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Resum.- *L'organització del temps de les mares monoparentals, a Espanya i a Itàlia.*

Espanya i Itàlia són països identificats dins del perfil mediterrani, caracteritzat familiarisme i per un dèbil suport de l'estat de benestar. Arran de la Segona Transició Demogràfica noves formes familiars han emergit, com les famílies monoparentals, promogudes pel creixement de les taxes de divorci. Aquest estudi vol analitzar si les mares monoparentals espanyoles i italianes comparteixen patrons de temps similars a les seves homòlogues biparentals. Per fer-ho, han estat seleccionades famílies amb al menys un fill menor de 18 anys. La quantitat de temps que la mare inverteix en les activitats diàries (temps dedicat a cura, tasques de la llar, treball remunerat, cures personals i lleure) ha estat calculada. Els resultats mostren com les mares monoparentals comparteixen el mateix patró als dos països. El resultat més important és que no existeix una diferència en el temps dedicat a cura entre mares monoparentals i biparentals. Aquesta recerca contribueix a la literatura existent analitzant els usos del temps de una població emergent i inexplorada, identificant un patró comú en aquests dos països mediterranis.

Paraules clau: Usos del temps; Mares monoparentals; Treball remunerat; Treball no remunerat; Espanya; Itàlia.

Resumen.- *La organización del tiempo de las madres monoparentales, en España y en Italia.*

España e Italia son países identificados dentro del perfil mediterráneo, caracterizado por el familiarismo y un débil apoyo del estado de bienestar. Desde la Segunda Transición Demográfica nuevas formas familiares han emergido, como las familias monoparentales, promovidas por el crecimiento de las tasas de divorcio. Este estudio analiza si las madres monoparentales españolas e italianas comparten patrones de tiempo similares con sus homólogas biparentales. Para ello, han sido seleccionadas familias con al menos un hijo menor de 18 años. La cantidad de tiempo que la madre invierte en actividades diarias (tiempo dedicado a cuidado, tareas del hogar, trabajo remunerado, cuidados personales y ocio) ha sido calculado. Los resultados muestran como las madres monoparentales comparten el mismo patrón en los dos países. El resultado más importante es que no existe una diferencia en el tiempo dedicado a cuidado entre madres monoparentales y biparentales. Esta investigación contribuye a la literatura existente analizando los usos del tiempo de una población emergente e inexplorada, identificado un patrón común entre estos dos países mediterráneos.

Palabras clave: Usos del tiempo; Madres monoparentales; Trabajo remunerado; Trabajo no remunerado; España; Italia.

Abstract.- *Single-mothers' time arrangements in Spain and Italy.*

Spain and Italy are usually studied together as representatives of the Mediterranean profile, characterised by the weak support of the welfare state and familialism. New family behaviours have emerged since the Second Demographic Transition as an increase of divorce rates have led to new family forms, such as the single-mother household. This study analyses if single-mothers in these countries actually share similar patterns of time use as compared with dual-parent mothers. Families with at least one child younger than 18 years are selected. The amount of time spent by the mother in daily activities (time devoted to care-giving, housework, paid work, personal care and leisure) is calculated. The results show that single-mothers follow the same pattern in both countries. Single-mothers spend more time in remunerated work and less in housework than dual-parent mothers. The most important result is that there is not a difference in the amount of time invested in childcare between single-mothers and dual parent mothers. This research contributes to current literature by analysing the time use of an unexplored but emerging population and identifying a common path between two Mediterranean countries.

Key words: Time use; Single-mother; Unpaid work; Paid work; Spain; Italy.

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SINGLE-MOTHERS' TIME ARRANGEMENTS IN SPAIN AND ITALY¹

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1.- Introduction

In recent decades, the increasing number of divorces has generated new living arrangements. Despite historical and demographic differences in Spain and Italy, the proportion of single mothers with dependent children is similar in both countries. Lone parent households with at least one child under 18 represented 17,3% of nuclear families in Italy and 16,6% in Spain in 2011². These families are mainly led by a single-mother (86,2% and 78,9% of lone-parent families respectively). Hence, after divorce, children live with their mother more often than with their father.

Given one less adult to contribute resources to the family, single mothers may deal with difficult decisions related to the allocation of their time between market and non-market work. Single mothers face an inevitable dilemma in distributing their time between earning income and caring for their children (Himmelweit et al, 2004). They are more likely to feel pressure to work full-time to support their families, which leaves less time available to care for their children, do household work, and for leisure (Mauldin, 1990).

Single mothers do not have the same parenting support of a partner that dual parent mothers have. Many have to negotiate with their former partner about expenditures of either time or money. Nevertheless, the time a non-resident father spends with his children after a divorce decreases, especially for quotidian activities. Sometimes they reach the level of so called "Disneyland dads" (Stewart, 1999), who only have contact with their children for leisure activities. At the same time, living with other adults, such as the mothers' parents,

¹ This work forms part of her *research work*, that it was carried out at the European Doctoral School of Demography-EDSD (course 2015-2016). Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research-MPIDR, Rostock (Germany) and Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza" (Italy).

² Data from the Census 2011 by ISTAT and INE.

may alter the mother's time allocation. Other adults can contribute not only economically but also with time (Sigle-Rushton and McLanahan, 2002). These adults can help perform household work and child care, which can thereby reduce single-mothers' time strains.

The bread-winner model is still predominant in Spain and Italy, where the inclusion of women into the labour market was later than in other European countries (Sevilla-Sanz, Gimenez-Nadal and Fernández, 2010), and traditional norms are more established. Moreover, these countries do not have the same kind of institutional framework found elsewhere in Europe for coping with a high prevalence of single parent households. In this context, I will analyse how single-mothers distribute their time in these two Mediterranean countries (Spain and Italy) to establish if they have a similar pattern and to see which differences exist between single-mothers and mothers in dual parent households.

2.- Background

2.1.- Italy and Spain in a comparative perspective

In the framework of the Second Demographic Transition, Italy and Spain represent the so-called "Mediterranean Model" (Van de Kaa, 1987). In those countries, the timing to first union formation and parenthood has dramatically increased, while marriage and fertility rates have decreased. In fact, they have achieved "lowest-low" levels of fertility (Koheler, Billari and Ortega, 2002). Despite the massive and fast entry of Italian and Spanish woman into the labour force since the 1970s, there remains a lack of measures to help women find a balance between employment and family.(Delgado and Livi-Bacci, 1992). The opportunity cost for these women is larger than for their Central and North European counterparts. Women are integrated in the labour market in different ways, due to a high number of "black" or "grey" jobs. These jobs, mainly held by women, are precarious, seasonal and low paid (Solsona, 1991). Moreover, prioritizing family balances in these jobs is difficult because of their particularly long (Gutierrez, 2010) and "split-shift"³ working schedule (Garcia and Kalmijn, 2015).

The Second Demographic Transition identifies new family behaviours such as informal unions (Dominguez, Castro-Martín and Mencarini, 2007) and marital disruptions (Bernardi and Martinez-Pastor, 2011; Vignoli and Ferrero, 2009). The number of divorces, cohabiting

³ This working schedule includes a large break for lunch and the termination of work late in the evening.

couples and births out of wedlock have been historically low (Flaquer, 1994), and the degree of marriage as a central family institution is still high. In Italy and Spain, marriage still plays an important social role. Cohabitation is not as common as in other European countries, even when an increase in the proportion of cohabitation is appreciable (Sabbadini, 1997; Tobio, 2001). This is due to cultural factors as well as to economic and social policies that favour marriage. Thus, Italian cohabiters not only have more legal disadvantages than their spouses (Vignoli and Salvatini, 2014), but they are also exposed to the social and familiar pressure to marry.

On the other hand, union instability, although increasing, is still at very low levels when compared with other European countries (De Rose and Di Cesare, 2003; Solsona, et al., 1999). Rising divorce rates are strongly related to changing gender systems and gender relations in society, such as the gradual elimination of gendered items in legal provisions and the growing tendency of women to take up paid employment (Lee, 1982). There is a difference in the historical period in which divorce was legalized in Italy and Spain. During the 1970s, Europe experienced important reforms in family laws, like the legalization of divorce and abortion. Italy rapidly followed this trend, approving divorce in 1970, modernising the family law in 1975 and legalizing abortion in 1978 (Vincenzi Amato, 1988). In Spain, this process was delayed until the early 80s, during the transition to a democratic political system following the end of the dictatorship in 1975. The year 1981 was especially relevant in Spain, as the reform of the Spanish Civil Code allowed civil marriage and divorce. After its implementation, the existing *de facto* separations recognized by notaries were harmonized with the new law, showing that behaviour changes had anticipated the divorce law (Solsona et al., 1999). Another important change in Spain was made in 2005, when the “express divorce” diminished waiting time and abolished the former necessity to provide a condition for divorce (Spijker and Solsona, 2012). Currently in Italy, there is still a regulation regarding the minimum period that the spouses must have lived apart in order to have a divorce granted.

The social acceptance of divorce and its diffusion has changed over time. Initially, most “modern” couples were pioneers who had both economic and cultural means to afford divorce. As the social acceptability of the divorce increased, marriage dissolution became more common among all social statuses, even reversing socio-economic groups with higher divorce (Goode, 1962). One of the first studies in Italy found that woman of high socio-economic status were more likely to divorce in the first half of the 1970s (De Sandre, 1980). Woman of this social status did not feel the constraints that prevented the dissolution of an unhappy marriage (Barbagli and Saraceno, 1998; Francescato, 2002). De Rose (1992)

highlights that low levels of education and scarce and low-qualified occupational activities of Italian women confined them to the roles of wives and mothers. However, after a short time-lag, women with low education followed the high-educated trendsetters in a “democratization” of the marital disruption process, eventually reaching all social statuses. Previous research (De Rose and Di Cesare, 2003) suggested that the results of this process have become more widespread in Spain than in Italy, where divorce has become more frequent between individuals of better socio-economic conditions. Nevertheless, a recent study highlights that this dual-process can also be identified in Italy (Gabrielli and Vignoli, 2012).

Italy and Spain are usually considered similar countries not only because of their demographic patterns but also as supposed “welfare states” regarding the roles played by the government and other institutions (Esping-Andersen, 1999). Family is fundamental in both countries: due to solid familial ties, the family provides support to individuals facing transitions and important life decisions (Reher, 1998). The influence of the Roman Catholic Church is still present, although its power in Spain was restricted during the democratization process. Italian society is more attached to Catholic values. The position of the Church and the presence of the Vatican City within Italy’s national borders are crucial to understanding Italy’s attachment to the church’s values. It should be noted that a recent study (Vignoli and Salvini, 2014) identified that the effect of religion on the pressure to marry is conducted through family and peers and not only through Catholic dogma, playing the tradition an important role. In fact, the Italian society is experiencing secularization through an overall reduction in religious denomination and practice (Sansone, 2009).

The State is another important agent that gives their citizens support. The Italian welfare state was developed during the 1970s and early 1980s through the expansion of social and caring services (Ascoli, 1984). In Spain, the expansion of the welfare state came about ten years later during the 1980s, when health and old-age pension benefits were universalised, and new assistance schemes were introduced (Guillen, 1992). However, these work-family balance policies are ineffective, and families have to face the problem of little outside support for early childcare services (Esping-Andersen 1990).

Despite the development of the welfare state, the family and “serving work” (Balbo, 1983) carried out by women in southern welfare societies have continued to constitute an indispensable resource for many basic needs. For this reason, some researchers advocate that the levels of divorce and cohabitation in Italy and Spain will remain lower than in other European countries. On the other hand, others argue that Italy and Spain are simply late-

comers, and they have already begun adopting new family patterns. The rigid family system is experiencing a change through the new family demographic regime (De Rose and Vignoli, 2012). The onset of the diffusion of new family behaviours is delayed (Hantrais, 2005) if compared with other European countries, but at the same time it is more accelerated. Thus, in a comparative prospective, Spain and Italy are moving together in the European context (Gabrielli and Vignoli, 2013).

Despite these similarities, women's employment rates among younger cohorts increased in Spain more so than in Italy during the last decade⁴. For this reason, the proportion of dual-earner couples, where both members of the couple work, are similar in Spain to Sweden or France, while Italy's proportion is much less. These are two symptoms showing that Spain is moving away from the traditional male-breadwinner model faster than Italy (Naldini and Jurado, 2013). Italy has lower women's employment rates than Spain due to the idea that a working mother is potentially harmful to child development (Naldini and Jurado, 2013).

2.2.- Time use

Time use studies have mostly focused on the gender division of labour between couple's members (Bianchi et al., 2012; Miranda, 2011). The declining bread-winner model and the emergence of a new model in which both parents are employed have implied a reduction in the differences of time use between men and women (Ajenjo and Garcia, 2014; Sayer, 2005). Couples whose members have more egalitarian values have a more symmetrical time allocation (Meil, 2005). Other characteristics, such as higher educational attainment of women, cohabitation, and dual-earning couples, also reduce gender differences (Ajenjo and Garcia, 2011; Batalova and Cohen, 2002; Baxter, 2005; Bianchi, et al., 2014; Gonzalez and Jurado, 2009). Gender-balanced couples have lower differences in the time fathers and mothers spend on activities with children. However, the differences remain high, and mothers are still the main caregivers (García and Cortina, 2015). The gender gap is still present, especially in households with young children (Anxo et al., 2011). Thus, with the arrival of the child, women increase the time devoted to housework in Spain and Italy (Dominguez-Folgueras, 2015; Naldini and Jurado, 2013).

⁴ This difference remains stable despite the recent economic crisis that has had a strong impact on Spain, where female unemployment rates have notably increased. However, inactivity rates has fallen in Spain and remained unchanged in Italy, where the crisis didn't affect significantly female unemployment and economic inactivity (Naldini and Jurado, 2013).

A recent comparative result highlighted that the largest differences between Italian and Spanish dual-earner couples are in housework. The gender gap seems bigger in Italy, as Italian men do less housework than Spanish men, and Italian women do more housework than their Spanish counterparts (Naldini and Jurado, 2013). In fact, in Italy, the total amount of men's work is significantly less than woman's work (Burda et al., 2008). The "excess of work" performed by Italian woman can be explained mainly by the large amount of time that they spent cleaning the house. The inexistence of "iso-work"⁵ has been recently identified in Catholic countries (Burda et al., 2013) but with some exceptions (Austria and Slovenia) (Sambt, et al., 2015). Spanish women also devote more total time to work than Spanish men (Gimenez-Nadal and Sevilla, 2014); these differences are explained by the increase of women's work in the labor market.

Regarding childcare, some studies argue that single parenthood and maternal employment result in a loss of time with children (Milkie et al, 2004). Researchers refer to these possible differences in the time allocation of single and married mothers in order to explain these dissimilarities (Douthitt, 1991) while others refer to differences in time availability and needs (Sandberg and Hofferth, 2001). However, the empirical base upon which these comparisons rest is limited because of small sample sizes (Kending and Bianchi, 2008). We must also take into account cultural norms that regulate how parents should behave or "do parenthood". New ideals of parenthood include a greater role of parental input with regard to child development. Mothers and fathers now spend more time with children because of these changes in family values, which emphasize the importance of being active in parenting (Gracia, 2014). We must also consider the possibility that single mothers may reallocate priorities to spend time with their children (Bianchi, 2000). This could include reducing the time spent on other activities, such as housework, volunteer work, sleep, and free-time pursuits. Additionally, Spain and Italy are characterised by a limited supply of public care for children under three-years-old, both in terms of availability and the number of hours supplied on a day-to-day basis (Anxo et al., 2011). Because public childcare services are relatively rare in Italy and Spain women more often face "double shifts" or "dual burdens" consisting of one shift in form of paid work and another in form of unpaid work (Hill et al., 2004; Hochschild, 1989), meaning they often spend a significant amount of time operating in both spheres.

⁵ Iso-work can be identified when there is gender parity in the hours devoted to total work.

3.- Objective

The main goal of this article is to evaluate whether single-mothers allocate their time in a more diverse way than mothers in dual-parent nuclear families. Six groups of activities (paid work, childcare, household tasks, personal care, leisure and others) are evaluated separately. Considering the previous research on time use and lone parenthood, five hypotheses have been formulated to compare time use between single mothers and dual-partner mothers. Regarding paid work, single mothers spend more time in remunerated work than dual parent-mothers (H1). Single mothers are the main support for the family, which implies they not only spend a higher proportion of time in work but also work more hours to fulfil economic requirements. On the other hand, single mothers spend the same amount of time caring for children than mothers in dual parent families (H2). The reasoning for H2 is that mothers give a stronger value to childcare independent of their nuclear situation. For this reason, if mothers need to reduce total time spent on daily activities, they do via non-childcare related activities. Thus, the third hypothesis (H3) postulates that single mothers reduce their time dedicated to household tasks. Moreover, single mothers also reduce the time dedicated to leisure (H4), as it is not a priority activity. Finally, regarding other activities (such as personal care and the open category "others"), no significant differences will be observed (H5).

These hypotheses are formulated for both countries, Spain and Italy, assuming that the time allocation of single mothers in each country is similar. Despite the historical and contextual differences between countries, no different time allocation is observed among Italian and Spanish single mothers, as there are more similarities than differences between them. In this sense, the population of single-mothers in Italy and Spain should follow the same time use trends described above.

4.- Data

To perform the analysis, I use the Spanish Time Use Survey carried out in 2009-2010, which is the second edition of the time use survey conducted by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). This is a non-periodic survey directed at a sample of 9,541 households and 25,896 individuals. I also use the Italian Time Use Survey 2008-2009 conducted by Istat. This survey covers 18,250 households and a total of 44,606 individuals. The Italian survey was

conducted between 1st February 2008 and 31st January 2009, and the Spanish from 1st October 2009 to 30th September 2010. The short gap between both surveys allows for comparison. Both have a sample that was collected more often on weekends, because in general, these days show a greater variety in a population's behaviour.

All household members (in Italy older than three years and in Spain older than ten) must complete an activity diary on the chosen day. The diary's time sheet covers 24 consecutive hours and is divided into 10 minute intervals. In each of these intervals, the informant should report the main activity, the secondary activity carried out at the same time (if applicable) and person with whom the activity was conducted. For this analysis, only activities defined by the respondent as being primary are considered. These activities are coded according to a harmonised list of activities from Eurostat, which considers 10 large groups: personal care, work, studies, household and family, volunteer work and meetings, social life and recreation, sports and open air activities, hobbies and games, means of communication, and non-specified travel and use of time. In addition, the household and individual questionnaires provide valuable sociodemographic information. Sample weights are used to adjust for the stratified and clustered design of the survey as well as to balance the day of the week.

As this paper is interested in families with dependent children, only nuclear households with at least one child younger than 18 years were selected. The sample for Italy includes 3735 mothers in dual-parent households and 415 single mothers, while in Spain, the sample contains 2148 and 278 respectively. Table 1 shows the features of single-mothers with at least one child younger than 18 years as compared to dual-parent mothers with the same characteristics in Spain and Italy. First of all, single mothers have fewer children and the age of the youngest child is higher. This is not strange if we consider that the vast majority of the single mothers used to be a dual-parent mother. For this reason, the mean age of the single mothers is also higher. All children demand time, but the younger the child, the greater the need for constant supervision. This variable therefore is expected to explain a large proportion of the difference in childcare time allocation.

Historically, single mothers have participated in the labour force at higher rates than married mothers. Both countries follow this pattern, but the difference is especially important in Italy where seventy-four per cent of single-mothers are employed, twenty-four percent more than dual parent mothers. This result follows the tendency identified in previous studies highlighting the high proportion of single mothers in paid work in Spain, Italy, Belgium and France compared with other European countries such as Ireland (Bradsaw, 1996). This

characteristic is crucial and has a strong effect on time allocation of other activities, given that the time spent on work cannot be dedicated to other activities.

Table 1.- Features of single-mothers and dual parent mothers with at least one child under 18-years-old in Spain and Italy

| | SPAIN | | ITALY | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|
| | Single-mothers | Dual parent | Single-mothers | Dual parent |
| Sample | 278 | 2148 | 415 | 3735 |
| % | 11% | 89% | 10% | 90% |
| Mean age young children | 9,1 | 6,8 | 9,3 | 7,3 |
| Number of children | | | | |
| One | 72,5% | 49,2% | 64,4% | 51,7% |
| Two or more | 27,5% | 50,8% | 35,6% | 48,3% |
| Mean age mother | 39,4 | 38,8 | 41,3 | 39,5 |
| Employment status | | | | |
| Employed | 64,2% | 60,7% | 73,8% | 49,7% |
| Others | 35,8% | 39,3% | 26,2% | 50,3% |
| Civil status | | | | |
| Single | 28,6% | 8,5% | 16,3% | 1,6% |
| Married | 9,4% | 90,3% | 0,0% | 97,8% |
| Divorced | 55,7% | 1,1% | 83,7% | ,6% |
| Widowed | 6,3% | ,2% | 0,0% | 0,0% |
| Educational attainment | | | | |
| Primary or less | 16,7% | 16,3% | 38,5% | 39,9% |
| Secondary | 58,2% | 46,5% | 46,9% | 44,6% |
| Higher | 25,1% | 37,2% | 14,5% | 15,5% |
| Nationality | | | | |
| Natives | 80,1% | 82,1% | 89,8% | 90,9% |
| Foreigners | 19,9% | 17,9% | 10,2% | 9,1% |
| Household typology | | | | |
| Only one nucleus | 74,9% | 93,4% | 90,1% | 95,9% |
| + other people | 25,1% | 6,6% | 9,9% | 4,1% |
| Domestic service | | | | |
| Yes | 6,3% | 10,1% | 5,4% | 5,7% |
| No | 93,7% | 89,9% | 94,6% | 94,3% |

Source: Own calculations based on the micro-data from the Spanish Time Use Survey 2009-2010 and the Italian Time Use Survey 2008-2009.

Another important aspect of the sample is that single-mother families live more frequently with other people. Although the majority of single parent families are independent, the proportion of female-headed households that live with others is remarkable. In this sense, Spanish single mothers live in more complex households than Italian ones, as one in four single-mothers live with other people in Spain. Sharing a household may be interpreted as a coping mechanism for economic and social needs (Treviño, 2011). Moreover, the support of the extended family, such as grandparents or other close relatives, facilitates the balance between family and work (Bazán, et al., 2014, Ruspini, 1999).

Mothers' educational attainment differences are observed in Spain, where the proportion of single mothers with superior education is twelve points less than mothers in dual-parent

households. These discrepancies are not observed in Italy, as the percentages among dual-parent and single-mothers are similar. This trend has been identified before (Treviño, 2006), since Spanish single mothers are more educationally disadvantaged than their European peers. Regarding civil status, the typical trajectory of these women is that they went through a divorce or separation (more than fifty per cent in Spain and eighty per cent in Italy are divorced). Additional studies have identified that the most frequent trajectory of woman after a separation or divorce is to remain single (Vanassche, Corijn and Matthijs, 2015). Finally, the use of domestic service is more common in Spain than in Italy, but single-mothers always have low consumption of external domestic help.

But are there also differences in terms of time use? Table 2 and Graph 1 give a general overview of mothers' average time use by country and family typology. The averages have been calculated without controlling for any other variable. On average, mothers spend most of the time (about 11 hours per day) doing personal care activities such as sleeping, eating, washing and dressing. Other important activities are paid work, housework and leisure. The amount of time which is on average devoted to these activities depends strongly on the country and typology.

Table 2.- Mothers' Average Time by Country and Nuclei Typology (in hh:mm)

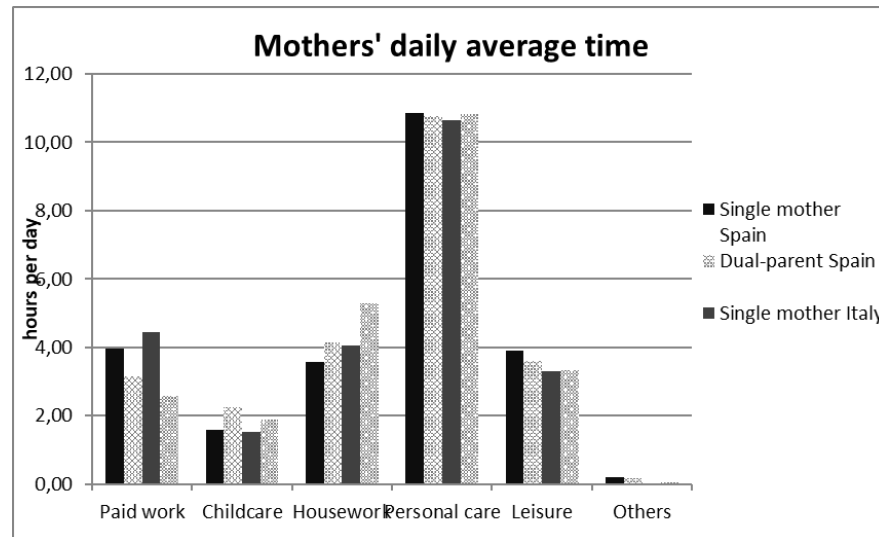
| | SPAIN | | | ITALY | | |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|------------|---------------|-------------|------------|
| | Single mother | Dual-parent | Difference | Single mother | Dual-parent | Difference |
| Paid work | 3:59 | 3:08 | 0:50 | 4:27 | 2:35 | 1:52 |
| Childcare | 1:35 | 2:14 | -0:39 | 1:31 | 1:53 | -0:22 |
| Housework | 3:35 | 4:09 | -0:34 | 4:02 | 5:17 | -1:14 |
| Personal care | 10:51 | 10:46 | 0:05 | 10:39 | 10:50 | -0:10 |
| Leisure | 3:53 | 3:35 | 0:18 | 3:19 | 3:20 | -0:01 |
| Others | 0:12 | 0:10 | 0:02 | 0:01 | 0:03 | -0:02 |

Source: Own calculations based on the micro-data from the Spanish Time Use Survey 2009-2010 and the Italian Time Use Survey 2008-2009.

Single mothers invest more time in paid work than dual-parent mothers. This difference is especially important in Italy (about two hours) but less important in Spain (less than one hour). One important difference between the two countries is the amount of time mothers spend on housework. This "housework" includes activities such as cooking, cleaning and doing laundry, and it has a higher value in Italy. Women living with their partner devote, on average, more than five hours per day to those activities. This result is consistent with previous studies, which found that in a European context, Italian women spend the most

amount of time performing household tasks (Sambt et al., 2015). Little time is devoted to childcare independent of the mother's characteristics. However, we will take into account that these results only show general tendencies, without controlling for important variables such as the age of the youngest child or the employment status of the mother.

Graph 1.- Mothers' Daily Average Time



Source: Own calculations based on the micro-data from the Spanish TUS 2009-2010 and the Italian TUS 2008-2009.

5.- Methods

To estimate the time that the mother spends on different activities over a day, six dependent variables were defined: childcare, housework, paid work, personal care, leisure and other activities. This way, the individual total time spent is 24 hours per day, and no time is left out of the analysis. The main independent variable is the family typology: single mother or dual parent household. Moreover, other explanatory variables are selected according their relevance in the previous literature. These variables are: age of the youngest child, mother's employment status, mother's educational attainment and mother's age.

General Linear Models are performed to analyse the time difference between single mothers and dual parent mothers. The model can be expressed as:

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * x_1 + \beta_2 * x_2 + \dots + \beta_p * x_p + e$$

Where, y is the difference of time between single mothers and dual parent mothers with characteristics (x_1, \dots, x_p) and β is the vector of the coefficient. I determine a reference category for each p variable of the model, obtaining $k-1$ coefficients for each variable, where k is equal to the number of categories. General Linear Models are reproduced for each dependent variable (childcare, housework, paid work, personal care, leisure and other activities) and are calculated independently for each country: Spain and Italy.

To establish which variables have an effect, four models are built. The first includes only the independent variable (typology: dual-parent or single-mother). In the second model, the age of the youngest child is added. This variable is defined for two groups, where the youngest child is less than four years old or between four and seventeen. Pre-primary education from three to five years is not compulsory in Italy or Spain, but it is integrated into the education system and attended by 97% and 98% of children respectively (Naldini and Jurado, 2013). In the third model, the mother's employment status (employed or not employed) is incorporated. Finally, the fourth model includes both the age of the mother and the mother's educational attainment, codified into three categories (primary and less, secondary and tertiary). Other variables such as domestic service, living with other members in the household or income of the household have been considered. However, they are not included in the final model because of their low significance or the impossible harmonization between Italian and Spanish survey variables.

6.- Results

Single mothers compensate for not having a partner living with them by working more hours. This can be generalized independently of the country of origin, noting that single mothers always spend more time in remunerated work. Model 1, in which only family typology is included (Table 3), shows that single mothers invest more time in paid work than mothers in dual parent nuclear families. This difference is bigger in Italy, where single mothers invest around two hours more per day working. With regard to unpaid work, single mothers allocate fewer hours to non-remunerated activities. This can be seen as a mechanism of adjusting the time remaining after considering paid work. In Spain, this reduction of time is distributed equally between childcare and housework (around half hour in each one), and in Italy, the reduction is much stronger in housework (one hour and thirteen minutes less). Further

dissimilarities between countries are identified in leisure and personal care categories. The amount of time single mothers spend on personal care is significant only in Italy, where single mothers invest fifteen minutes less. The opposite happens in Spain, where single-mothers allocate twenty-two minutes more on leisure activities.

Table 3.- Single mothers with children less than age 18 time uses (ref. dual-parent mothers) Model 1 (nuclei typology and weekday)

| | SPAIN | | ITALY | |
|---------------|-------|---------|-------|---------|
| | B | * | B | * |
| Work | 0:41 | *** | 1:54 | *** |
| Childcare | -0:38 | *** | -0:22 | *** |
| Housework | -0:31 | *** | -1:13 | *** |
| Personal care | 0:07 | No sig. | -0:15 | *** |
| Leisure | 0:22 | ** | -0:03 | No sig. |
| Others | -0:00 | No sig. | -0:01 | * |

The thresholds of significance are: *** 1%; ** 5%; * 10%.

When age of the youngest child is added in Model 2 (Table 4), the differences in childcare lose significance. Single-mothers invest less time on their children because they are older than children in dual parent families. In fact, if a woman is a single-mother and her youngest child is between 0 and 3 years-old, she spends around 2 hours more on childcare (Annex 1) than if the child was older. It seems the value the mothers give to childcare does not change over family type, but it changes depending on the age of the child. On the other hand, the differences in paid work by in family type remain significant and important; working single-mothers spend 34 minutes more on work in Spain and 1 hour and 47 minutes more in Italy. Moreover, there is an increase in the differences in household tasks. Because “unpaid work” is defined as the sum of household tasks and childcare, it is important to notice only one aspect of this concept of “unpaid work”, housework, is significant. When controlling by the age of the youngest child single-mothers are investing 44 minutes less in housework in Spain and 1 hour and 19 minutes less in Italy. Here, having a young child acts in the opposite way. If the single-mother has a baby, she reduces in 59 and 43 minutes, in Spain and Italy respectively, the time in household tasks (Annex 1). It seems clear that when a child is young, they require more childcare, so the mother concentrates more of her time on that rather than on housework. The differences between countries in time spent on leisure and personal

care are still significant and with the same sign: in Spain, women spend 14 minutes less in leisure, and in Italy, they spend 22 minutes more in personal care.

Table 4.- Single mothers with children less than age 18 time uses (ref. dual-parent mothers) Model 2 (M1+ age young children)

| | SPAIN | | ITALY | |
|---------------|-------|---------|-------|---------|
| | B | * | B | * |
| Work | 0:34 | ** | 1:47 | *** |
| Childcare | -0:10 | No sig. | -0:05 | No sig. |
| Housework | -0:44 | *** | -1:19 | *** |
| Personal care | 0:06 | No sig. | -0:14 | *** |
| Leisure | 0:16 | * | -0:08 | No sig. |
| Others | -0:01 | No sig. | -0:01 | * |

The thresholds of significance are: *** 1%; ** 5%; * 10%.

Model 3 (Table 5) incorporates the variable “mother’s employment status.” The results are clear; when controlling for employment status (and knowing that single-mothers work in higher proportions than dual-parent mothers), we affirm that these mothers not only work in more proportion, but they also work more hours. The amount of time a single-mother invests in work is around half an hour more than dual-parent mothers (in Spain this difference is 35 minutes, and in Italy it is 26 minutes). This may be a mechanism to adjust the economic necessities of the household; usually, the single-mother is the only person who contributes to the household income. In order to survive, single-mothers are pushed to work more hours. Again, the amount of time invested in work determines the time spent at home, and as the time spent on childcare does not change by family type, the time spent on housework is reduced. While this reduction is stronger in Spain (44 minutes) it is also important in Italy, 32 minutes. An employed single-mother with young children spends 2 hours and 10 minutes less time on household tasks in Spain and 2 hours and 50 minutes less in Italy (Annex 2). In fact, while being employed reduces time spent on all other possible activities, the strongest reduction is in household tasks. The difference of time spent on personal care in Italy between nuclei typologies disappears. In other words, the fact that single-mothers invest less time in personal care is only due to their status as workers. Contrary to this, the difference in time allowance to leisure activities in Spain is still significant (15 minutes more for single-mothers).

Table 5.- Single mothers with children less than age 18 time uses (ref. dual-parent mothers) Model 3 (M2+ mother's employment status)

| | SPAIN | | ITALY | |
|---------------|-------|---------|-------|---------|
| | B | * | B | * |
| Work | 0:35 | ** | 0:26 | *** |
| Childcare | -0:10 | No sig. | 0:05 | No sig. |
| Housework | -0:44 | *** | -0:32 | *** |
| Personal care | 0:06 | No sig. | -0:06 | No sig. |
| Leisure | 0:15 | * | 0:08 | No sig. |
| Others | -0:01 | No sig. | -0:02 | ** |

The thresholds of significance are: *** 1%; ** 5%; * 10%.

Table 6 shows the results of the last model, model 4, which includes all preceding variables, plus the mother's educational attainment and age (Annex 3). The differences observed between nuclei typology remain stable: single-mothers spend more time in work and less time completing housework in both countries. There are not significant differences in the amount of time invested in childcare. The mother's educational attainment also does not have an impact on the distribution of time during a day. The mother's age also does not have an effect, meaning that there are no generational differences in terms of time use. Thus, this final model shows that the hypotheses regarding paid work, childcare, household and other activities (H1, H2, H3 and H5) cannot be rejected. However, hypothesis H4, which refers to leisure, should be rejected, as Spanish single-mothers invest more in this activity than dual parent mothers.

Table 6.- Single mothers with children less than age 18 time uses (ref. dual-parent mothers) Model 4 (M3+ mother's educational attainment + mother's age)

| | SPAIN | | ITALY | |
|---------------|-------|---------|-------|---------|
| | B | * | B | * |
| Work | 0:34 | *** | 0:26 | *** |
| Childcare | -0:09 | No sig. | 0:08 | No sig. |
| Housework | -0:45 | *** | -0:35 | *** |
| Personal care | 0:06 | No sig. | -0:05 | No sig. |
| Leisure | 0:16 | * | 0:08 | No sig. |
| Others | -0:00 | No sig. | -0:01 | ** |

The thresholds of significance are: *** 1%; ** 5%; * 10%.

7.- Conclusion

A common pattern of time use for single-mothers in Spain and Italy has been identified in this article. The logic behind the behaviour of single-mothers is not easy to interpret, but it seems they concentrate their efforts on covering the basic necessities of their children. This includes attending not only to their emotional and physical necessities though childcare but also ensuring they possess the economic means necessary to support their children though remunerated work. For this reason, single-mothers invest more time in remunerated work than dual-parent mothers. In this sense, they are not only employed in higher proportions, but they also work more hours in order to compensate the absence of another income-provider member. The category in which there is the strongest reduction of time is housework. This reduction is the way single-mothers compensate for the additional time invested in remunerated work. Of course, this reduction is conditional on the age of the youngest child. However, this re-adjustment of time is not present in personal care. It seems the extra pressure of being a single parent does not have an effect on their personal care activities such as sleeping or taking care of themselves. Surprisingly, there is a difference in time spent on leisure activities only for Spanish mothers, and it moves in the opposite of the expected direction. Single-mothers in Spain invest more time on leisure activities than dual-parent mothers. While multiple explanations are possible, more research is needed in order to reach a justified answer of this particular phenomenon.

Italy and Spain follow a similar pattern in the overall distribution of single-mothers' daily use of time. However, further analysis should be done in order to explain if these similarities are stable over time and among spatial regions. In fact, general regional heterogeneity is well known, especially between the North and the South of Italy. While we see that the national average allocations of time is similar between Italy and Spain, more knowledge is required to determine if this resemblance is only observed because some regions have a higher proportion of single-mothers.

Moreover, this analysis has been made by comparing two different populations, single-mothers and dual-parent mothers, with similar characteristics. Because of the nature of time use surveys, it is only possible to perform a cross-sectional analysis. However, the most appropriate for of analysis would be longitudinal in nature. A longitudinal survey would allow individuals to be analysed from a life-course perspective to determine whether their time uses patterns change following a life event such as divorce. Additionally, the man's contribution to childcare and household tasks in dual-parent households could be estimated and compared with the time of single-mothers following separation in order to understand

if this extra amount of time is adopted by the woman to compensate for the loss of this additional figure at home. Other methodologies, such as qualitative approaches, can be also contemplated for a deeper understanding of the results. Hence, possible methodological problems identified in time use surveys, such as the underestimation of multitasking or auto-identification of main and secondary activities could be better evaluated. Furthermore, the quality or intensity of some activities, such as childcare, could be assessed from a subjective perception which is not possible to evaluate in current time uses survey formats.

This article is an approximation of the time use of single-mothers in Spain and Italy, and it sheds light on a phenomenon scarcely studied. Initial insights can be found here to help understand how these women manage their daily time. This research is especially relevant when considering that more women are likely to experience a period of single motherhood during their lives. However, further research is needed to comprehend whether these specific patterns of time allocation are only characteristic of single-mothers in Mediterranean countries or is common among all single-mothers. Thus, once these time use patterns have been identified, the next step will be to analyse the underlying causes of these characteristic behaviours in order to gain a deeper understanding of the lives of these women.

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Annexes:

Annex 1

a) Spain. Model 2 (M1+ age young children)

| | N | PAID WORK | | CHILDCARE | | HOUSEHOLD TASKS | | PERSONAL CARE | | LEISURE | | OTHERS | |
|---------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| | | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig |
| Nuclei Typology | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Monoparental | 278 | 0:34 | 0,029 | -0:10 | 0,202 | -0:44 | 0,000 | 0:06 | 0,413 | 0:16 | 0,100 | -0:01 | 0,805 |
| Dual-parent | 2.148 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Age youngest child | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0-3 | 824 | -0:37 | 0,000 | 2:11 | 0,000 | -0:59 | 0,000 | -0:04 | 0,393 | -0:29 | 0,000 | -0:02 | 0,221 |
| 4-17 | 1602 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Intersection | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| R2 | | 3,358 | ,000 | 3,133 | 0,000 | 4,514 | 0,000 | 10,785 | 0,000 | 3,773 | 0,000 | ,183 | 0,000 |
| | | ,008 | | ,003 | | ,040 | | ,001 | | ,011 | | ,001 | |

b) Italy. Model 2 (M1+ age young children)

| | N | PAID WORK | | CHILDCARE | | HOUSEHOLD TASKS | | PERSONAL CARE | | LEISURE | | OTHERS | |
|---------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| | | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig |
| Nuclei Typology | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Monoparental | 415 | 1:47 | 0,000 | -0:05 | 0,388 | -1:19 | 0,000 | -0:14 | 0,007 | -0:08 | 0,265 | -0:01 | 0,073 |
| Dual-parent | 3.735 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Age youngest child | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0-3 | 1174 | -0:44 | 0,000 | 1:58 | 0,000 | -0:43 | 0,000 | 0:02 | 0,494 | -0:34 | 0,000 | -0:00 | 0,954 |
| 4-17 | 2976 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Intersection | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| R2 | | 2,866 | ,000 | 3,133 | 0,000 | 5,475 | 0,000 | 10,830 | 0,000 | 3,440 | 0,000 | ,046 | 0,000 |
| | | ,029 | | ,003 | | ,031 | | ,002 | | ,013 | | ,001 | |

Annex 2
a) Spain Model 3 (M2+ mother's employment status)

| | N | PAID WORK | | CHILDCARE | | HOUSEHOLD TASKS | | PERSONAL CARE | | LEISURE | | OTHERS | |
|---------------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|--------|
| | | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig |
| Nuclei Typology | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Monoparental | 278 | 0:35 | 0,005 | -0:10 | 0,183 | -0:44 | 0,000 | 0:06 | 0,419 | 0:15 | 0,095 | -0:01 | 0,805 |
| Dual-parent | 2.148 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Age youngest child | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0-3 | 824 | -0:20 | 0,014 | 2:08 | 0,000 | -1:07 | 0,000 | -0:06 | 0,221 | -0:34 | 0,000 | -0:02 | 0,215 |
| 4-17 | 1602 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Mother employment status | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Employed | 1.475 | 4:49 | 0,000 | -0:49 | 0,000 | -2:10 | 0,000 | -0:32 | 0,000 | -1:19 | 0,000 | -0:01 | -0,010 |
| Non-employed | 951 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Intersection | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| R2 | | ,358 | ,006 | ,252 | 0,000 | ,5875 | 0,000 | ,11,120 | 0,000 | ,4,604 | 0,000 | ,189 | 0,000 |

b) Italy Model 3 (M2+ mother's employment status)

| | N | PAID WORK | | CHILDCARE | | HOUSEHOLD TASKS | | PERSONAL CARE | | LEISURE | | OTHERS | |
|---------------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------|--------|--------|-------|
| | | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig |
| Nuclei Typology | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Monoparental | 415 | 0:26 | 0,006 | 0:05 | 0,375 | -0:32 | 0,000 | -0:06 | 0,273 | 0:08 | 0,243 | -0:02 | 0,043 |
| Dual-parent | 3.735 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Age youngest child | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0-3 | 1174 | -0:45 | 0,000 | 1:58 | 0,000 | -0:42 | 0,000 | 0:03 | 0,463 | -0:34 | 0,000 | -0:00 | 0,949 |
| 4-17 | 2976 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Mother employment status | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Employed | 2313 | 4:49 | 0,000 | -0:34 | 0,000 | -2:50 | 0,000 | -0:30 | 0,000 | -0:57 | -0,944 | 0:01 | 0,011 |
| Non-employed | 1837 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Intersection | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| R2 | | ,319 | ,000 | ,1,638 | 0,000 | ,6,973 | 0,000 | ,11,091 | 0,000 | ,3,938 | 0,000 | ,040 | 0,000 |

Annex 3

a) Spain Model 4 (M3+ mother's age + mother's educational attainment)

| | N | PAID WORK | | CHILDCARE | | HOUSEHOLD TASKS | | PERSONAL CARE | | LEISURE | | OTHERS | |
|---------------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| | | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig |
| Nuclei Typology | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Monoparental | 278 | 0:34 | 0,007 | -0:09 | 0,213 | -0:45 | 0,000 | 0:06 | 0,424 | 0:16 | 0,072 | -0:00 | 0,945 |
| Dual-parent | 2.148 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Age youngest child | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0-3 | 824 | -0:21 | 0,032 | 1:37 | 0,000 | -0:39 | 0,000 | -0:15 | 0,013 | -0:21 | 0,005 | -0:04 | 0,112 |
| 4-17 | 1602 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Mother employment status | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Employed | 1.475 | 4:53 | 0,000 | -0:58 | 0,000 | -2:03 | 0,000 | -0:32 | 0,000 | -1:20 | 0,000 | -0:01 | 0,426 |
| Non-employed | 951 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Educational attainment | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Higher | 398 | -0:21 | 0,080 | 0:48 | 0,000 | -0:34 | 0,000 | 0:02 | ,823 | -0:01 | 0,939 | 0:03 | 0,245 |
| Secondary | 1163 | -0:10 | 0,358 | ,353 | 0,001 | -0:07 | 0,343 | -0:03 | ,679 | -0:03 | 0,682 | -0:02 | 0,492 |
| Primary or less | 865 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Age of the mother | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <40 | 1268 | 0:05 | 0,592 | 0:47 | 0,000 | -0:44 | 0,000 | 0:15 | 0,007 | -0:23 | 0,001 | 0:01 | 0,528 |
| >=40 | 1158 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Intersection | | 0,108 | 0,530 | 2,162 | 0,000 | 5,721 | 0,000 | 11,084 | 0,000 | 4,755 | 0,000 | ,241 | 0,000 |
| R2 | | ,359 | | ,287 | | ,244 | | ,021 | | ,085 | | ,003 | |

b) Italy Model 4 (M3+ mother's age + mother's educational attainment)

| | N | PAID WORK | | CHILDCARE | | HOUSEHOLD TASKS | | PERSONAL CARE | | LEISURE | | OTHERS | |
|---------------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|-------|
| | | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig |
| Nuclei Typology | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Monoparental | 415 | 0:26 | 0,007 | 0:08 | 0,116 | -0:35 | 0,000 | -0:05 | 0,315 | 0:08 | 0,255 | -0:01 | 0,046 |
| Dual-parent | 3.735 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Age youngest child | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0-3 | 1174 | -0:45 | 0,000 | 1:35 | 0,000 | -0:25 | 0,000 | -0:00 | 0,944 | -0:24 | 0,000 | -0:00 | 0,510 |
| 4-17 | 2976 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Mother employment status | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Employed | 2.313 | 4:52 | 0,000 | -0:38 | 0,000 | -2:42 | 0,000 | -0:31 | 0,000 | -1:02 | 0,000 | 0:01 | 0,097 |
| Non-employed | 1.837 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Educational attainment | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Higher | 1648 | -0:10 | 0,250 | 0:48 | 0,000 | -1:08 | 0,000 | 0:08 | ,093 | 0:22 | 0,000 | -0:00 | 0,653 |
| Secondary | 1865 | -0:06 | 0,351 | ,347 | 0,000 | -0:23 | 0,000 | 0:03 | ,381 | 0:05 | 0,263 | 0:00 | 0,911 |
| Primary or less | 637 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Age of the mother | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <40 | 2070 | 0:01 | 0,902 | 0:40 | 0,000 | -0:23 | 0,000 | 0:04 | 0,211 | -0:23 | 0,000 | 0:01 | 0,163 |
| >=40 | 2080 | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref | ref |
| Intersection | | 0,195 | 0,197 | 1,977 | 0,000 | 6,219 | 0,000 | 11,167 | 0,000 | 4,412 | 0,000 | ,030 | 0,010 |
| R2 | | ,402 | | ,272 | | ,309 | | ,023 | | ,063 | | ,002 | |