



Instructions for authors, subscriptions and further details:

<http://rasp.hipatiapress.com>

Gender and Informal Social Support in Spanish Culture

Mercedes Fernández-Alonso¹ & Marta Ortega Gaspar ¹

1) Universidad de Málaga. España

Date of publication: July 30th, 2018

Edition period: July 2018-December 2018

To cite this article: Fernández-Alonso, M. y Ortega, M. (2018). Gender and informal social support in Spanish culture. *Research on Ageing and Social Policy*, 6(2), 118-146. doi: 10.447/rasp.2018.3212

To link this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.447/rasp.2018.3212>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

The terms and conditions of use are related to the Open Journal System and to [Creative Commons Attribution License \(CCAL\)](#).

Gender and Informal Social Support in Spanish Culture

Mercedes Fernández-Alonso
Universidad de Málaga

Marta Ortega Gaspar
Universidad de Málaga

(Received: 26 January 2018; Accepted: 20 May 2018; Published: 30 July 2018)

Abstract

This paper analyses informal social support as a relevant factor in the process of maintaining the Spanish welfare state. There has been considerable theoretical discussion but little empirical work done to determine the factors that influence the provision of this type of support. More specifically, this article explores the factors that determine the provision of informal social aid in Spanish society at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Using data from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), we examine three kinds of informal social support offered by the Spanish citizens: emotional, domestic and economical. The form of aid they offer most frequently is emotional support. Gender has a significant impact on emotional and domestic support, although we do not observe a gender effect in the case of economic support.

Keywords: Informal social support, gender, family kinship/solidarity welfare state, Spain.

Género y Apoyo Social Informal en la Cultura Española

Mercedes Fernández-Alonso
Universidad de Málaga

Marta Ortega Gaspar
Universidad de Málaga

(Recibido: 26 enero 2018; Aceptado: 20 mayo 2018; Publicado: 30 julio 2018)

Resumen

Este trabajo analiza el apoyo social informal como un factor relevante en el proceso de mantenimiento del estado de bienestar español. Ha habido una discusión teórica considerable, pero se ha realizado poco trabajo empírico para determinar los factores que influyen en la provisión de este tipo de apoyo. Más específicamente, este artículo explora los factores que determinan la provisión de ayuda social informal en la sociedad española a principios del siglo XXI. A través de los datos del Internacional Social Survey Programme (ISSP), se examinan tres tipos de apoyo social informal ofrecidos por los ciudadanos españoles: emocional, doméstico y económico. La forma de ayuda que se ofrece con mayor frecuencia es el apoyo emocional. El género tiene un impacto significativo en el apoyo emocional y doméstico, aunque no se observa un efecto del género en el caso del apoyo económico.

Palabras clave: apoyo social informal, género, estado de bienestar solidario/de parentesco, España.

The context of the present study is the one of the Spanish society around the beginning of the 21st century, before the economic recession and under the Rodriguez Zapatero social political party governance. Following the thesis defended by Paleo & Alonso (2014) the period is distinguished by a context of a centre-left political government context in which a tendency to promote equality policies prevails. In this sense Lombardo & León (2014) indicate that at that time, the advances in gender equality policies were particularly prominent. Indeed, in the first decade of 2000, equality policies were able to consolidate in Spain.

In spite of the extensive development of European welfare states, their advances in the equality gender process and their systems of formal social support, they are not able to cover all the needs of their populations in everyday social life, due to the growing demand for health care, child-care services, elderly dependent day services, and so on. Consequently, systems of informal support, such as the family—and within it, the support offered by women (Robles, 2002; Tobío, 2005; Van Gaalen & Dykstra, 2006; Kalmijn, 2007)—are very important as a complement to the support that can be obtained from the formal systems in the private and public sectors.

This study focuses on the analysis of informal support as a relevant factor in the process of maintaining the Spanish welfare regime. Spain belongs to the Southern model (Ferrera, 1996; Moreno, 2000) of welfare regime, characterized by an underdeveloped welfare state in which the family is the safety net that mainly supports the needs of its citizens. More specifically, Spain fits with the ‘family/kinship solidarity’ welfare state model (Naldini 2003, p. 31): ‘in this model intergenerational ties and kin solidarity along the life course are expected both within the household and between households’. In this context it is expected that caring work should be carry out by the family (women) because of the low developed of the social services for children and the elderly. Kalmijn & Saraceno (2008) sustain that the Southern European countries maintain stronger kinship ties and a more familistic culture.

The main objective of this investigation is to study the social phenomenon known as ‘informal social support’, analyzing the factors that influence the Spanish predisposition to offer different types of support at the domestic, emotional and economic level. There has been considerable

theoretical discussion – but little empirical work has been done – to determine the factors that influence the provision of informal support. At the same time its purpose is to contribute to the reflection of the role that gender plays in the provision of informal social support.

The advance in the knowledge of the influence of the social structure on these types of informal supports and in this specific case, the study from the gender perspective, is of particular importance to offer clarity on the reality that involves the different needs of individuals and the different ways of satisfying them. For these reasons, it is intended to call for reflection in order to help inspire future social protection policies aimed at the development of equality. The current social and family policies model shows cases that warn of their dysfunction and mainly affect women (increased stress, limitations in their careers, delayed motherhood or the decision no to have children, etc...). It is increasingly necessary to design social policies that fit the real demands of our population.

Theorizing Informal Social Support

This paper focuses on the theoretical concept of informal social support based on the definition offered by Caplan (1974) who refers to the aids and assistance that an individual obtains through the family members, friends, neighbours and others. Informal social support is the opposite concept of formal social support (aids provided by the institutions). Following the definition above in this paper it is understood that the informal social support comes from close relations and from those people who, without relying on formal institutions, offer their help informally, not regulated or institutionalized. Other authors such as Cutrona (1996) affirm that close relations are the greatest source of social support.

The role of the State as a provider of aid (formal social support) is very important during the first and last years of the life of a person (Esping-Andersen & Palier, 2010). The majority of the aid (namely related to domestic task (including care), emotional and material needs) that a person receives during her whole life is provided by the informal support (mainly by female family members). This fact together with the idiosyncrasy of the Spanish family/kinship solidarity model (Naldini, 2003) requires the need to

deepen on the knowledge of the informal social support in Spain and the influence of gender on the provision of the needs of the citizens.

The Spanish and European society are experiencing a wide range of changes (financial and political, [Kotlifoff & Burns, 2004](#); social, [House, Umberson & Landis, 1988](#); familial, related to the problems of work life balance, [Ortega, 2013](#); among others). It is expected that different kind of needs will increase, and as a consequence conflicts¹ related to the new requirements of the older population will intensify as well. In fact, experts predict an important change in the care needs of the population ([Johnson, Toohey & Wiener, 2007](#); [Anderson & Knickman, 2001](#); [Evans, McGrail, Morgan, Barer, & Hertzman, 2001](#); [Robson, 2001](#)), although academics have not paid sufficient attention to this development. Informal social support can be understood as a mean to maintain the welfare state among other reasons to covert the increasing need of care as a result of the process of ageing. [Laparra \(2011\)](#) observes how long-term care needs influence on the persistent of ‘familialism’.

Based on the interaction between the family and the welfare state (informal and formal social support), [Daly and Lewis \(2000: 296\)](#) define ‘social care’ as an ‘activity and a set of relations lying at the intersection of state, private sector and family (and voluntary sector) relations’. These actors in the provision of care are present in every European country, but the importance or the role of each varies considerably from one country to another. In the same vein, [Anttonen & Sipila \(1996\)](#) developed a ‘social care regime’ typology. This distinguishes countries that offer either mainly informal care provision or primarily formal care provision. Spain falls into the group of countries that hand over responsibility for care almost entirely to the family (informal care). Spain is a family-oriented society in which the norm of family-care is dominant ([Böhnke, 2007](#); [Daly, 1999](#)); family members have always contributed to the vast majority of care provision (e.g. [Brodaty & Donkin, 2009](#); [García-Gómez, Jiménez-Martín, Oliva, & Vilaplana Prieto, 2011](#)). Women still continue to provide the principal support; they care for children, spouses ([Meil, 2007](#); [Valiente, 2002](#); [Tobío, 2001](#)) and for their grandchildren as well ([Megías & Ballesteros, 2011](#)).

In this regard, [Rogerio \(2010\)](#) shows that the distribution of the care supply is unequal between the members of the household. In Spain, the

division of roles (inside and outside households) is correlated with gender (Ortega, 2013). Thus it is more likely that women have an unpaid work than men (Durán, 2003; Durán & Rogero, 2004) and that they (women) spend more time caring than men (Durán, 2007).

Most of the early care literature in the last decade highlights the role that gender play in the informal social support and the intergenerational relationships (Naldini, 2003). Specifically, women appear as the main caregivers (wives, daughters, daughters in law) (Stone, Cafferat, & Sangl, 1987; Antonucci & Schulz, 2003; Van Dussen & Morsan, 2009). Regarding the types of care provided by women are fundamentally personal-care tasks (instrumental support) and emotional support (Dwyer & Coward, 1991; Scout and Wenger, 1996). Authors such as Finch (1989) and Hochschild (1989) observe that it is relatively common for married women to support their husbands emotionally, whereas the husbands generally give their wives little help in developing their professional careers. In the case of economic support, many investigations emphasise that economic aid flows essentially from parents to children (Attias-Donfut, 2000). Research tends to highlight the role of men (Attias-Donfut, Ogg & Wolff, 2005; Freeman & Ruan, 1997; Kohli & Kunemund, 2003).

From a functionalist perspective, the division of roles among the members of the nuclear family is legitimated as a guarantee of maintaining the social order. Classical Sociology (e.g. Parsons, 1955) divides family gender roles into expressed roles and instrumental roles. The patriarchal family is thus consolidated, characterised by a strict division of family roles (affective and instrumental). From the Feminist perspective Pateman (1983) offers an interesting critique of the public and the private dichotomy. Fraser (1994) emphasis the crumbling of the old gender order (centred in the male breadwinner wage) as a crucial factor that explain the crisis of the industrial-era welfare states. Walby (1990) maintains that it is women who usually perform tasks related to the care and raising of children and in 2009, in a reflection about globalization and inequalities, updated the Patriarchy theory and offered an interesting classification between public and domestic gender regimes. In Spain, Guillén & León (2011) analyse the gender equality policies advances and highlight that the achievement of a better work-life balance as one of the main challenges of the Spanish welfare state

in the 21st century. González & Segalés (2014) indicate that, in Spain, the budget cuts carried out from 2010 affected the dependency law, reducing state economic support to caregivers of dependent relatives and eliminating social protection for non-professional caregivers.

The variable network composition is very important too in the analysis of informal support in this country. In Spain, as a Mediterranean welfare state, the social support and obligations between kinship members is a key factor to satisfy the needs of the dependent members of the family (Naldini, 2003). Studies such as that of Simmel (1949), a pioneer in this area, attempted to discover how the structural form of networks constrains the individual's behaviour. Some urban sociologists (Fischer, 1982; Wellman & Leighton, 1979) argue that personal networks have replaced communities of local solidarity as the main resource for interpersonal aid, as a result of the transformation of the industrial social system. Studies since 1957 indicate that relatives have special importance in any kind of networks. Kinship operates as a social network (Scott, 2012; White, 2011; Werbner, 1990).

If the family network as a whole is analysed, as the results of Börsch-Supan, et al. (2005) reflect, Spain is one of the European countries in which older people have extensive family networks. Typically, these networks are composed of two or three siblings, more than two children and five or six grandchildren. Therefore, the physical distance between parents and children is smaller than in other countries. Thus in Spain it is common practice to live in close proximity with relatives which can be considered as an opportunity of greater intergenerational aid exchanges (Brandt, Haberkern, & Szydlik, 2009; Meil, 2007; Kalmijn, 2007; Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997), all this has an impact on the intensity of their relationships. These links are reflected especially in the help they provide to one another (particularly to the eldest, most dependent people) and how well personal contacts are maintained, leading us to confirm the presence of a high density, familial relations model (Meil, 2007).

Hypotheses

The general hypothesis for this study is based on the supposition that in a family/kinship solidarity welfare state² the variables that refer to ascribed

status³ will exert an important influence on the predisposition of the individual to offer different kinds of informal support. In this case, those circumstances will contribute to offer a special protagonist to women. It is also presumed that the different kinds of informal social support offered by Spanish individuals are differentiated by the social factors that determine that behaviour.

When the variables that assist in explaining the provision of informal support are ascribed, it should be understood that the society studied responds to the ideal model of a solidarity familistic welfare state.

Based on the assumption that Spain is a solidarity familistic welfare state, the general hypothesis is subdivided into three specific hypotheses, as follows:

H1: The provision of domestic aid is gendered. Women tend to provide this kind of help to other relatives, friends and/or neighbours in a higher proportion than men.

H2: It is assumed that the provision of emotional aid depends on gender and age.

H3: The provision of economic aid depends on material aspects. In this case the income and the employment status have been taken as a proxy for the socioeconomic position of the subject. In case of economic aid, men are more likely to provide financial support than women.

Data and Methods

The source of the data used to study the case of Spain was the ISSP (2001) (*International Social Survey Programme, Social Networks II*). The survey was conducted in 25 countries. In the case of Spain, the sample included 1214 individuals 18 years of age or older who live in private households. The fieldwork was carried out in May, 2001. The weighting was applied according to sex and age. The unit of analysis was men and women of at least 18 years who live in Spain.

It should be noted that, although the data come from 2001, the present analysis is relevant for three reasons. Firstly, because of its originality, no study has been carried out to determine in detail the factors that influence on the provision of informal social support in Spain and only ISSP (2001)

offers this possibility so far. Secondly, due to the fact that the gender inequality linked to this social phenomenon remains in the time, what has been verified through the analysis of the data of ISSP 2012⁴. Thirdly, it contributes to shedding light on the understanding of family/kinship solidarity welfare model (Naldini, 2003). We developed an initial descriptive analysis to obtain a preliminary general view, followed by a second explanatory analysis to be able to understand the factors that determine the different kinds of aid offered by informal Spanish carers. The general explanatory analysis includes three *logit* analyses for each kind of aid granted (“domestic”, “economic” and “emotional”).

The dependent variable is dichotomous in all the *logit* models. The response items are: *gives or does not give aid*. The original variable comes from Question 73 of the questionnaire, which was re-codified. The original question read as follows:

In the last twelve months, how often have you done one of the following things for someone you know personally, such as a relative, friend, neighbour or other acquaintance: a. Helped someone outside your household with housework or shopping; b. Lent someone a considerable sum of money; c. Spent time talking to someone who was somewhat sad or depressed?

We considered each of the possible responses (taken as dependent variables in each model), because we started from the hypothesis that the social factors that influence these aid-giving actions vary according to the kind of aid offered. The options for response were:

More than once a week, once a week, once a month, at least two or three times a year, once in the last year, at no time in the last year, do not know, no comment.

The question was re-codified so that, in the analysis of the different models, the dependent variable took the form of a dichotomous variable: a) the interviewee helped or did not help someone outside the household with housework or shopping; b) he or she lent or did not lend someone a considerable sum of money; c) he or she did or did not spend time talking to someone who was somewhat sad or depressed.

As the dependent variables were dichotomous, we proceeded to select three *logit* models of discrete choice, one for each case or dependent variable, such that we could determine the effect of the different independent variables chosen on the probability that the individual gives informal support (of a different nature) to other people.

After reviewing the literature on this material, we incorporated a series of socio-demographic, network composition and attitudinal variables for the analysis of informal social support.

The independent variables are: *socio-demographic variables* (the nominal variables are treated as dummy or fictitious): sex (man, woman), marital status (married or living with a partner, separated, widowed, single), educational level (continuous variable, educational level achieved, where 1 indicates no education and 7 completion of a university degree), income (continuous variable, included as the Neperian logarithm of the interviewee's income from the class marker of each interval considered in the original question on income in pesetas, which ranges from 25,000 - 530,000 pesetas⁵), employment status (employed, unemployed, inactive), habitat (rural, urban), interviewee's age (interval variable: 18-35, 36-55, 56-75); *variables of the configuration of the personal network*: size of the family network (continuous variable determined from the development of an index that ranges from 0 (indicating that the respondent has no relatives) to 10 (including all kinds of relatives considered in the study). This index was generated using the sum of the following variables: has a mother, has a father, has children at least 18 years old, has aunts or uncles, has cousins, has parents-in-law, has brothers- or sisters-in-law, has nieces or nephews, has godparents, has siblings over 18 years of age. We omitted the variable of having children under 18 years of age from this index because we believe that adults in this situation have fewer opportunities to provide domestic aid to other households because they are responsible for minors, which limits their availability. Further, in the case of Spain, there are substantially fewer adults with children under 18 than with children over 18 and frequency of visits to the mother (sees or visits infrequently, sees or visits often) and *one attitudinal variable*: degree of trust in people (continuous variable, where 0 indicates no trust and 4 high level of trust⁶).

The Provision of Informal Social Support in Spain

It has been proved that the Spanish ‘kinship provider network’ offers emotional aid more frequently than other kind of support (Table 1). Altogether 65.5 per cent of Spaniards of both sexes stated that they had spent time talking to someone who was sad or depressed in the previous twelve months (in the year 2000). Women tended to provide a greater proportion of emotional support than men. Regarding domestic tasks and shopping, we would point out that 54% of women offer domestic assistance, as opposed to 44% of men. These differences continued to be significant when we asked about the frequency with which this kind of aid is offered. Spanish women provide this kind of aid more frequently than Spanish men. The Spanish are much less likely to provide financial aid: 78.5% of Spaniards indicated that they had not lent a considerable sum of money to anyone in the last year. In this case, we found almost no differences between the behaviour of men and women, although men are likely to lend money somewhat more frequently than women.

Table 1

Informal social support in Spain by types of aids and gender.

		Men %	Women %	Total %
Helped someone outside your household with housework or shopping	Helped	44.2 (255)	54.4 (336)***	49.5 (591)
	Didn't help	55.8 (322)	45.6 (282)	50.5 (604)
Lent someone a considerable sum of money	Helped	22.4 (128)	20.7 (127)	21.5 (255)
	Didn't help	77.6 (443)	79.3 (488)	78.5 (931)
Spent time talking to someone who was somewhat sad or depressed	Helped	61.8 (353)	69.0 (425)***	65.5 (778)
	Didn't help	38.2 (218)	31.0 (191)	34.5 (409)

Source: Developed by the authors from the "International Social Survey > Programme, 2001" (ISSP, 2001).

*** indicates statistical significance at 1%, ** at 5%, * at > 10%.

Factors that Influence the Provision of Informal Social Support in Spain

The following analysis shows the factors that influence the social action of providing aid to others in the Spanish population, taking into account the different kinds of aid offered. We have developed three *logit* models, each corresponding to a specific form of social aid: physical or domestic, affective or emotional, and economic.

First, we analyse *domestic aid*⁷. In Spain (Table 2), being a woman, single, employed and belonging to a wide family network determines the predisposition to provide *domestic aid*. Other factors like habitat and age also exert an influence, although these variables have a statistically lower significance than the variables indicated. We observe that in Spain people who live in the city and people 18-35 years of age are more likely to help others with household tasks than are those who live in rural environments, (which are more often associated with a traditional way of life) and those aged 56 to 75 years.

Table 2

Logit estimations of the probability that the Spanish will help people outside their household with domestic tasks.

Variables	Coef. (1)		E. Marg.(2)
Constant	-0.8570		
Socio-demographic:			
Sex			
Women	0.7845	***	0.1924
Marital status:			
Married	-0.9932	***	-0.2411
Separated or divorced	-0.7807	*	-0.1892
Widowed	-1.5508	***	-0.3437
Education (years of study)	-0.0222		-0.0055
Employment status:			
Unemployed	0.9978	**	0.0319
Inactive	0.1282		0.0319
Habitat:			

(continued)

Table 2

Logit estimations of the probability that the Spanish will help people outside their household with domestic tasks (continued).

Variables	Coef. (1)		E. Marg.(2)
Constant	-0.8570		
36-55	0.0218		0.0054
56-75	-0.5136	^	-0.1277
Income (as a Neperian logarithm) in pesetas	0.2255		0.0563
Variables of composition of the personal network:			
Size of family network	0.1439	**	0.0359
Frequency of visits to mother:			
Sees or visits the mother often	-0.1422		-0.0355
Attitudinal variables:			
Degree of trust in people	0.0453		0.0113
Number of observations	516		
Log likelihood	-325.04661		
Test of Reason of verisimilitude [LR chi2 (14)]	64.74		
Prob>chi2	0.0000		
Pseudo R²	9.06%		
%correct predictions	64.34%		

Source: Developed by the authors from the *International Social Survey Programme, 2001(ISSP, 2001)*

(1) *** indicates statistical significance at 1%, ** at 5%, * at 10%, ^ at 15%.

(2) Marginal effects calculated according to Greene (1999)

By gender, the data show that H1 is supported (“The provision of domestic aid is gendered. Women tend to provide help to other relatives in a higher proportion than men”). The variable *sex* is a determinant of the predisposition of a person to provide domestic aid (this variable has a high statistical significance). Women have a probability of 19.24 percentage points more than men of providing domestic aid.

Durán (1988) suggests that women tend to view part of the domestic tasks, particularly dedication to care of children, as their obligatory and non-negotiable responsibility. Del Campo & Rodríguez-Brioso (2003) observe that in Spain demographic changes such as the ageing population are creating a new phenomenon concerning care needs. Further, as De Miguel

Castaño (1993) has explained, this fact has clear consequences for other social phenomena, such as women's employment status. The fact is that women are more likely to be responsible for domestic tasks (in the private sphere), and this influences labour patterns and generate a gender segmentation of the public sphere. In this sense the results point to potential uncertainty regarding the maintenance of the present social consensus. There is a contradiction between egalitarian attitudes and "old" behaviours (Valiente, 1997).

Marital status also exercises an important influence on whether or not a Spaniard will provide informal social aid. The analysis shows that single people are more likely to offer domestic help than those in any other kind of marital situation. According to the literature, the assistance a person in need of support receives comes mainly from descendants, especially from those who live in the same home. This is particularly true of most family-oriented environments (Fernández-Alonso, 2012; Kalmijn & Saraceno, 2008; Hoff, 2007).

As one would expect, *employment status* influences (significance at 5%) this kind of behaviour. In the case of our study, it is the unemployed who show a greater probability, of 3.19 percentage points, of helping others with household tasks and shopping than working people. Unemployed individuals have more flexibility in organising their time than those who work. Other investigations show that social support modifies the relationship between unemployment stress and health responses (Gore, 1978).

The more extensive an individual's *family network*, the greater the probability that he or she will provide domestic aid to others; specifically, as the size of the network grows, this probability increases by 3.59 percentage points. The greater the number of members in a personal network, the more needs of this nature arise within it, generating a wide demand for social support. The analysis proves that the wider the family network the higher the probability that the Spanish will help other people with domestic chores.

Next, we analyse the provision of *emotional aid* (Table 3). The Spanish most likely to provide emotional aid are women, people who belong to a large family network and/or younger people (18 to 35). Using the *logit* analysis of the probability that Spaniards will offer emotional aid, we are able to confirm that in Spain the variable of *sex* influences whether or not a

person tends to give this kind of support (Finch, 1989; Horchschild, 1989; Scout & Wenger 1996). Women show a tendency to be 10.20 percentage points more likely than men to provide emotional aid. On the other hand, according to age, people between 56 and 75 years are less likely than young people (18 to 35) to provide this kind of aid. For example, some researches focused on young people underline the tendency to report high levels of peer support in those with the highest levels of emotional problems (Helsen, Vollebergh & Meeus, 2000).

Table 3

Logit estimations of the probability that the Spanish will provide emotional aid.

Variables	Coef.		E. Marg.
Constant	-0.3081		
Socio-demographic variables:			
Sex			
Women	0.5001	**	0.1020
Marital status:			
Married	-0.4222		-0.0863
Separated or divorced	-0.2706		-0.0592
Widowed	-0.4651		-0.1042
Education (years of study)	0.0129		0.0027
Employment status:			
Unemployed	0.5022		0.0947
Inactive	0.2821		0.0577
Habitat:			
Urban	0.2868		0.0616
Age:			
36-55	-0.0430		-0.0090
56-75	-0.8042	**	-0.1764
Income (as a Neperian logarithm) in pesetas	0.2700		0.0565

Variables of composition of personal network:

(continued)

Table 3

Logit estimations of the probability that the Spanish will provide emotional aid (continued).

Size of family network	0.1315	**	0.0275
Frequency of visits to mother:			
Sees or visits the mother often	-0.0600		-0.0126
Attitudinal variables:			
Degree of trust in people	0.0031		0.0006
Number of observations	513		
Log likelihood	-299.28067		
LR chi2 (14)	38.18		
Prob>chi2	0.0005		
Pseudo R²	0.0600		
% correct predictions	69.98%		

Source: Developed by the authors from the *International Social Survey Programme, 2001 (ISSP, 2001)*

(1)***indicates statistical significance at 1%, ** at 5%, * at 10%, ^ at 15%.

(2) Marginal effects calculated according to Greene (1999)

The H2 (the provision of emotional aid depends on gender and age) is confirmed. This analysis proves that sex and age certainly exert an influence on this kind of behaviour. The analysis also supports a widely held view of the provision of emotional aid in that it shows that the greater *the size of the family network* to which the individual belongs, the greater the likelihood that he or she will provide emotional support to another. Nevertheless, other variables considered, such as employment status, frequency of contact with the family and trusting attitude, have not been shown to be determining factors in this kind of behaviour.

Regarding the informal *economic aid* (Table 4), we do not see differences according to gender. In this case, sex is not a statistically significant variable. Recently, Fernández-Alonso, & Jaime (2016) have found some similar results in this regard. They argue that the principal explanation for this situation is that the vast majority of married Spanish women do not have a separate source of income. According to the ISSP study on “Family and

Changing Gender Roles IV” (2012) (ISSP Research Group, 2014), only 11% of Spanish couples keep their incomes entirely separate.

Table 4
Logit Estimations of the probability that the Spanish will provide economic aid.

Variables	Coef.		E. Marg.
Constant	-1.7638		
Socio-demographic:			
Sex			
Women	0.0457		0.0085
Marital Status:			
Married	-0.7251	**	-0.1411
Separated or divorced	-0.4273		-0.0721
Widowed	-0.3873		-0.0663
Education (years of study)	-0.049		-0.0091
Employment Status:			
Unemployed	1.0012	*	0.2225
Inactive	-0.0699		-0.0129
Habitat:			
Urban	0.5130	**	0.0896
Age:			
36-55	0.2514		0.4774
56-75	-0.1790		-0.0328
Incomes (as a Neperian logarithm) in pesetas	0.4979	**	0.0930
Variables of the personal network composition:			
Size of family network	0.0291		0.0054
Frequency of visit to mother:			
Sees or visits the mother often	0.2941		0.0557
Actitudinal variables:			
Degree of trust in people	0.3384		0.0063
Number of observations	511		
Log likelihood	-278.4497		
Test of Reason of verosimilitude	33.20		
(LR chi2 (14)			(continued)

Table 4

Logit Estimations of the probability that the Spanish will provide economic aid (continued).

Prob>chi2	0.0027
Pseudos R²	0.0563
% right predictions	73.38%

Source: Developed by the author *International Social Survey Programme, 2001 (ISSP, 2001)*

(1)***indicates statistical significance al 1%, ** al 5%, * al 10%, ^ al 15%.

(2) Marginals effects calculated according to Greene (1999)

The factors that effectively determine whether a Spaniard will provide a considerable sum of money are marital status, habitat, income (statistical significance at 5%) and/or employment status (significance at 10%). Single people show a 14.11% higher probability of lending money to others than married people. People who live in the city have a probability of 9 percentage points higher than those who live in the country; and/or those who have a higher income. The unemployed have a higher predisposition to let money than those who are working (although it should be noted that with a low statistical significance (10%). The explanation for this may stem from the fact that these individuals live in an environment of great material need, which promotes the development of strong bonds of solidarity.

We have confirmed that there are more factors that influence this behaviour than those initially considered. Hypothesis H3, developed initially with regard to the predisposition to provide economic aid (in which the factors that influence this kind of aid are income and employment status), is also confirmed. The analysis shows that the variables that do in fact influence a Spanish individual's predisposition to provide economic aid are income, employment status, habitat and marital status.

Conclusions and Discussion

The results obtained are drawn from two kinds of analysis. First, the descriptive analysis shows that the kind of aid that Spanish 'kinship provider network' model offer most commonly is emotional. Second, the explanatory

analyses (three *logit* analyses for each of the forms of support considered: economic, emotional and domestic) show the peculiarities of the informal social support given by the Spanish. These analyses allow us to specify the factors that determine the predisposition to offer each of these types of informal support, which enables us to compare the similarities and differences between them. The three analyses contribute to a deeper understanding of a form of behaviour that has a profound influence on the quality of life of individuals. This aspect could be usefully pursued as a worthwhile line of research in the future.

It is confirmed that gender and the configuration of the personal network has an important influence on people's behaviour in terms of the kind of informal social aid that they provide to others, specifically domestic and emotional aid in Spain at the beginning of the twenty-first century. This result agrees with the contribution by Naldini (2003), which confirms that the personal and family network and the gender determines the provision of social support in a Mediterranean welfare state. Women offer more help than men with household tasks and shopping, and on the emotional level. In both areas, the differences according to gender are statistically significant. One possible explanation for this phenomenon may be found in functionalist theory, which advocates precisely the functionality of the current system of gender role division, and which assigns to the woman the role of caretaker (in the broad sense of the term, both in the physical, material and the non-material or affective aspects of care).

This investigation confirms what the literature has repeatedly pointed out: the predominant role of women as primary caregivers and informal support is determined by gender, both in quantity and type of task (Stone, Cafferat, & Sangl, 1987; Dwyer & Coward, 1991; Antonucci & Schulz, 2003).

Nevertheless, regarding the economic aid the Spanish give, we do not see differences between men and women (a result that contradicts our initial hypothesis), probably because in Spain the familial economy is still one unit (women have less economic independence than in other countries). These results are consistent with Fraser (1994).

Finally, we should expect that the behaviour analysed could be divided into two kinds of actions (rational and affective). Rational actions include domestic and economic aid. Affective actions include purely emotional acts.

This study leads us to observe that, even if many different factors intervene in rational choices (domestic aid: sex, marital status, employment status, habitat and size of family network; economic aid: marital status, employment status, habitat and income) social pressures decrease in the least rational/affective choices (emotional aid: sex, age and size of family network). Therefore, emotional and domestic aid have in common that in Spain gender and family network are factors that determine this kind of informal social support. This result is in concordance with the previous theoretical assumption that in this country, according to Naldini (2003), gender and the personal and family network are crucial factors that explain this social phenomenon analysed.

Among the possible limitations of this study, the data source of the 2001 Social Networks II Survey has been used because to date there is no other source with which to answer the research question raised here. In this sense, the contribution made in this field is original and scarcely studied in Spain. Along with this, we want to emphasize the fact that the present study pretends to be a preliminary study, centered in Spain. This limitation can be considered as a guarantee of the interest that may lead to future longitudinal comparative study to analyse the changes occurring around the social phenomenon of informal social support, among other reasons, due to the social transformations as a consequence of a period of economic crisis recently experienced. It is important to emphasize that although the context of the present study is prior to the economic crisis experienced since 2008 and the austerity policies carried out (which have had a negative impact on gender equality, as Paleo & Alonso (2014) and Lombardo & León (2014) observed), the more recent ISSP 2012 data reinforce the idea supported in this paper that the provision of informal social support continues to be mainly carried out by women.

By this study we hope to urge reflection on the need for change in the predominantly patriarchal model of society as we begin to see cases that warn us of its dysfunction and that affect primarily women. Women experience these effects in very different ways: on levels of health, both physical and psychological (increase in situations of stress, anxiety, chronic fatigue, etc.); of work, including limitations in their professional career (the pervasive question of the ‘glass ceiling’ as imposed by the system or self-

imposed by the woman); and in the private sphere, their life experience, which on many occasions is evident in delayed motherhood, the decision not to have children, decreased family size, etc. For these reasons we believe it is necessary to develop a deeper understanding of the real present and future need for social support in order to design social policies that fit the actual demands of our population. We do not mean to say that informal social aid should disappear, but rather that it is crucial to offer formal social support that serves as an adequate complement to the structure of informal social support already existing in Spain.

These social changes increase the complexity of the provision of support. The elderly remain living on their own for longer. This increases the difficulty of helping them; some years ago they used to live with their children and grandchildren. The life expectancy rate has increased (this increases the number of elderly, especially women, who would be expected to require help, primarily when they reach their 80s). The size of the family is smaller than 40 years ago; nowadays a couple have 1.2 children (in Spain, the fertility rate is one of the lowest in the world, which means there will be a lower probability of sharing the responsibility of care with another member of the family). The female extra-domestic activity rate is increasing, which makes it more difficult to reconcile work and personal life.

Although the social changes experienced in Spain have modified some of its familial social functions (for example, a more egalitarian distribution of household tasks between men and women, more developed services of formal support to dependent people), we can say that the family has come to occupy first place in the economic, emotional and informal social support available to the individual. The results of this study allow us to affirm that in Spain, today, the family offers the best network of social protection. This makes it important to highlight its relevance and draw it to the attention of policy-makers.

Acknowledgments

We acknowledge the financial support of the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (Grants PSI2008-01937 and CSO2015-69439-R).

Notes

¹ Such as the conflicts related to the work-life balance as a consequence of the growing demands of elderly care needs.

² In most societies there is a consensus norm stating that family members must take care of each other in case of need although it is expected to be stronger in familistic countries (Dykstra, 2010; Kalmijn & Saraceno, 2008; Lowenstein & Daatland, 2006). For instance, the Spanish Civil Code establishes several legal obligations toward elderly parents: the duty of nurturing them, filial respect and the obligation of contributing to household expenses.

³ Ascribed status is applied when factors or variables inherent at birth, such as sex, age, and family origin, tend to exercise a crucial influence on individual status. In contrast, acquired status means that factors that depend on personal effort tend to play a larger role in determining status.

⁴ The ISSP 2012 focuses on collecting data on the family and changes in gender roles so it does not allow the in-depth study of the informal social support phenomenon. While there are no significant differences between the opinions of men and women in relation to who should be the main providers of child and elderly care, Spanish men are still more traditional than women. For example, the data confirm that Spanish adult women (2012) continue to spend more hours per week than men on such tasks (29 hours versus 19).

⁵ The Spanish peseta was replaced by the euro on January 1, 1999. One euro is equivalent to 166,386 pesetas.

⁶ There are authors who point out the importance of the trust attitudinal variable in the study of informal social support in order to verify how the level of trust towards people influences the predisposition to offer the different types of aid analyzed here. The informal social support as a dimension of the social capital of any society must take into account in its measurement the trust that its citizens have in the other. Harpham, Grant, & Thomas (2002).

⁷ Domestic aid refers to the support offered to those living in a different house from that of the interviewee

References

- Anderson, G., & Knickman, J.R. (2001). Changing The Chronic Care System To Meet People's Needs. *Health Aff November*, 20(6), 146-160. doi: [10.1377/hlthaff.20.6.146](https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.20.6.146)
- Antonucci, T.C., & Schulz, R. (2003). Families, social support and Caregiver. In W.R. Hazzard, J.P. Blass, J.B. Halter, J.G. Ovslander & M.E. Tinetti (Eds.), *Principles of geriatric medicine and gerontology* (pp. 255-263). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Anttonen A., & Sipilä J. (1996). European social care services: is it possible to identify models?. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 6(2), 87-100.

- Attias-Donfut, C. (2000). Cultural and economic transfers between generations. *The Gerontologist*, 40(3), 270–272.
- Attias-Donfut, C., Ogg, J., & Wolff, FCH. (2005). European patterns of intergenerational financial and time transfers. *European Journal of Ageing* 2(3), 161-173.
- Böhnke, P. (2007) ‘Poverty and Social Integration in the Enlarged Europe’, Social Science Research Center/WZB Discussion paper, Berlin.
- Börsch-Supan, A., A. Brugiavini, H. Jürges, J. Mackenbach, J. Siegrist, G. Weber (Eds.) (2005). *Health, ageing and retirement in Europe – First results from the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe*. Mannheim: Mannheim Research Institute for the Economics of Aging (MEA).
- Brandt, M., Haberkern, K. & Szydlik, M. (2009). Intergenerational help and care in Europe. *European Sociological Review* 25(5), 585–601. doi: [10.1093/esr/jcn076](https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcn076)
- Brodaty, H. & Donkin, M. (2009). Family caregivers of people with dementia. *Dialogues in Clinical Neuroscience* 11(2), 217-228.
- Caplan, G. (1974). *Support systems and community mental health: Lectures on concept development*. New York: Behavioral Publications.
- Cutrona, C. E. (1996). *Social support in couples. Marriage as a resource in times of stress*. Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Daly, M. (1999). The functioning family: Catholicism and social policy in Germany and the Republic of Ireland. *Comparative Social Research*, 18, 105–133.
- Daly, M. & Lewis, J. (2000). The concept of social care and the analysis of contemporary welfare states. *British Journal of Sociology*, 51(2), 281-98.
- De Miguel, C. (1993). Profesión y género. In L. Garrido & E. Gil-Calvo (1993), *Estrategias familiares*. Madrid: Alianza Universidad.
- Del Campo, S. & Rodríguez-Brioso, M. (2003). La gran transformación de la familia en la segunda mitad del siglo XX. *REIS. Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 100(2), 103-165.
- Durán, M. A. (1988). *De puertas adentro*. Madrid: Instituto de la Mujer.
- Durán, M. A. (2003). El trabajo no remunerado en la familia. *Arbor: ciencia, pensamiento y cultura*, 176(694), 239-268.

- Durán, M. A. (2007). *El valor del tiempo ¿Cuántas horas te faltan al día?*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Durán, M.A. & Rogero, J. (2004). Nuevas parejas para viejas desigualdades. *Revista de Estudios de Juventud*, 67, 25-37.
- Dwyer, J.W. & Coward, R.T. (1991) A multivariate comparison of the involvement of adult sons versus daughters in the care of impaired parents. *Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences*, 46(5), 259-269.
- Dykstra, P.A. (2010). *Intergenerational Family Relationships in Ageing Societies*. Geneva: United Nations Publications.
- Esping-Andersen, G. & Palier, B. (2010). *Los tres grandes retos del Estado del Bienestar*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Evans, R.G., McGrail, K.M., Morgan, S.G., Barer, M.L. & Hertzman, C. (2001). APOCALYPSE NO: Population Aging and the Future of Health Care Systems. *Canadian Journal on Aging*, 20 (Supplement S1), 160-191.
- Fernández-Alonso, M. (2012). Social support networks in Spain: the factors that determine models of choice. *International Sociology*, 27(3), 384-402. doi: [10.1177/0268580911423063](https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580911423063)
- Fernández-Alonso, M. & Jaime-Castillo, A.M. (2016). Welfare state and individual expectations of economic support: A comparison of Norway and Spain. *International Sociology*, 31(1), 37-56.
- Ferrera, M. (1996) The ‘Southern’ Model of Welfare in Social Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 6(1), 17-36.
- Finch, J. (1989). *Family Obligations and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fischer, C.S. (1982). *To dwell among friends: Personal networks in town and city*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Fraser, N. (1994). After the family wage: Gender equity and the welfare state. *Political theory*, 22(4), 591-618.
- Freeman, L.C. & Ruan, D. (1997). An international comparative study of interpersonal behaviour and role relationships. *L'Année Sociologique*, 47(1), 89-115.
- García-Gómez, P., Jiménez-Martín, S., Oliva, J. & Vilaplana Prieto, C., (2011). Cuidados no profesionales y atención a la dependencia: los cuidados informales. *Papeles de Economía Española* 129, 83-97.

- González, E. & Segales, M. (2014): Women, gender equality and the economic crisis in Spain. In M. Karamessini & J. Rubery (Eds.), *Women and Austerity. The Economic Crisis and the Future for Gender Equality* (pp. 228-247). London: Routledge.
- Gore, S. (1978). Consequences of unemployment. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 19, 157-165.
- Greene, W.H. (1999). *Análisis Económico*. Madrid: Prentice Hall Ibérica.
- Guillén, A.M & León, M. (Eds.) (2011) *The Spanish Welfare State in the European Context*. Aldershot, United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing.
- Harpham, T. Grant, E., & Thomas, E. (2002). Measuring social capital within health surveys: key issues. *Health Policy Plan*, 17(1), 106-111.
- Helsen, M.; Vollebergh, W., & Meeus, W. (2000). Social support from parents and friends and emotional problems in adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 29(3), 319-335. doi: [10.1023/A:1005147708827](https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1005147708827)
- Hoff, A. (2007). Patterns of intergenerational support in grandparent-grandchild and parent-child relationships in Germany. *Ageing & Society*, 27, 643-665. doi: [10.1017/S0144686X07006095](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X07006095)
- Horchschild, A. (1989). *The Second Shift*. New York: Avon Books.
- House, J.S., Umberson, D. & Landis, K.R. (1988). Structures and processes of Social Support. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 14, 293-318.
- ISSP Research Group (2003). International Social Survey Programme: Social Relations and Support Systems / Social Networks II – ISSP 2001. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA3680 Data file Version 1.0.0. doi: [10.4232/1.3680](https://doi.org/10.4232/1.3680)
- ISSP Research Group (2014). International Social Survey Programme: Family and Changing Gender Roles IV – ISSP 2012. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA5900 Data file Version 2.0.0. doi: [10.4232/1.12022](https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12022)
- Johnson, RW., Toohey, D. & Wiener, JM., (2007). *Meeting the Long-Term Care Needs of the Baby Boomers: How Changing Families Will Affect Paid Helpers and Institutions*. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.

- Kalmijn, M. (2007). Gender differences in the effects of divorce, widowhood and remarriage on intergenerational support: Does marriage protect fathers? *Social Forces*, 85(3), 1079–1099. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2007.0043>
- Kalmijn, M. & Saraceno, C. (2008). A comparative perspective on intergenerational support. *European Societies*, 10(3), 479–508. doi: [10.1080/14616690701744364](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616690701744364)
- Kohli, M. & Künemund, H. (2003). Intergenerational transfers in the family: What motivates giving?. In V.L. Bengtson & A. Lowenstein (Eds.), *Global Aging and Challenges to Families* (pp. 123-142). New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Kotlifoff, L.J. & Burns, S. (2004). *The coming generational storm*. Cambridge MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, MIT Press.
- Laparra, M. (2011). Long-term care: the persistence of familialism. In A.M. Guillén & M. León (Eds.), *The Spanish Welfare State in the European Context*. Aldershot, United Kingdom: Ashgate Publishing.
- Lombardo, E. & León, M. (2014). Políticas de igualdad de género y sociales en España: origen, desarrollo y desmantelamiento en un contexto de crisis económica. *Investigaciones Feministas*, 5, 13-35. doi: [10.5209/rev_INFE.2014.v5.47986](https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_INFE.2014.v5.47986)
- Lowenstein, A. & Daatland, S.O. (2006). Filial norms and family support in a comparative crossnational context: Evidence from the OASIS study. *Ageing and Society*, 26(2), 203–223.
- Megías I. & Ballesteros, J.C. (2011) *Abuelos y abuelas para todo: percepciones en torno a la educación y el cuidado de los nietos*. Madrid: Fundación de Ayuda contra la Drogadicción.
- Meil, G. (2007). The consequences of the development of a beanpole kin structure on exchanges between generations. *Journal of Family Issues*, 27(8), 1085–1099. doi: [10.1177/0192513X06288121](https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X06288121)
- Moreno, L. (2000). The Spanish development of Southern Welfare. In S. Kuhnle (Ed.) *Survival of the European Welfare State* (pp. 146-165). London: Routledge.
- Naldini, M. (2003) *The Family in the Mediterranean Welfare States*. London: Frank Cass Publishers.

- Ortega, M. (2013). The Modernization process through the perceptions of Work-Family balance in Spain and Great Britain. *European Societies*, 15(5), 707-728. doi: [10.1080/14616696.2013.829241](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2013.829241)
- Paleo, N. & Alonso, A. (2014). ¿Es solo una cuestión de austeridad? Crisis económica y políticas de género en España. *Investigaciones Feministas*, 5, 36-68. doi: [10.5209/rev_INFE.2014.v5.47987](https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_INFE.2014.v5.47987)
- Parsons, T. (1955). *Family, socialization and interaction process*. Free Press. University of Michigan.
- Pateman, C. (1983). Feminist critiques of the public/private dichotomy. In S.I. Benn, & G.F. Gaus. *Public and Private in Social Life* (pp.281-285). St Martin's Press.
- Robles, L. (2002). ¿Quiénes cuidan a los ancianos? Una cuestión de mujeres ancianas no de familia. *Simposio Viejos y Viejas, participación, ciudadanía e inclusión social*, Quincuagésimo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas (Santiago de Chile, 14-18 July).
- Robson, W. (2001). *Will the Baby Boomers Bust the Health Budget? Demographic Change and Health Care Financing Reform*. Commentary 148, C.D. Howe Institute.
- Rogero, J. (2010). *Los tiempos del cuidado. El impacto de la dependencia de los mayores en la vida cotidiana de sus cuidadores*. Madrid: IMSERSO. Retrieved from <http://www.060.es>
- Scott, J. (2012). *Social Network analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Scout, A. & Wenger, C. (1996). Género y redes de apoyo social en la vejez. In S. Arber, & J. Ginn, J. *Relación entre género y envejecimiento. Enfoque sociológico*. Madrid: Narcea Ediciones.
- Silverstein, M. & Bengtson, V.L. (1997). Intergenerational solidarity and the structure of adult child–parent relationships in American families. *American Journal of Sociology* 103(2), 429–460. doi: [10.1086/231213](https://doi.org/10.1086/231213)
- Simmel, G. (1949). Sociology of sociability. *American Journal of Sociology*, 55(3), 254-261. doi: [10.1177/1468795X17693439](https://doi.org/10.1177/1468795X17693439)
- Stone, R., Cafferat, G.L. & Sangl, J. (1987) Caregivers of the frail elderly: A national profile. *The Gerontologist*, 27, 616-626. doi: [10.1093/geront/27.5.616](https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/27.5.616)

- Tobío, C. (2005) *Madres que trabajan. Dilemas y estrategias*. Madrid: Cátedra, Colección Feminismos.
- Tobío, C. (2001). Working and mothering: Women's strategies in Spain. *European Societies*, 3(3), 339-371. doi: [10.1080/14616690120079369](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616690120079369)
- Valiente C. (1997). ¿Algo más que “ganadores del pan”? El papel de los hombres en el ámbito familiar en España. (1975-1996). *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 79, 221-243.
- Valiente C. (2002). An overview of research on gender in Spanish society. *Gender and Society*, 16(6), 767-792. Retrieved from <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/29400010.pdf>
- Van Dussen DJ. & Morgan LA. (2009). Gender and Informal Caregiving in CCRCs: Primary Caregivers or Support Networks?. *Journal of Women and Aging*, 21(4), 251-265. doi: [10.1080/08952840903284560](https://doi.org/10.1080/08952840903284560)
- Van Gaalen, R.I. & Dykstra, P.A. (2006). Solidarity and Conflict Between Adult Children and Parents: A Latent Class Analysis. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 68, 947-960. doi: [10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00306.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00306.x)
- Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wellman, B. & Lighton, B. (1979). Networks, Neighbourhoods and Communities. Approaches to the study of the Community Question. *Urban Affairs Review*, 14(3), 363-390. doi: [10.1177/107808747901400305](https://doi.org/10.1177/107808747901400305)
- Werbner, P. (1990). *The Migration Process*. New York: Berg.
- White, D. (2011). Kinship, Class and Community. In Scott and P. Carnington (Eds.), *The sage Handbook of Social Network Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.

Mercedes Fernández- Alonso. Associate Professor. Universidad de Málaga

Marta Ortega Gaspar. Associate Professor. Universidad de Málaga

Contact Address:

Campus El Ejido s/n. Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales. Dpto. D° del Estado y Sociología. 29071 Málaga.

mfalonso@uma.es

maga@uma.es

The authors have contributed equally in the process of researching and writing of this paper.