need a more detailed specific study beyond the scope of the UNAF survey.

Chart 8-3. Persons with responsibilities for care who use flexitime, by occupational group, 2021



**Note:** Four occupational groups have been omitted due to lack of sample: The military, directors and managers, machine operators and fitters, qualified workers in agriculture, livestock and fishing. In the category of craftspersons and elementary occupations, there are few cases in which flexitime is used, and thus the percentages cannot be interpreted. **Sample:** population 25-65 years of age with responsibility for the care of adult dependant or minor (n=569). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

Chart 8-4. Carers who did not change to a more convenient shift to create balance, by occupational group, 2021

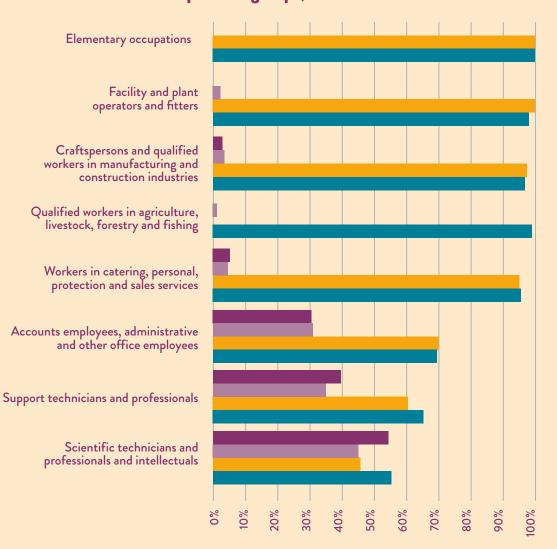


**Note:** Four occupational groups have been omitted due to lack of sample: The military, directors and managers, machine operators and fitters, qualified workers in agriculture, livestock and fishing. Sample: population 25-65 years of age with responsibility for the care of adult dependant or minor (n=569). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

It is not clear to what extent working from home is a work-life balance measure or simply a way to organise work, because its contribution towards work-life balance depends on factors such as reasons, association with flexitime, travelling time savings and regularity. If working from home always or several days of the week in addition to flexitime, it can be considered a measure to allow matching between working hours and care service timetables. As this is a measure that can be used by everyone, independent of their family responsibilities, the UNAF survey covers the entire 25 to 65 working population. In June 2021, some 28% were using some form of working from home, and some 20% did this every week, in other words, it could constitute a work-life balance measure, because it allows prior planning of the use of time for carers. However, among carers regularly working from home, only some 48% were also enjoying flexitime. In addition, Chart 8-5 makes it clear that working from home is not an option for a large number of occupations, as are elementary occupations, those requiring low qualifications in general, and those of catering, personal, protection and sales services. Only in three occupational groups, between

30 and 50% of those employed in June 2021 were working from home at least weekly. In the group of accounts employees, administrative and other office employees, there is no difference between those employed with responsibilities for care and the average, and thus it does not seen that work-life balance is placing a significant role in its uptake. In contrast, there is a greater proportion of working from home among those employed with responsibilities for care in the two last occupational groups. We can deduce that among the occupations of scientific technicians and professionals and intellectuals, working from home is used in part to balance work with family and personal life. However, once again we must anticipate the marked relationship with overtime, as the more frequent the use of working from home, the greater the proportion of persons with responsibility for care who work more than 40 hours per week (some 40% against 35% who use the measure as an exception). In this case, there are no significant differences by gender in correlation to overtime (in contrast to the case with flexitime), in other words, both men and women who regularly work from home show greater probability of working overtime.

Chart 8-5. Working from home by frequency, responsibility for care and occupational groups, 2021



- Carers: every week sometimes or always
- All: every week sometimes or always
- Carers: never or only as an exception All: never or only as an exception

Note: Four occupational groups have been omitted due to lack of sample: The military, directors and managers, machine operators and carers, and qualified workers in agriculture, livestock and fishing.

Sample: population aged 25-65 employed (n=887). Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

Qualitative studies carried out recently before and during the pandemic in Spain in small, medium and large companies allow the fin-

dings of the UNAF survey to be deepened and extended.

### 8.3.

## When do men take joint responsibility for care and how are companies promoting this?

Men, in particular fathers of minors, take joint responsibility for care when promoted by legislation, when determined by family needs or when they want to be more involved in the upbringing of minors<sup>56</sup>. Personal orientation towards work and family, and the family situation, significantly influence male joint responsibility with relative independence from company culture, according to a qualitative study carried out in small companies in Spain in 2017 and 2018 (Bogino et al. 2021), which compared 21 fathers in small and medium-sized companies and drew up a classification of fathers based on the various degrees of joint responsibility for care: occasional fathers, supporting fathers and committed fathers.

The occasional fathers have a strong orientation towards promotion at work and agree to family arrangements in which the woman adapts her employment in order to take charge of care, and they are willing to use work-life balance measures that do not impede their promotion at work, such as flexitime aimed at the interests of management, and days off for personal affairs at the discretion of their se-

niors. In these cases favourable organisational cultures are not sufficient condition for the exercise of joint responsibility. For their part, supporting fathers do not usually have promotion as their objective and only want to maintain their employment conditions, but their partners also assume the lion's share of infant care. Organisational cultures favouring joint responsibility facilitate their role as supporting fathers. Finally, committed fathers make significant adaptations to their work in order to be able to take care of their children (flexitime, working from home, change of company, reduction in working hours) or have good employment conditions, because the majority of companies in which they work show a high degree of joint responsibility. Although some of these fathers are strongly work-oriented, in general they do not aspire to professional advancement. Their partners make the difference, who also have a strong professional orientation, and with whom they have agreed to spend similar time dedicated to care, which allows them to have similar salaries. Committed fathers are such whether through a strong

<sup>56.</sup> The qualitative studies to which we are referring only refer to joint responsibility for parents, although it would be very important to also study male joint responsibility in the care of elderly dependants (see Augilar-Cunill et al. 2017 for this type of care).

desire to dedicate time to the care of their children or through need and an interest in maintaining the employment situation of their partners. These fathers tend to have a compact working day, or a morning-only reduced timetable, with leaving times between 15.00 and 18.00 p.m. The organisational cultures in companies with a high degree of balance facilitate the involvement of these fathers, while not being a necessary condition. Among committed fathers there are also supervisors, but only in organisational cultures that promote joint responsibility through transformational leadership open to discussion, accompanied by egalitarian attitudes among management, a lack of qualified personnel in the area, or collective agreements that include significant work-life balance measures (Abril et al. 2020).

The European Men in Care (MiC) project studied organisational cultures in Spain in five

medium and large companies in 2019 and 2020 that promote work-life balance and joint responsibility. With respect to facilitating structural factors, the study shows that human resources departments are more inclined to introduce flexitime and morning shifts or compact timetables for office work, but this is more difficult in areas dedicated to producing goods and in industrial occupations, or in areas providing a 24-hour service, such as public transport. However, one of the companies analysed introduced flexitime in change of shift through the implementation of a system of shift exchange between workers which has proved a success, even in such a traditional sector dominated by men. Indefinite contracts and job stability facilitate employment adaptations for care. The collective agreements which are applied in each organisation have a strong impact, as workers tend to consider their employment rights as a given, at least when employment stability is not in doubt.

## Chart 8-1. Poor and good business practice in the organisation of shift work

The adaptation of shifts for work-life balance reasons are governed by article 34.8 of the Workers' Statute, which establishes the right to adaptation of the working day in order to balance work and family life, and if that involves minors it can be requested until they are 12 years of age. "In the collective negotiation the terms of its application (...). In its absence, the company (...) will open a negotiation process with the worker for a maximum period of thirty days. At the end of the period the company, in writing, will provide notification of acceptance of the request, will outline an alternative proposal (...) or will declare its opposition to its implementation. In the latter case, objective reasons supporting the decision will be given". Since its reform in 2019, this right is causing quite a lot of work conflict and generating formal complaints and sentences.

The MiC project has seen that works committees and human resources management have frequently been unable to find solutions to adapt shifts to the needs of work-life balance. Traditionally two criteria are used to establish the distribution of shifts, whether fixed or rotating:

- 1. Distribution with respect to years of service, or
- 2. the performance of all shifts by the entire staff

However, an adaptation of shifts to the needs of work-life balance implies taking into account the family situation and stage in the life cycle. A person may need a morning shift while their child is in compulsory education or they need to care for an elderly dependant. At the end of that period, they could free up the morning shift for another person with responsibilities for care. In addition, other employees, due to their age or needs, may or may not prefer the greater inconvenience of doing the evening, night or weekend shift (some better paid as they are less popular).

With respect to company cultures, the level of commitment with gender issues and work-life balance for workers' representatives is another key factor regarding whether support measures are included in the collective negotiation process and become part of the resulting collective agreement. A greater number of women in the workforce, particularly in management positions, facilitate the application, access and uptake of work-life balance measures. Women leaders, who manage teams in which issues of gender and balance are dealt with and handled in a collaborative, constructive way, may serve as a model for other managers who, faced with difficulties in managing the diverse needs of their teams, do not go beyond the minimum established by law. In addition, managers and leaders may be key elements in the uptake of work-life balance measures that do not penalise users. Men in positions of responsibility who use work-life balance measures are positive models that help change gender stereotypes and attitudes among those with ambivalent attitudes. In organisations, experts in gender and Human resource (HR) managers may make a significant contribution, particularly when gender equality policies and HR are related and work together closely. It has been seen that training in gender equality and work-life balance for management and employees changes some behaviour and the dynamics within some departments and organisations, facilitating a change in their culture in which male carers are more integrated.



## Summary of the impact of Covid-19 on joint responsibility balance

- The pandemic has affected the economy and/or time dedicated to care for 56% of people: foreigners, the young and those with compulsory education due to a lack of resources, and those with more resources, graduates and older age groups due to a lack of time. The pandemic has entrenched social and age divides.
- A lack of economic resources generates more discontent than a lack of time.
- Some 15% of those with responsibilities for care have been doubly affected, and 66% of these feel discontent with the two difficulties.
- The distribution of work in couples has generated more social inequality that gender among families with care responsibilities.

In previous sections the impact of Covid-19 on employment, material well-being and care to June 2021 has been described. We have looked at the situation at the start of the family cycle, up to when the minors reach 18 years of age, and the responsibility for care of sick and elderly adult dependants. In this section we are going to look at the changes in work-life balance conditions between March 2020 and June 2021. We will analyse which of those with responsibilities

for the care of minors or adults have suffered a worsening in their living condition and which have remained unaffected by the pandemic, at least with respect to economic well-being and the burden of care. Furthermore, we will summarise the impact of the pandemic on the distribution of paid work within couples, in order to evaluate changes to employment from the perspective of the family (see personal employment changes in section 3).

9.1.

# Has the pandemic led to a shortage of economic resources or time for those with responsibilities for care?

With respect to work-life balance, the pandemic has had two main effects: on the one hand it has reduced employment, working hours and income of a section of the population, and on the other hand, it has increased the time dedicated to care among those with responsibilities for dependent family members. As a conse-

quence, it has generated greater tension in reaching a balance between employment and personal and family life. We are focusing on the group with most need for balance in combining care obligations with maintenance of income, and we are distinguishing between four types of impact:

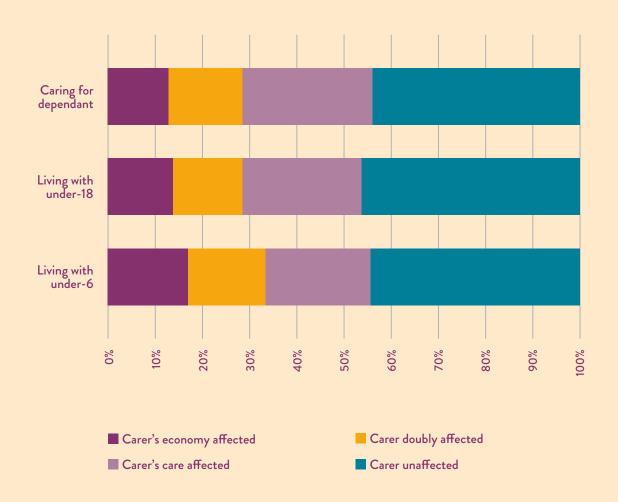
- 1. Those who have suffered neither a loss of personal income nor have had to care more for minors or adult dependants (unaffected).
- 2. Those who have suffered a loss of personal income, but have not had to care more for minors or adult dependants (economically affected).
- 3. Those who have had to care more for minors or adult dependants, but who have not suffered a loss of income (affected by increase in care).
- 4. Those who have had to care more for minors or adult dependants and (as a result) have suffered a loss of income (doubly affected).

In the first place, we can draw a distinction between the impact by type of care responsibility. Chart 9-1 shows that more than half of carers<sup>57</sup> have been affected during the pandemic by a reduction in their personal income, by an increase in the time dedicated to the care of minors or dependants, or by the two issues at the same time. In total, some 28% of carers have suffered a reduction in income, against some

30% of those without responsibilities for care, which means that the economic impact has not been very different between the two groups (see also section 3), with the increase in care time being the main difference. The differences are small with respect to the ages of those cared for, although the impact of Covid-19 has been greater in families with under-5s in comparison with the rest.

<sup>57.</sup> We are using the concept of the carer to include all progenitors of under-18s who live with them, because that presumes their care

Chart 9-1. Impact of the pandemic on persons with responsibilities for care of adults or minors, between the beginning of March 2020 and June 2021

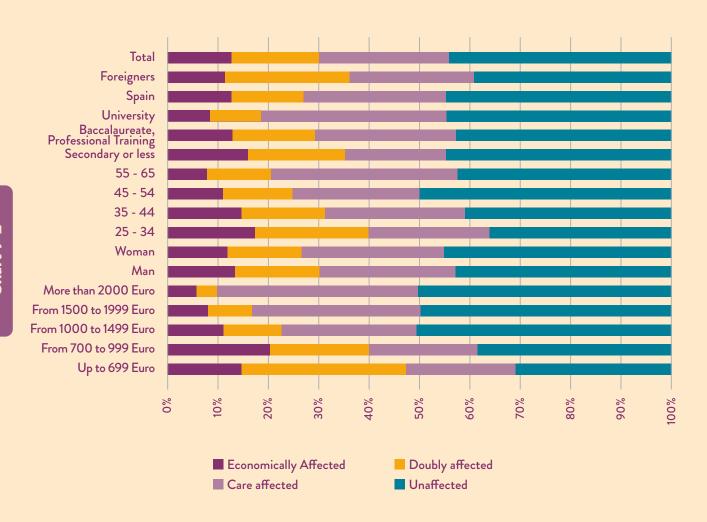


**Sample:** population 25-65 years of age with responsibility for the care of adult dependant or minor (n=827). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

Some 56% of those with responsibilities for care have suffered an impact of the pandemic in balancing work with family and personal life. Of the total number of carers, some 13% have been affected economically, some 27% by an increase in care, and some 16% by the two. As with some of the findings from previous sections, Chart 9-2 is surprising, because female and male carers have suffered a similar reduction in income and an increase in the time dedicated to care, although this does not mean than men and women balance employment and care equally, but that among those who care the increase in dedication to care and the decrease in their income during the long year of the pandemic has affected them in a similar manner. In addition, in section 4 we saw that the pandemic has led to greater social gaps that gender, because a greater proportion of women with compulsory education has seen their material well-being fall, while graduates have suffered less. The most vulnerable group economically, those with an equivalent income per consumer unit of up to €699, have suffered a decrease in income and an increase in care way above

that of other carers, as almost 70% have seen their work-life balance situation worsen with the pandemic, above all due to the fall in income. In terms of impact they are followed by those with incomes of up to €999, those from 25 to 34 years of age, foreigners and those with compulsory education only. The impact of Covid-19 is different among those with income per consumer unit above €1500, graduates and those from 55 to 65, because they have had to face an increase in care time more often than a reduction in income. This shows that the challenge of work-life balance during the pandemic had a greater economic impact on the (relatively) poor, foreigners, young people from 25 to 34 years of age and those with compulsory education only, while a lack of time was prevalent among those with more economic or academic resources, and those who were older. In a way the pandemic has once again shown the failings of the Spanish welfare State, which better protects older people and "insiders" (permanent employees with the most privileges), as has already been demonstrated by other recent studies (Malo, 2021).

Chart 9-2. Impact of the pandemic on persons with responsibilities for care by sex, age, academic attainment, country of origin and income per consumer unit



Sample: population 25-65 years of age with responsibility for the care of adult dependant or minor (n=827). In homes with income above €1500 there are few cases in the "Economically affected" and "doubly affected" categories, and it is thus better to ignore these cases.

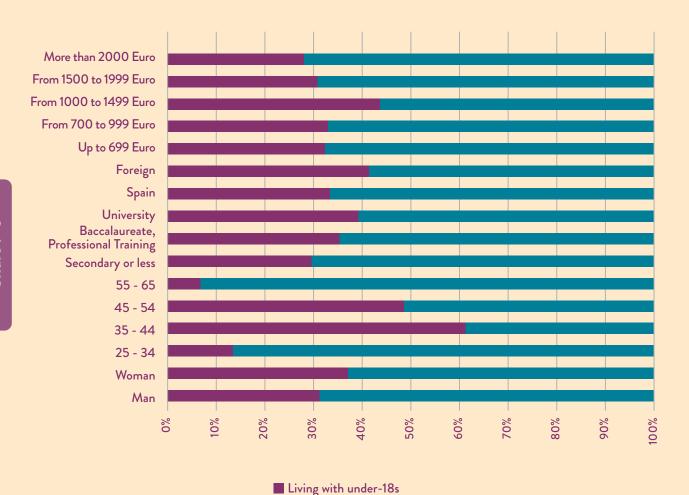
Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

Not only the UNAF survey, but also other analyses, have shown that in effect men increased the time dedicated to care, above all during confinement, although they dedicated more time to support tasks than to homework and buying food (Farré et al., 2020). Women continue to perform the majority of domestic tasks and care, compared to men. Despite the greater male involvement, in June 2021, following the worst phase of the pandemic, the responsibilities for care were unequally shared not only between men and women but also between other groups (Chart 9-3). The middle-aged, graduates, those with average income per consumer unit, foreigners and women more often live with under-18s than do other

groups. In addition, the proportion of those aged between 25 and 65 who live with and are responsible for the care of under-18s is greater than those who have responsibilities for the care of dependent adults, whether they live with them or not<sup>58</sup>. However, more than 20% of those between 55 and 65 years of age and those with incomes of up to €699 are responsible for the care of adult dependants, and this is clearly the result of an increase in the care time for the two groups during the pandemic (Chart 9-2). Graduates have also dedicated relatively more time to care during the pandemic, but in this case to spend more time on the care of minors, to judge by their situation in June 2021 (Chart 9-3).

<sup>58.</sup>A significant proportion of carers of adult dependants are over 65 years of age, and are not included in the sample.

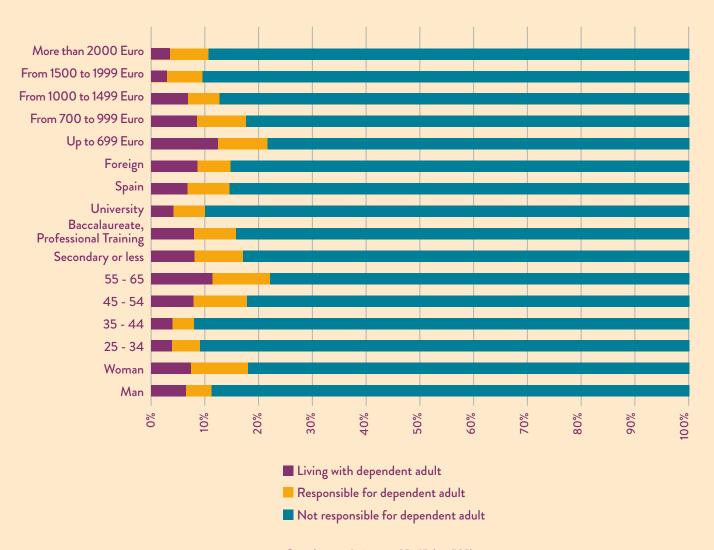
Chart 9-3(a). Responsibilities for care of minors and adults by sex, age, academic attainment, country of origin and income per consumer unit, June 2021



**Sample:** : population age 25-65 (n=1522). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

Not living with under-18s

## Chart 9-3(b). Responsibilities for care of minors and adults by sex, age, academic attainment, country of origin and income per consumer unit, June 2021



**Sample:** population age 25-65 (n=1522). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.

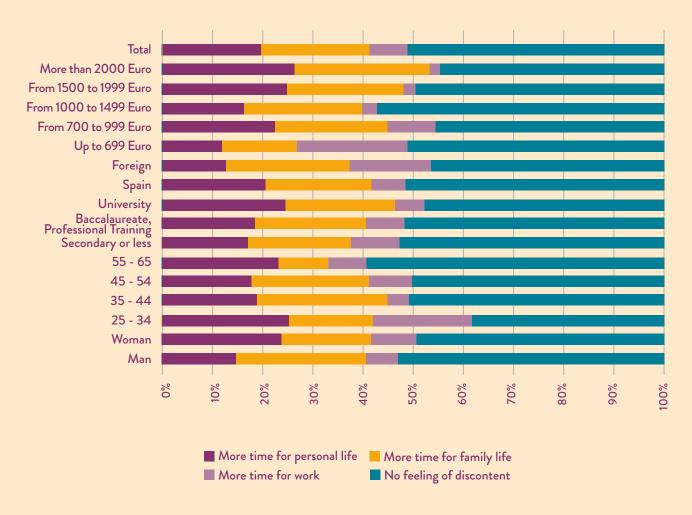
### 9.2.

## The effects of the pandemic on discontent regarding balance

Joint responsibility in work-life balance refers to the obligation to assume responsibilities for care by men and women, the State and companies. In order to strike a healthy balance between dedication to employment and care, minors and adult dependants need the care of their families to be supported by public and company policies, as care for those who cannot care for themselves is an obligation for society and a public good. Before the pandemic, those working in Spain reported having high levels of conflict between their jobs and personal and family lives (European Commission, 2014), and thus it may be assumed that the situation has worsened with the pandemic due to the double challenge of the two pillars of work-life balance; income and time. The UNAF survey allows us to understand people's discontent, some the result of not dedicating sufficient time to their family or personal lives, and others because they want to dedicate more time to their employment. In the interviewed population group (25 to 65 years of age) some 21% wanted to dedicate more time to their personal lives, some 16% to family life, and 8% to work, while 55% did not report discontent.

When the levels of discontent are separated out for those with responsibilities for care by social group, there is one result which is to be expected and another which is surprising. It was to be expected that the groups that suffered most from Covid-19 were also those who felt most discontent with the distribution of their time, which will be related to the type of impact (economic, care, or both). As was to be expected and as shown by Chart 9-4, foreigners, those with incomes of between €700 and €999 and young people from 25 to 34 years of age are those with above average levels of discontent. Among the young, foreign population some 38-40% want to have more time for personal and family life, and some 18-20% want to work more. Those with incomes up to €699 also want to dedicate more time to work (23%), but they are more satisfied with the time dedicated to personal and family life (26%). The relatively high proportion of discontent among graduates and those with incomes above €2000 is surprising, although it is understandable on determining that this greater discontent is due to the desire to dedicate more time to personal and family life. Once the threshold of €700 income per consumer unit is reached, dissatisfaction with a lack of work gives way to dissatisfaction with available personal and family time, which increases with increasing income. Female carers feel more discontent due to a lack of personal time in comparison with male carers, perhaps because they dedicate more time to care.

Chart 9-4. Discontent among persons with responsibilities for care with work-life balance by sex, age, academic attainment, country of origin and income per consumer unit of the person interviewed by consumer unit, June 2021



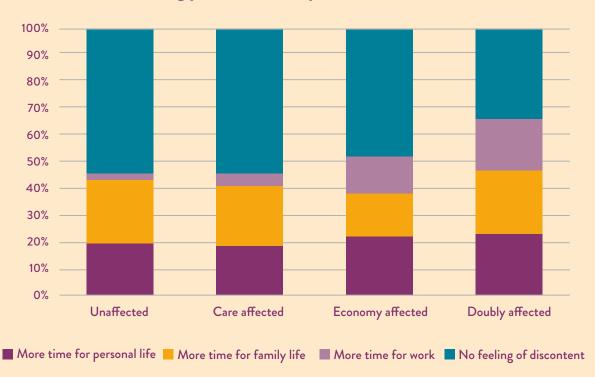
**Sample:** population age 25-65 (n=1522).

Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

Finally, we have shown how the type of impact the pandemic has had on carers has influences their levels and types of discontent. Chart 9-5 throws up two results. First, having lost income and having had to care more is clearly related to the levels and types of discontent, although discontent in those who have only been affected by an increase in care and those that have

not been affected is similar. Among carers who have not suffered an impact and those who have had to care more, some 55% do not feel discontent with the distribution of their time. Discontent increases above all with economic impact, as it is conducive to a fall in levels of well-being, up to 34% among those suffering a double impact.

Chart 9-5. Impact of the pandemic on discontent with work-life balance among persons with responsibilities for care



Sample: population 25-65 years of age with responsibility for the care of adult dependant or minor (n=770). Source: UNAF Survey, 2021.

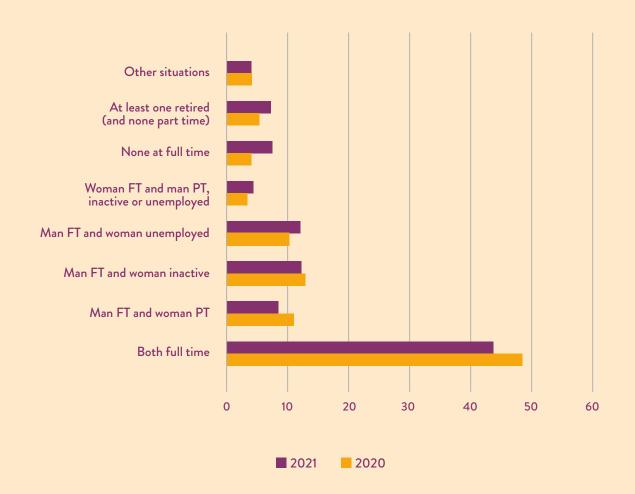
### 9.3.

## The effect of the pandemic on the distribution of work in couples

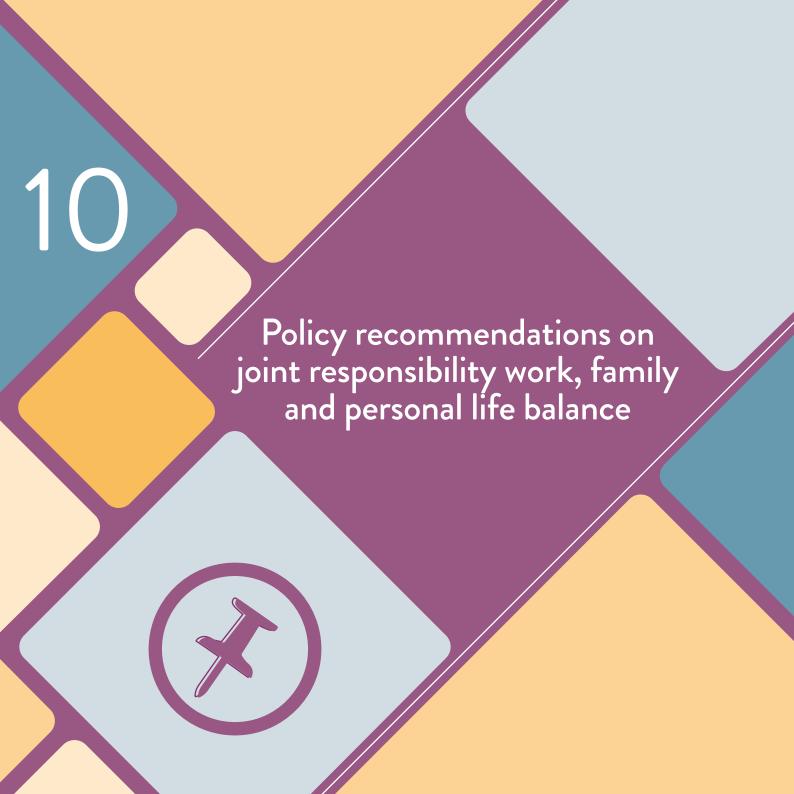
Finally, we have presented the change between March 2020 and June 2021 with respect to the distribution of paid work in couples with responsibilities for care, in order to be able to appreciate to what point the pandemic has led to a rupture in the trend in the increase in two-income couples and couples with two people in full-time employment. As a result of the 2008 economic crisis, and up to 2014, the proportion of minors living in a household in which the two progenitors were not employed or were working part time increased, the proportion with a sole provider fell, and the household with a couple in which both progenitors were working full time (38%) and in which one worked full time and the other part time (13%) stabilised (Jurado, 2020). The 2008 economic crisis did not have an impact on the increase in economic inactivity among women and on the growth of families with a sole provider, but it had an impact on the growth of households without employment or with low work intensity. In section 4 it was shown that the pandemic

and the measures to combat it have caused an increase in unemployed and a reduction in work intensity, but we do not know if living as a family has mitigated personal difficulties to a certain extent. According to the UNAF survey, changes to the division of employment by sex among couples with responsibilities for care due to the pandemic are fewer (Chart 9-6). On the one hand, the number of families in which both were working full time has fallen and, on the other, households with all members unemployed or some with lower work intensity have increased (families in which both are without work or a maximum of one of them is employed part time, both or at least one are retired, and those with the man employed full time and the woman unemployed or on ERTE). Once again it is evident that gender inequalities do not appear to have increased as much as social polarisation has grown between families with employment and those with a lack of it, at least among the population aged 25 to 65.

Chart 9-6. Person interviewed by sexual division of employment, heterosexual couples with responsibilities for care, 2020 and 2021



**Note: FT=** full-time employment; **PT=** part-time employment **Sample:** population 25-65 years of age living in heterosexual couple with responsibility for the care of adult dependant or minor (n=667). **Source:** UNAF Survey, 2021.



## 10.1. Starting point and premises

The UNAF survey carried out on the Spanish population from 25 to 65 years of age, an age range which covers the life cycle stages of forming a family and the balancing of work with personal and family life, has allowed an analysis of how the pandemic and the measures adopted to combat it have affected families, in particular heterosexual, two-parent families<sup>59</sup>. We have looked at joint balance is its widest sense, firstly by studying material well-being and the availa-

bility of time to dedicate to care, and secondly by including men and companies as also responsible for achieving balance and providing care.

Many studies on balance between work, family and personal life suffer from two biases: first, they exclude men, and second, they do not include material needs as a requirement to be balanced. Our policy recommendations are begin with two assumptions:

- There cannot be joint responsibility for work-life balance if there is no active involvement by men and companies in their daily practice and if the care of minors and dependent adults is carried out be overburdening and/or not sufficiently paying female carers.
- 2. Through constitutional mandate, the State, through its various administrative tiers, has the duty to ensure equality of opportunity, to mitigate poverty and to finance social policies, through a progressive tax system, which provides benefits to all families in order to support them in their reproductive functions.

Our recommendations begin with a diagnosis based on the UNAF survey, guided by the aims of ensuring that women enjoy the same employment opportunities as men, ensuring the well-being of dependent minors and adults,

and promoting joint male and company responsibility. We begin with the maxim that no adult should have to depend on another or the State, but that they may access employment that allows them to cover their own and their

<sup>59.</sup> Due to the limitations of the sample, the survey could only be representative of this group of families. We refer to the studies by FAMS (2019, 2021a) and Cortina (2016) for information on single-parent families and/or those of homosexual couples.

family's basic costs, in other words we consider access to employment to be central. Lastly, the policies must not exclude those with low levels of income who cannot resolve the needs of work-life balance by paying external services (education and child care, care for a dependant, paid carer, domestic help), and so

we advocate universality and gratuity of basic care services. Finally, we have taken into account that the difficulties in forming a family have increased even more during the pandemic, so access to housing is another important objective, although this report has not delved into that.

### 10.2.

## How has the pandemic affected needs regarding balance?

The UNAF survey has revealed significant social gaps in the effects of the pandemic on families. The various indicators analysed show that there are two population groups that have suffered more from an increase in unemployment, the reduction in working hours, a lack of income, and an increase in care. Families of those with low levels of education and those born abroad have suffered a double impact; a reduction in their economic resources and an increase in care tasks, the first plus care of adult dependants and the second the care of minors. Within the scope of the study, it is women in this group that have had to grapple with the two challenges without being able to make the same use of birth and care leave for a minor and infant education services for those aged 0 to 3 in comparison with mothers with greater academic attainment (and nationals). Among the families of those with higher academic attainment and national citizens the effects of the pandemic have centred on the increasing

care, while they have been able to maintain their employment and income. We can say that the first two social groups are doubly vulnerable, because they need more resources and more support services for their care tasks, while the second need their employment to leave them more free time to dedicate to their family and personal lives.

If we focus on gender differences, without distinguishing between social class or migratory route, it surprised us to find a limited effect of the pandemic on the gender salary gap, despite a greater increase in unemployment and a reduction in working hours among females. In addition, women have not increased care time more than men during the pandemic, while it is true that the starting levels were already very unequal.

This implies a frequent feeling of burnout and lack of personal time expressed by mothers and

carers of adult dependants. Greater responsibility for care not only affects the well-being of women, but also their employment opportunities and conditions, as they use work-life balance measures more than men, with a gender gap in the uptake of reduced working hours and change of shift the most used<sup>60</sup>. Men use work-life balance measures that do not reduce their incomes, such as flexitime and working from home, which also entails the danger of doing overtime. Within social groups some gender differences are accentuated, for example the greater use by women with levels of academic attainment of a change of shift in comparison with their male counter-

parts. This relatively greater use of change of shift among these women is the result of their greater presence in elementary occupations and in catering, personal, protection and sales services, in which shift work is more common. Parents more frequently state that women do not use work-life balance measures because it has already been dealt with by the partner of because their work does not allow it. They are also more often of the opinion that their use of leave for the birth and care of a minor has been influenced by work. In addition, among men the use of flexitime is coupled with doing overtime in many cases.

## 10.3. Public policy recommendations

A diagnosis of the needs of work-life balance following the pandemic is twofold. On the one hand, women need men to become more involved so that they can fulfil their desire to work more while having more personal time available, and they need their work to allow better balance between employment and family life, because they perceive more work

obstacles and want to have more family time. On the other hand, the most vulnerable families not only need better access to leave and care services, but also more income in order to be able to reach the end of the month. The public policies necessary in order to be able to respond to the various work-life balance needs and strategies are shown in Chart 10-1.

<sup>60.</sup> Social security data also show a large gender gap in the use of leave, but given the limited number of cases in the UNAF survey has not allowed us to study this gap.

## Chart 10-1. Joint responsibility balance policies for various care strategies

Reduced working hours:

Ensure present and future income Flexitime or working from home:

Avoid overtime

Regular working from home:

Voluntary and with disconnection Changes of shift:

Granted according to family needs

Temporarily leaving work to provide care:

Facilitate reincorporation

External help of help from extended family:

Ensure well-being of carer

#### Crossover policies:

Access to employment and housing in order to form a family
Equitable leave for birth and care of minor
Care services for minors and dependants that are universal and free
Weekly timetable of 30 to 35 hours, 5 working days

Taking into account these questions, and considering in an overall manner the principles of equal opportunity, gender equality and equity, we are setting out measures that cover the social needs which have been highlighted during this study. On the one hand, the need families have to obtain greater income and, on the other, the need to have time and public services available to cover the care needs of the population.

Along those lines, taking together the economic rationale and social welfare, and the importance of prioritising and managing public resources in a rational, efficient and equal manner, the measures set out have the following aims. Firstly, to promote the participation of the entire population in the full-time labour market. Secondly, to increase the income of those who work, but who still have economic difficulties. In third place, to provide a coherent structure in which the tax system ensures the revenue necessary in order to implement the social and economic policies, guaranteeing a redistributive system. Tax revenue is necessary in order to develop some of the redistributive policies proposed and considered to be a priority.

Table 1 summarises those public measures and priority collective negotiation with the broadest expected effect and that, conside-

ring the public spending implied<sup>61</sup>, are deemed economically viable and achievable in the short term.

- 1. To reduce the ordinary working day to between 30 and 35 hours per week.
- 2. To adapt the Minimum Inter-professional Salary to the basic costs of family life.
- 3. To ratify ILO Convention 189 on those employed in the home and their affiliation to the general Social Security regime.
- 4. To create a supplement per minor in the Minimum Living Wage in 2022.
- 5. To review the tax system as a whole in order to guarantee sufficient public revenue to allow the implementation of priority social policy.
- 6. To reform in 2022 the current leave fro birth and care of a minor in order to guarantee that families can extend care of babies in the home to 30 weeks, without additional cost for the current system.
- 7. To guarantee the universal, free right to a place in first cycle (0 to 3 years of age) infant education with adequate quality standards.
- 8. To limit the new working hour reductions for care of a minor up to 12 years of age or dependent adult to 25% of the full working day.
- 9. To guarantee universal, free right to a place in a quality dependant care service, whether a day centre, residential care of home help for dependent adults.

Further details of specific actions, within the five types of public social policy aimed at forming a family and joint responsibility in work-life balance in the widest sense, according to aim and form of access, are given below: 1. Regulation of timetables, working day and place of work, 2. Monetary benefits and employment creation, 3. Tax system and

incentives, 4. Care and housing services, and 5. Leave due to health and care needs. Company policies may also be of type 1, 2, 4 or 5. We can divide our recommendations into public and company policies (see following section). All these recommendations should be implemented through reforms that include an evaluation the new measures from the project

<sup>61.</sup> For details on spending quantification and economic viability of its coverage in implementing the universalisation of policies for education services for the 0 to 3 age group and care of dependants, see respectively the reports published by the Institute for Fiscal Studies on Castellanos-Serrano and Perondi (2018) and Martínez, Roldán and Sastre (2018).

outset, and which ensure a rigorous cost-benefit evaluation after two years following implementation at the latest, incorporating

gender equality and opportunities within the monitoring criteria.

### Recommendations on regulation of the working day

To reduce the maximum duration of the ordinary working day to 30-35 hours in the Workers' Stature and in the Basic Public Employment Statute, in order to improve balance between working hours and those of care services, to reduce gender gaps in the use of reduced working hours and to better share work during the process of digitalisation of the economy.

#### Recommendations on the creation of quality work and monetary benefits

- To combat employment poverty through the adaptation of the Minimum Inter-professional Salary to the basic costs of family life.
- To include a supplement of €100 per month per minor in the Minimum Living Wage<sup>62</sup>, to provide more information and support on its processing to the most vulnerable families, and to implement a drafting adapted to the Minimum Incomes for inclusion at an autonomous level.
- To review the systems for economic benefits, looking at how they interact with the tax system, in order to eliminate overlap or that specific vulnerable groups are not covered. In that sense, in-depth study and broad, rigorous debate is necessary on the advantages and disadvantages of universal family benefits which are not dependent on the tax system as opposed to the priority and viability of tax rebates for families within the current tax system<sup>63</sup>.
- Ratification of Convention 189 and consideration of Recommendation 201 on domestic workers approved by the ILO in 2011 for the matching of their employment rights. This implies the inclusion of domestic workers within the general social security regime, guaranteeing access to unemployment benefit and other employment rights.

<sup>62.</sup> See the Save the Children proposal (2019a) prior to the current proposals for a €50 supplement, p. 29. For other possible reforms to monetary

benefits to reduce child poverty, see Cantó and Ayala (2014).
63. For an analysis of the effects of tax rebates in other countries, their advantages and disadvantages, see Zalakain (2019) and for an evaluation of the current system of support for infancy, Marbán Gallego and Rodríguez Cabrero (2020). For a proposal on the measurement of investment in infancy, González-Bueno Uribe (2020).

- To promote employment through subsidising replacement contracts during birth and care of a minor leave, beginning two weeks after the expected date of birth or adoption, or dates stipulated by workers for the use of the leave.
- To promote the creation of non-profit organisations that can manage publicly granted care services.
- To promote professional training and post-graduate studies in the management of non-profit organisations and to establish a system of grants and gateways to this continuous training aimed at those who are currently working in care services managed by for-profit companies.
- To establish mechanisms for placements or learning and service for Degree students in Economics, Business Studies, labour Relations, Sociology, Social Work, Social Education and similar, with the aim that they can contribute their knowledge to the creation of non-profit organisations for a quality care.

#### Recommendations on tax incentives

- To review the entire tax system in order to guarantee the raising of sufficient public revenue to allow the development of priority social policies. To do that, it is specifically necessary:
  - >> To eliminate joint tax returns in two-parent family units, previously known as dependent spouse<sup>64</sup>.
  - >> To review the current tax reductions and deductions so that the tax system guarantees the principle of progressiveness and equality.
  - >> To review the personal and family minimums adapted to the cost of living and family needs.
  - >> To create a state tax allowance for donations to finance quality care infrastructures and housing systems for the over-65s with geriatric needs.

<sup>64.</sup> For an explanation of the perverse effects of the reduction in joint tax returns by two-parent family units (by dependent spouse), see Pazos (2005).

### Recommendations on care and housing services

#### Infant Care

- To guarantee the universal, free right to a place in infant education consistent with the duration of the system of leave for birth and care, assimilating the system with those of other educational stages, prioritising its educational nature and the quality of the provision. To reserve co-payment for extra services, such as meals and extra-curricular activities. To actively promote schooling, particularly among disadvantaged families, and the educational nature of schooling for 0-3 through information campaigns.
- Based on the opportunities provided the European Next Generation funds, set out a strategy, calendar and evaluation system in order to achieve the universal provision of infant education.
- Until the implementation of universal, free schooling, a modification to the selection criteria and public pricing system in such a way as not to exclude families with unemployed members (the elimination of points assigned to families with both progenitors in employment) or those with medium or medium-low incomes (progressive rating which includes meal services, extended timetable and extra-curricular activities).
- Lower the ratio of pupil per educator throughout the State to the level of the Community which currently has the lowest.
- Regulate at a state level the proportion of the various professional levels in 0-3 infant education services, the selection of professionals to guarantee excellence, and a gradual increase in remuneration for infant teachers to the same level as that for primary teachers.

#### The care of adult dependants

- To guarantee the universal, free right to a place in a day centre, residential care or home help service for dependent adults. To oversee a system of co-payment in accordance with the pension or income of the adult for cases in which meal and/or accommodation services are required for those with income levels above the minimum salary.
- The introduction of a limit on the profits for care services which are privately owned or managed, with reinvestment of the extra profit in service quality and in salaries for the carers or on the payment of a dedicated tax for investment in care services.

- The gradual implementation of public management or management by non-profit organisations and public investment or donation for the acquisition of the land and/or infrastructures necessary for care services, housing for the elderly with geriatric accompaniment and other innovations to promote active, accompanied ageing and autonomy.
- To improve continuous quality evaluation systems for the services provided, particularly
  for those not managed directly by the public administration, and prioritise the provision of
  a quality service, the reduction of carer/dependant ratios and remuneration in accordance with the currently most beneficial collective agreements in the awarding of contracts
  financed by the System for Dependants' Autonomy and Care (SAAD, in its initials in
  Spanish.
- To promote access for young men to professional training and university studies related to care through information and orientation campaigns in secondary schools, from the third year.

#### Housing

- To create a stock of social housing managed by non-profit organisations, with the release
  of public land, taking advantage of European recovery funds. To distribute housing in accordance with selection criteria that favour families with cohabiting minors or adults, with
  an employed adult and with low income.
- To support non-profit organisations that want to provide housing for the over-65s in a regime which includes the use of common services, nursing care, occupational therapy, etc. through the release of public land and grants for infrastructures.

### Recommendations regarding leave for care and health needs

• To limit the new reductions in working hours for the care of minors or adult dependants to 25% of full-time hours (instead of the current 50%) so that the weekly hours cannot fall below 30 hours per week (in line with reforms to the general working week), in order to reduce statistical discrimination against all women and limit the reduction in income.

- To guarantee in the Workers' Statute and in the EBEP the right to choose the setting of timetables in such a way that they are compatible with school timetables or care services for dependants that furnish that right.
- To eliminate in 2022 the obligation to have to use the leave for birth and care of the minor during the first six weeks following birth/adoption, thus facilitating turns in the care of the minor during the maximum time possible in the case of two progenitors.
- To guarantee the right of the female progenitor to set the periods and type of leave (full or part-time) in accordance with family needs, with two weeks' notice and without the need to have to negotiate with the employer organisation regarding the way the leave is used, with the aim of being able to prolong the care time for the baby in the home and promote the joint responsibility of men in infant care.
- To eliminate the requirement for a second company certificate to request the use of those
  weeks not immediately taken following birth or adoption. A more user-friendly application
  process will promote the taking of turns in the use of leave in two-parent families.
- To implement up to 2024, following the reform and evaluation of the current leave for birth and care of a minor, the remuneration for two individual, non-transferable and fully remunerated months of the long-term leave for the care of a minor up to 3 years of age, as set out in the European Directive on Work-Life Balance from 2019.
- To increase the non-contributory allowance for birth and care of a minor to all those under 26 years of age who are registered or in a similar situation with social security but do not meet the minimum contribution requirements, and to study the causes of the lower use of leave by mothers and fathers with low educational levels or those of foreign origin.
- To implement in 2022 the five-day leave for care-related reasons set out in the European Directive of 2019.
- To regulate in the Workers' Statute the right to a system of banked hours which allows the
  accumulation of additional hours in exchange for the use of the corresponding leave for
  those accumulated hours at times of need due to care (illness of the minor, non-teaching
  days, public holidays, summer timetables or holidays, etc.).

## 10.4. Company Policy Recommendations<sup>65</sup>

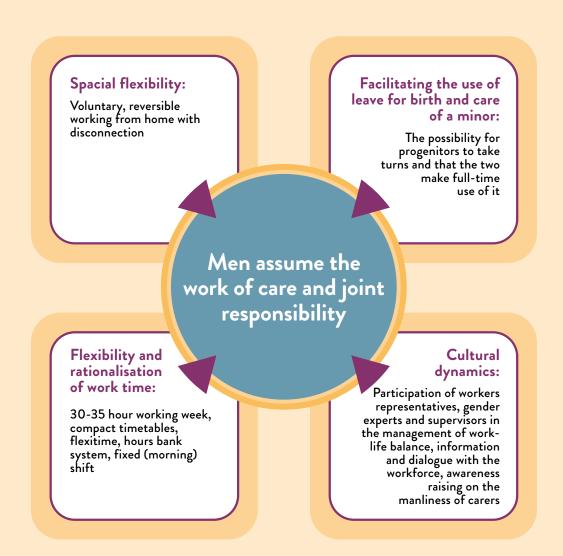
Companies and organisations contribute towards joint responsibility for work-life balance through the promotion and organisation of the use of existing public measures, such as leave for the birth and care of a minor and its extension through company policies (breast-feeding leave, supplementary leave days), the reduction in working hours and its extension (for those with minors over 12 years of age) and leave for personal reasons and its extension (discretionary free days, hours bank, etc.). To do that it is important that they are adequately informed regarding the possibili-

ties of use, and their use is encouraged through the introduction of statements and mechanisms that prevent stigma associated with the use of flexibility formulae (dismissal, less employment training and promotion, etc.). Section 8 provides details of good work-life balance joint responsibility practice without gender bias in the use of measures which reduce the salary. Chart 10-2 shows the results of two research papers on joint responsibility for work-life balance in Spanish companies, and we have included more specific recommendations below.



<sup>65.</sup> Work management and work-life balance policies in the Public Administration and non-profit organisations are included.

# Chart 10-2. Company policies that promote work-life balance joint responsibility



**Source:** our preparation using Abril et al. 2021.

The UNAF survey corroborates the detection of challenges in work-life balance joint responsibility, such as the heavy workload in some occupations, the heterogeneity of working conditions between different occupations,

the limited use of a change of shift to improve balance, and gender bias in the use of work-life balance measures. The main recommendations emerging from the three cited studies (see Section 8) are the following:

- 1. To change the working timetable to provide compact working days and flexibility with respect to start and finish times through a reduction in lunch time and the establishment of time bands when either on-site or remote presence is obligatory. To design tasks and the organisation of work in such a way that the workload does not create frequent burnout in the workforce, avoiding the regular use of overtime.
- 2. In companies dealing directly with the public, organise a **system of shift allocation** in accordance with the life cycle stage and care needs which are suitably accredited, and not in accordance with the principle of long service, in compliance with the **right to work-life balance** under article 34.8 of the Workers' Statute.
- 3. To trust in the individualised management of time and workplace is easy with new technologies and the recent regulations on working from home. It involves the application of Law 10(2021, of 9th July, on remote working, in order that it be voluntary, involve a degree of timetable flexibility, with a remuneration of costs and assurances through timetabled off-time.
- 4. To include within the plans for equality the joint responsibility for care between men and women, and the training in and promotion of male carers. In addition, it is essential to obligatorily include equality plans in collective agreements and review them so that they do not contradict the aims of equality plans.
- 5. To implement a policy of active communication on the measures to promote work-life balance, with general periodical updates and attention to specific needs. To raise awareness regarding their availability to the workforce as a whole, as everyone has a personal life to balance with work, avoiding gender bias and comparative feelings of grievance. The establishment of simple access procedures.

- 6. To promote diversity in the workforce by taking on women and men in a balanced way, in addition to considerations regarding other personal characteristics (disability, origin, etc.).
- 7. To look after the workforce from a long-term perspective, even in companies with a variable workforce (due to temporary contracts, etc.), with regards to the needs of each life cycle stage. The long-term care of employees translates into less absenteeism and turnover, which in turn translated into better productivity and innovation.
- 8. To promote a culture of dialogue, respect and mutual care which guarantees equality of opportunity and solidarity with the specific needs of colleagues. The pandemic has highlighted the vulnerability of everyone when facing a shared threat, and the need to find physical and emotional protection, including in the workplace.

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## **ANNEX I. Survey technical file**



# Survey on the consequences of Covid in the family and on infancy

#### Technical file

Scope: peninsular, Balearic Islands and Canary Islands national territory.

**Population:** persons aged 25 to 65, with an over-representation of those living with a minor of up to 5 years of age.

Sample selection: in three phases:

- 1st phase. Municipality: random selection with probability proportional to size.
- 2nd phase. Household: random selection from telephone census.
- 3rd phase. Person interviewed: with control on quotas by sex and age.

Sample size: 1522 interviews, of which 250 were with those living with an under-5.

Sample distribution: some 58% of interviews done via landline telephone, and 42% via mobile telephone.

- Landline telephone: in three phases:
  - » Random selection of municipalities with probability equivalent to size of habitat.
  - » Random selection of household by telephone census.
- » Selection of individual by quotas for sex and age with call-back.
- Mobile telephone: simple random selection from mobile telephone database generated automatically by IMOP from the prefixes assigned to each mobile operator, and tested prior to the start of work in the field using the Dali system (automatic detection of inactive lines).

Interview technique: computer-assisted telephone interview.

Average duration of interviews: 10'2 minutes.

**Field work:** carried out by a team of 20 interviewers from the IMOP field network, between 14th May and 7th June 2021.

**Quotas controlled in the study:** quotas for sex and age were controlled for the 1352 initial interviews without over-representation.

Sample margin of error: For the total sample (1522 interviews) the sample margin of error is  $\pm 2.6$  for p=q=50% for a confidence level of 95.5%.

### **ANNEXO II: Questionnaire**

Questionnaire<sup>66</sup> "Effects of the pandemic on employment and personal life"

**Instructions for programming:** If nothing is indicated in multiple choice it is <u>single answer.</u>

**Instructions for interviewers:** For multiple choice, do not read options sexcept when the opposite is stated or the interviewee so requires. [clarifications for interviewer in square brackets and italics]

Good morning/good afternoon. My name is <interviewer's name> from IMOP surveys. The telephone number where I am calling, is it a residence?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. Answer machine
- 4. No answer
- 5. Error fax

We are carrying out a completely anonymous, random survey on the effects of the pandemic on employment and personal life. Your telephone number has been obtained through a random combination of numbers. We guarantee that all information provided, personal data and opinions will be treated confidentially, in compliance with current legislation, Would you be so kind as to answer a few questions?

Am I calling <municipality>

Is there anyone from 25 to 65 in the household?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No → I'm sorry, but we need to interview people from 25 to 65 years of age, thanks anyway.

In order to know who we have to interview, we need to know the composition of your household. How many people live permanently in your home counting you?

H	low	many	/?	

<sup>66.</sup> The questionnaire has been modified for the contents of the study with the incorporation of inclusive language. The questionnaire actually used in the surveys was not drafted using inclusive language, in order to avoid a bias of political correction in the responses.

Beginning with you, Could you tell me the age and sex of each of the members of your household?

member	age	sex		
member		f	m	
		1	2	
		1	2	
		1	2	
		1	2	
		1	2	

The programme selects the person corresponding to the quota which is least covered, with rescheduling if necessary.

What family relationship do you have with each member of the household...(Other members of the family will emerge and the family relationship with the interviewee will be noted)

- 1. Spouse/partner
- 2. Son/daughter
- 3. Father/mother
- 4. Other relationship

If you have children under 5 years of age, for the youngest child you will ask,

When was your child of xx years of age born? \_\_\_\_\_ month \_\_\_\_ year

Now, moving to the contents of the survey,

- 1. What level of studies did you attain?
  - 1. Compulsory education or less [EGB, ESO]
  - 2. Basic or first cycle professional training
  - 3. Baccalaureate qualification
  - 4. Higher or second cycle professional training
  - 5. First degree
  - 6. Post-graduate Masters studies
  - 7. Doctorate
  - 8. Other which? \_\_\_\_\_

A.	Employ	ment and	economic	effects	of the	pandemic	(all)
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Throughout the questionnaire, when asked about their situation in March 2020, we are always referring to **before** the first state of alarm, in other words, their lives just before the pandemic.

- 2. In march 2020, before the start of confinement, What was your work situation? (read)
  - 1. Working
  - 2. Dedicating time to domestic tasks and/or care
  - 3. Studying
  - 4. Unemployed or seeking work
  - 5. Retired or pre-retired
  - 6. Another situation, What?
- 3. (Only if 2=1) And were you working full time?
  - 1. Yes
  - 2. No → How many hours were you working?
- 4. (Only if not retired in March 2020) and currently... (read options)
  - 1. Still working at the same place
  - 2. On ERTE
  - 3. Has found a new job
  - 4. Is studying
  - 5. Unemployed and seeking work
  - 6. Dedicated to domestic tasks
  - 7. Retired or pre-retired
  - 8. Another situation
- 5. (Only if currently working (2=1 and 4=1, 2, 3) or (2>1 and 4=2,3)) What is your current professional situation? (read all the options)
  - Self-employed → How many?

Do you have employees? Yes/no

- up to 5
- between 6 and 10
- between 11 and 25
- more than 25

2 Welling Council to N 1 District to 1
<ol> <li>Working for employer →</li> <li>Private sector</li> <li>Public sector</li> </ol>
3. ONG or similar
6. (Only if 5=2) What type of contract do you have? (read all the options)
1. Temporary
2. Indefinite
6bis. (Only if 5=2) Do you have employees in your charge? (read all the options)
1. No, they don't.
2. Up to 5 3. From 6 to 10
4. From 11 to 25
5. More than 25
7. (Only if currently or previously working) Programming adjusts text based on
circumstances What is your current occupation? //What was your occupation in your
last job?(to codify with two digit ISCO classification)
8. (Only if currently working and working before pandemic) Thinking about your current working day, would you say
1. I am now working the same hours as before confinement
<ul><li>2. I am now working fewer hours than before confinement</li><li>3. I am now working more hours than before confinement</li></ul>
9. (Only if currently working) Do you work from home, even if sporadically?
(Read all the options)
<ol> <li>No, never</li> <li>Only as an exception</li> </ol>
3. Yes, at some point every week
4. Yes, almost all the time
10. (Only if currently working) Approximately how many hours did you work last week,
counting all your paid work? (Note for programmer: check by hours worked)
(140te for programmer, check by flours worked)

- 11. (Only if currently working) If you could choose, would you like to change the hours you work, in the knowledge that your salary would vary in the same proportion, in other words, if you worked fewer hours you would earn less, and if you worked more hours you would earn more?
  - 1. Would want to work more hours
  - 2. Would want to work fewer hours
  - 3. Would not want to change hours worked
- 12. (Only if living as a couple) Let's now focus on your partner, What was your partner's work situation in March 2020? Record their work situation, even if at that time they were not living together (read all the options)
  - 1. Working → 12.b and did they have a full-time job?
    - Yes
    - 2. No  $\rightarrow$  How many hours were they working?
  - 2. Dedicating time to domestic tasks and/or care
  - 3. Studying
  - 4. Unemployed or seeking work
  - 5. Retired or pre-retired
  - Another situation
- 13. (Only if living with partner and not retired in March 2020) and currently your partner... (Read options)
  - 1. Remains in the same situation
  - 2. Is now on an ERTE
  - 3. Has found a new job
  - 4. Is now unemployed and seeking work
  - 5. Dedicated to domestic tasks
  - 6. Retired or pre-retired
  - 7. Another situation, What? \_
- 14. (Only if partner is working and was working before the pandemic) In relation to your partner's working day, would you say...(Read all the options)
  - 1. Is now working the same hours as before confinement
  - 2. Is now working fewer hours than before confinement
  - 3. Is now working more hours than before confinement

- 15. (Only if partner is working) And does your partner work from home? (Read all the options)
  - 1. No, never
  - 2. Only as an exception
  - 3. Yes, at some point every week
  - Yes, almost all the time

#### To everyone

- 16. How has your **personal income** changed compared to **february 2020**? Not counting the incomes of other household members, but yours alone, (read all the options)
  - Fallen a little
  - 2. Fallen quite a lot
  - More or less the same
  - 4. Increased a little
  - 5. Increased quite a lot
- 17. During the April just finished, did **your household** have problems reaching the end of the month?
  - 1. Yes
  - 2. No
- 18. (Only if 17 = yes) Please estimate, **How much more money** would your household need in order to cover basic costs by end of the month (housing, utilities, food, transport and education and health services)?
  - 1. 300 euros or less
  - 2. Between 301 and 500 Euro
  - 3. More than 500 Euro needed to get there

### B. Changes in cohabitation since 14th March 2020 (all)

- 19. Since the decree announcing the first state of alarm, on 14th march 2020, have you experienced any of the following situations? (Multiple answers)
  - 1. Left your parents' house (only if aged <40 and living alone, as a couple, or with non-family members)
  - 2. Began cohabitation with current partner
  - 3. Separated, divorced or stopped cohabiting with partner
  - 4. Another person has joined the household

19bis. (Only if 19=3) Did the following influence in any way the breakup with your partner...

- 1. The sharing of domestic tasks or care? Yes / no
- 2. Tension generated by more prolonged cohabitation? Yes / no
- 20. (Only if age<40 and living alone, as a couple, or with non-family members) Has the pandemic postponed any of your personal plans? (Multiple answers)
  - 1. Leave parents' home. Yes /No
  - 2. Form a couple. Yes /No
  - 3. Become a mother/father. Yes /No

### e. Balancing employment and care, personal discontent and discontent with partner

To everyone

21a. Are you currently responsible for the care of a sick or dependent adult?

- 1. No
- 2. Yes, they live with me
- 3. Yes, they don't live with me

21b. (Only if living with partner) And is your partner currently responsible for the care of a **sick or dependent adult**?

- 1. No
- 2. Yes, they live with us
- 3. Yes, they don't live with us

In this section, when we speak about children, we are referring to under-18s living with you

- 21. (There are only under-18s). You told me that in your household there were under-18s. during this school year, since September 2020, have any of them...?
  - 1. Spent quarantine at home for more than a week: Yes/no
  - 2. Had on-line classes: Yes/no
- 22. (Only if living with under-18s and working) Could you tell me whether you are currently using any of the following work-life balance measures for the care of any of the under-18s in your household? (read all the options) interviewer: if self-employed they can also benefit from these measures.

If also living with partner, after asking about the interviewee you ask about the partner, and if they are taking long-term maternity/paternity leave and consider that they are working for that reason.

	1. You	2. Your partner (Only if living with partner)
a. Long-term leave	yes /no (if a=yes, do not continue with this column)	yes /no (if a=yes, do not continue with this column)
b. Flexitime at work	yes /no	yes /no
c. Leave for birth	yes /no	yes /no
d. Reduced hours	yes /no	yes /no
e. Change to a more convenient shift to achieve balance	yes /no	yes /no
f. Some other work-life balance measure, What?	indicate the most important	indicate the most important

- 23. (Only if no measure used 22.1a=no and 22.1b=no and 22.1c=no and 22.1d=no and 22.1e=no). And why are you not using any of these measures? (Spontaneous answer)
- 24. (Only if no measure used by partner 22.2a=no and 22.2b=no and 22.2c=no and 22.2d=no and 22.1e=no). And why is your partner not using any of these measures? (Spontaneous answer)
- 25. (Only if 21a=yes) Are you currently using any of the following work-life balance measures to care for an adult dependant? (Multiple answer) (Read options 1 to 3)
  - 1. Flexitime at work
  - 2. Reduced hours
  - 3. Change to a more convenient shift to achieve balance
  - 4. Others (specify)

- 25b. (Only if 21b=yes) Is your partner you currently using any of the following work-life balance measures to care for an adult dependant? (Multiple answer) (Read options 1 to 3)
  - 1. Flexitime at work
  - 2. Reduced hours
  - Change to a more convenient shift to achieve balance
  - 4. Others (specify)
- 26a. (Only if 25a=no to all options). And why are you not using any of these measures? (Spontaneous answer)
- 26b. (Only if the partner is not using any measure 25b=no to all options). And why is your partner not using any of these measures? (Spontaneous answer)
- 27. (Only if there are minors or 21a=yes) Would you say that the pandemic has increased the time you dedicate to the care of children or other family members?
  - 1. No, continues to spend the same hours or fewer to the care of others
  - 2. Yes, the hours dedicated to care of children or family members have increased a little
  - 3. Yes, the hours dedicated to care of children or family members have increased quite a lot.

To all

- 28. Would you say you feel discontent due to how your time is divided between work and personal life, even if you are not working at this time? (read all the options)
  - 1. No, I do not feel discontent
  - 2. Yes, would like to dedicate more time to personal life
  - 3. Yes, would like to dedicate more time to family life
  - 4. Yes, would like to dedicate more time to work
- 29. Do you often feel burnt out or overwhelmed? Yes/no
- 30. Does anyone from outside the household help with domestic tasks or the care of minors (only if there are minors)? (Multiple answer, read all the options)
  - 1. Yes, in exchange for money if 30=1 How many hours per week?

- 2. Yes, free of charge if 30=2 How many hours per week? (99=didn't know/didn't answer)
- 3. No, nobody
- 31. (Only if living with partner) In what proportion do you and your partner divide the following tasks?

	Read options				
	You quite a lot more	You a bit more	Similar for both	Your partner a bit more	Your partner quite a lot more
1. Domestic tasks (cleaning, clothes and food)					
(Only if a minor>April 2003)2. The care of children when they have not been able to go to school due to illness or in relation with COVID-19]					
(Only if a minor>April 2003) 3. The rest of childcare during the week.					

#### To everyone

- 32. Could you estimate, for a normal day, how many hours you dedicate to domestic tasks or to the care of others? 1. \_\_\_\_\_ [the sum of the two] 2. didn't know/ didn't answer
- 33. (Only if living with partner) Since the pandemic began, have you had more arguments than normal with your partner?
  - 1. Yes, a lot more
  - 2. Yes, a few more
  - 3. No
- 34. Only if 33= 1 or 2 Are these arguments related to... (Read all the options)
  - 1. The sharing of domestic tasks or care? Yes /No
  - 2. Tension through spending more time together? Yes /No .

C. The use of leave and services in households with under-	5s (This block only	y if minor> Apr	il
2016)	•	•	

Now we are going to ask about the care of your **child**.

- 35. When was your child born? Were you working at the time? (If on an ERTE it counts as employed, if without work due to temporary closure of business we will put self-employed)
  - Yes → working for... self-employed employed → ;Did you have a temporary or fixed contract?
  - 2. No, was unemployed
  - 3. No, was a student
  - 4. No, dedicated time to domestic tasks

If no permanent partner

- 36. You have told me that currently you do not have a partner, When this child was born, were you living with the father/mother of this child?
  - 1. Yes
  - 2. No
- 37. (Only if has partner or had partner) When your youngest child was born, Was your partner working? (If on an ERTE it counts as employed, if without work due to temporary closure of business we will put self-employed)
  - 1. Yes → working for... self-employed employed → ;Did you have a temporary or fixed contract?
  - 2. No, was unemployed
  - 3. No, was a student
  - 4. No, dedicated time to domestic tasks
- 38. (If the interviewer was working when the child was born) How many weeks did you use (or are thinking of using) of the maternity or paternity leave for your youngest child? Do not include breastfeeding hours. (note to programmer: if the youngest child was born before January 2021 this was 12 weeks maximum for men and 16 for women, and after it could also be 16 for men)

\_\_\_\_\_ weeks

- 39. Did you divide some of those weeks of maternity/paternity leave in order to take them part time?
  - 1. Yes → How many? \_\_\_\_\_
  - 2. No

	.(Only if has partner and partner was working from home when the child was born) And the other progenitor, how many weeks of this leave did they use [or intend to use] with your youngest child? (note to programmer: if the youngest child was born before January 2021 this was 12 weeks maximum for men and 16 for women, and after it could also be 16 for men)
	weeks
<b>/</b> 11	And your partner did they divide some of those weeks of maternity/paternity leave in

- 41. And your partner, did they divide some of those weeks of maternity/paternity leave in order to take them part time?
  - 1. Yes → How many? \_\_\_\_\_
  - 2. No
- 42. (Only if 38>0 and 40>0) Of those weeks, How many did you and your partner take [or intend to take] at the same time?

  weeks
- 43. (Only if 38>0 or 40>0) How did you decide the way to use the leave? (Read all the options) (Interviewer: remember that days for breastfeeding are not included)
  - 1. Not known, did not think of other possibilities regarding the leave
  - 2. Influenced my opinion above all
  - 3. Influenced partner's opinion above all
  - 4. Influenced equally the opinions of both
- 44. (Only if 38>0 and/or 40>0 and the interviewee was working when the child was born) in the way in which your leave and the leave of the other progenitor was used, would you say that the needs of your job were an influence (read all the options)
  - 1. Not at all
  - 2. A little
  - 3. Quite a lot
- 45. (Only if 38>0 and/or 40>0 and the partner was working when the child was born) And the needs of the job of the other progenitor? (Read all the options)
  - 1. Not at all
  - 2. A little
  - 3. Quite a lot

- 46. (Only if 38>0 or 40>0) Once the maternity or paternity leave came to an end Did you or your partner use your holidays to extend the time of care for the child?
  - 1. The two
  - 2. Your partner
  - 3. You
  - 4. Neither
- 47. If 38>0 when the maternity or paternity leave came or comes to an end, did you take or are you thinking of taking... If 40>0 And your partner?

	1. You	2.The other progenitor (only if 40>0)
a. (Only for those who were working) accumulated breastfeeding leave	yes /no	yes /no
b. (Only for those who were working) long- term leave	yes /no	yes /no
c. Unemployment benefit	yes /no	yes /no
d. (Only for those who were working) leave work to care for them	yes /no	yes /no

47bis. Before the child is three years of age, are you considering...

a. Taking them to an infant school or nursery	yes /no
b. That someone with a personal relationship will look after them free of charge	yes /no
c. Contracting someone to look after them	yes /no

- 48. (Only if 47bis.a=no), What is the main reason for your child not having gone or not going to an infant school? (Read all the options)
  - 1. Prefers them to go from three years of age
  - 2. Did not obtain a place that covered requirements or that could afford
  - 3. Not used due to reasons related to COVID-19

### f. Academic attainment, occupation, income range and origin

Finally, I want to ask you four socio-demographic questions.

49. In which country were you born? \_\_\_\_\_

Only if not working

50a. Do you receive income of any kind through a pension or rent?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

If working or 50a=yes

- 50. What is your current net monthly income? Without including others in the household, think about all your income
  - 1. Up to 600 Euro
  - 2. From 600 to 1.000
  - 3. From 1001 to 1500
  - 4. From 1501 to 2000
  - 5. From 2001 to 2500
  - 6. From 2501 to 3000
  - 7. From 3001 to 4000
  - 8. From 4001 to 6000
  - 9. More than 6000
  - 10. Didn't know/didn't answer (do not read)

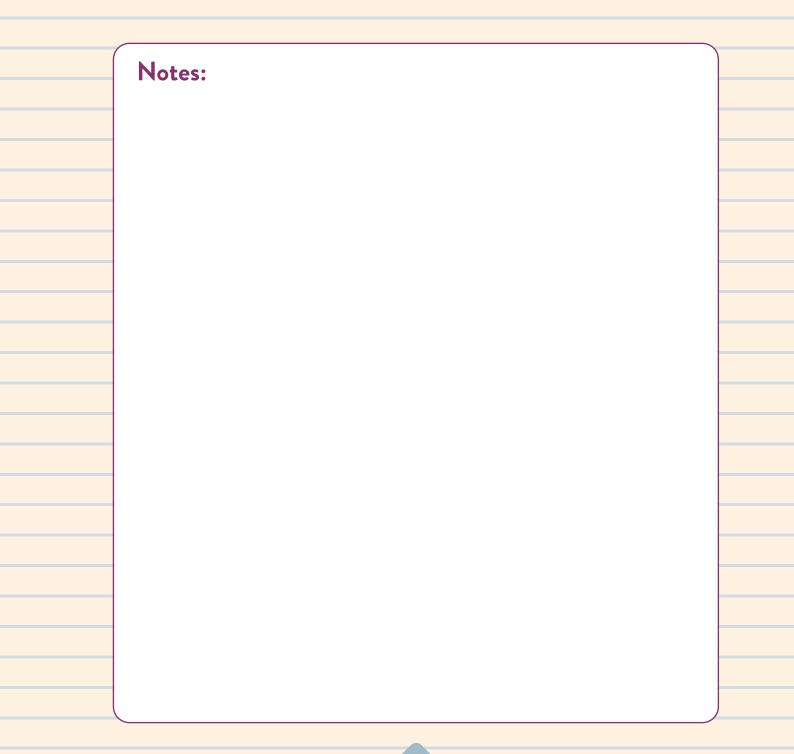
Only if more than one person in household

- 51. And counting the household as a whole? (Ask about household income for all types of family, even in not a couple)
  - 1. Up to 600 Euro
  - 2. From 600 to 1000
  - 3. From 1001 to 1500
  - 4. From 1501 to 2000

- 5. From 2001 to 2500
- 6. From 2501 to 3000
- 7. From 3001 to 4000
- 8. From 4001 to 6000
- 9. More than 6000
- 10. Didn't know/didn't answer (do not read)
- 52. (Only if living with partner) Currently you are... (Read options)
  - 1. Married
  - 2. Unmarried partner
  - 3. Living together
- 53. (Only if married 52=yes) What is your matrimonial regime
  - 1. Matrimonial assets
  - 2. Separation of assets
  - 3. Others
  - 4. Didn't know/didn't answers

You are reminded that the survey s been carried out by IMOP. We guarantee that all information provided, personal data and opinions will be treated confidentially, in compliance with current legislation. For further information you can visit our web page at www.imop.es, Are you happy with that?

Many thanks.







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