

**The effects of COVID-19 confinement on the Spanish family:
adaptation or change?¹**

Luis Ayuso Sánchez
Associate Professor of Sociology
Center for Applied Social Research (CISA)
Department of Sociology
(University of Malaga)
Faculty of Economic and Business
(University of Malaga)
Campus El Ejido, S/N. 29071
Malaga (Spain)
luis.ayuso@uma.es

Félix Requena Santos
Professor of Sociology
Center for Applied Social Research (CISA)
Department of Sociology
(University of Malaga)
Faculty of Economic and Business
(University of Malaga)
Campus El Ejido, S/N. 29071
Malaga (Spain)
frequena@uma.es

Olga Jiménez Rodríguez
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Center for Applied Social Research (CISA)
Department of Sociology
(University of Malaga)
Faculty of Economic and Business
(University of Malaga)
Campus El Ejido, S/N. 29071
Malaga (Spain)
olgaj@uma.es

Nadia Khamis Gutiérrez
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Center for Applied Social Research (CISA)
Department of Sociology
(University of Malaga)
Faculty of Economic and Business
(University of Malaga)
Campus El Ejido, S/N. 29071
Malaga (Spain)
khamis@uma.es

¹ This study was supported by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness of Spain under project CSO2017-86349-P; Project GESTIM (BBVA Foundation 35/2018), and ERDF Andalusia Programme financed by the European Union: Project #UMA18-FEDERJA-103.

The effects of COVID-19 confinement on the Spanish family: adaptation or change?

Introduction

The consequences of the pandemic produced by the COVID-19 virus have prompted society to reflect on the new stage ahead. From the end of the 1960s, sociologists had already glimpsed the characteristics of the so-called *post-industrial society* (Touraine, 1969; Bell, 1973). This society would be articulated around new technologies, generators of communication and transmitters of information (Torres, 2013). It would be a globalized society (Giddens, 1990), in which each part of the world would be connected simultaneously, immediately and continuously, with postmodern values predominating (Castells, 1996). The growing availability of information would increase the value of knowledge, making it the key to progress (Bell, 1973), and new global risks would be faced (Beck, 1992).

In the family, although some features of this new society are discussed, trends point to greater individualism and family independence (De Singly, 2003), the privatization of behavior (Giddens, 1992), and a deinstitutionalization of marriage in favor of new family models (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). The members of these families would have greater freedom, but also more fragile ties. (Bauman, 2003). These trends would be in line with the *second demographic transition* (Van de Kaa, 1987), i.e., a reduction in average household size, the collapse of fertility and a general increase in ageing. We would be faced with increasingly urban and more digital families (Taipale, 2019).

The confinement of families to the home for several weeks, beyond being an interesting experiment for very *familist* societies such as Spain, allows us to test various hypotheses related to the capacity of families to adapt to the new society that is emerging and also to reflect on the impact of factors such as new technologies.

The situation of Spanish families before confinement

In Spain, on 14 March 2020, a state of alarm was decreed, requiring individuals and families to remain physically isolated in their homes and to maintain physical distance (Royal Decree 463/2020). As a result, social life was limited to relationships with the people living in the same home and to the development of relationships via the Internet (UE Studio, 2020).

To understand the effects of confinement on Spanish families, their initial situation must be considered. Spain is characterized by a high average number of persons per household (2.5) higher than other European countries, such as Germany and Denmark (2) (EUROSTAT, 2018). According to the *Continuous Household Survey* (2018), living with relatives is the most frequent situation in Spanish households; five out of every six persons (of all ages) live in family households, one out of every ten in single-person households and only three out of every one hundred live with individuals who are not direct relatives (Miyar, 2020). This living arrangement is influenced by age, with 25% of those over the age of 64 living alone, while cohabitation is more common among those aged 35-54 (with children) and 55-64. These households are generally well equipped technologically, according to the *Survey on Equipment and Use of Information Technologies*; 91.4% of Spanish dwellings have Internet access and 80.9% have at least one computer in the home (INE, 2019).

Confinement in Spain has been experienced mainly in family households, with an average of 2.5 people per household and well equipped technologically. To these characteristics must be added others concerning the interpretation of social and family relationships. From an emotional point of view, Spaniards enjoy high levels of happiness (7.74) (Requena, 2019), as well as high satisfaction with their life in general (7) and with their family in particular (8), despite the downturn caused by the last economic crisis (Eurofound, 2017).

One of the structural features of Spanish society, similar to the rest of southern European countries, is the high degree of sociability and the way family relationships are lived (Kalmijn and Saraceno, 2008), which is a very important aspect their quality of life (Saraceno et al., 2005). Contact between family members is more frequent in Spain than in other European Union countries; 31.7% of Spaniards say they see their parents daily (ISSP, 2017) compared to around 10% in other countries such as the United Kingdom (13.4%), France (11.6%) or Sweden (8.6%). This frequency is explained by the high intergenerational residential proximity, which means, for example, that 69% of emancipated children live near their parents, within 5 kilometers (SHARE, 2008).

The high frequency of contacts and physical proximity is reinforced by a *familist* culture, whereby there is a moral obligation to provide help to relatives when needed (Ayuso, 2012). Spaniards have on average between 4.1 and 6.1 people to turn to in times of need, depending on the type of support (CIS, 2018). In 2017, 73% of Spaniards claimed to have provided emotional support to a relative in the last 6 months, and 27.5% to have lent money (CIS, 2018). Children play a fundamental role in the care of parents, especially when they reach a certain level of dependency, and grandparents assume an essential role in the care of grandchildren. Far from these ties deteriorating as might be expected due to processes of individualization, the economic crisis have reinforced them (Meil, 2011), forming family networks that are characterized by being very dense and connected (Requena, 2011).

New technologies have increasingly influenced the features of Spanish families. Despite the negative perception of the impact of ICTs (Information and Communication Technologies) on family life (Ayuso, 2019) and that only 15.9% of Spanish society had ever used ICTs to telework from home (CIS, 2018), the rise in these technologies has been increasingly relevant in the family sphere, both public (work or studies) and private (maintaining relationships). A

large number of Spaniards consider that with these new technologies family members become more efficient or competent (40.4%) (CIS, 2016), and the results indicate that, in most cases, far from worsening family relationships, ICTs improve them (Requena and Ayuso, 2019).

In Spain, the crisis produced by COVID-19 has been experienced above all in the family, with high levels of emotional well-being and a dense network of family relationships that are increasingly mediated by new technologies. The main objective of this study is to understand the effects of this confinement on the reality of the Spanish family, emphasizing its impact on moods, family relationships and the use of ICTs in the family. Taking into account the above-mentioned characteristics of the Spanish family, a series of hypotheses are presented:

- *Hypothesis of mood.* The effects of confinement on Spanish families has led to decreased levels of happiness and the development of different conditions such as stress, fear and anxiety.
- *Hypothesis of solidarity.* The confinement to which Spanish families have been subjected has improved their perception of others, increasing levels of social trust and family solidarity.
- *Hypothesis of family relationships.* The weeks spent by Spanish families in confinement have led to a deterioration of intra-family relationships and to the strengthening of extra-family relationships.
- *Hypothesis of technology.* The consequences of confinement on families have prompted greater use of ICTs in the family and increased teleworking, with positive results on work-life reconciliation.

Methodology

Data

To meet the objectives of this study, only statistically representative data referring to the Spanish family from mid-March to mid-May 2020 were used. These surveys are carried out periodically by the main Spanish national survey institutes for different media outlets and both public and private organizations. Only data from surveys presenting methodological information on the sample, design and type of implementation were considered. These surveys were administered by telephone and online (Table 1).

Variables

This article focuses on three areas of family life that have been influenced by confinement. First, the emotional state of the family is analyzed, along with trust and the perception of social and family solidarity. Second, family relationships are examined both within the household and among non-household relatives. Third, we explore the roles played by ICTs, and their effects on the family. The indicators used to measure emotional state refer to stress, concern about illness, concern about the economic and employment situation, fear of contagion and mood during confinement. Solidarity was studied through the assessment of fellow citizens and neighbors, the perception of civility and solidarity, and the possibility of receiving financial aid from relatives. To analyze family relationships, the performance of domestic tasks, the time spent caring for children and the feeling of improvement or worsening of family relationships inside and outside the home were taken into account. Finally, the variables associated with family and ICTs focus on the time dedicated to teleworking, communication outside the home and online shopping.

Method

To address the hypotheses raised, a descriptive perspective is used due to the lack of access to micro-data from many of these surveys. The data used are statistically representative of Spanish society, and most could be crossed with sociodemographic variables. This methodological perspective allows the validation of all the hypotheses presented regarding the effects of confinement on the Spanish family.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Results

Effects of family confinement on the moods of its members

Faced with a totally unprecedented situation of high uncertainty on a global scale and affecting all spheres of social life, the first response of Spanish families was to show a high degree of concern. Fifty-nine percent of Spaniards said they were very concerned about the coronavirus, more women than men (61% versus 56%) (CIS, 2020). This concern was mainly due to the fear of a family member becoming infected, especially grandparents (76%) (IESSA, 2020) and, as the weeks passed, how to handle deconfinement. Fear of this situation is greater among women than among men (51% versus 41%), increases with age (57% in 65 years and older) and with a lower educational level (62%) (Table 2). Family confinement in the home also increased the stress levels of its members as the weeks elapsed; 34.6% stated that they felt very nervous after the first month (third wave 40 dB).

However, the mood of Spanish families during confinement has not been particularly poor. Fifty-eight percent declared that it was good, with 12% defining it as very good (third wave IMOP), 65% considered that they were doing reasonably well (CIS, 2020), and 33% were even happy, especially the youngest (45% of those under 24) (Table 2). Forty-four percent of

Spaniards felt satisfied with their life during confinement (CIS, 2020), above other countries such as France (31%), the United Kingdom (40%) or Germany (41%) (SciencesPo, 2020). This seems to indicate that conditions such as stress, fear or worry are not mainly due to confinement, but to economic and employment factors. The economic and employment consequences of the COVID-19 crisis are considered very serious by 80.3% of Spaniards (CIS, 2020). The level of concern in this regard is 8.9 (on a scale of 0 to 10), with the employed population being the most worried; 29.3% state that their economic situation has worsened and, of these, 22% relate this directly to the crisis caused by COVID-19 (third wave IMOP).

Therefore, the *hypothesis of mood* that emphasizes increased levels of stress and emotional deterioration can be accepted, but with nuances. This deterioration coincides with continued high levels of family satisfaction, and the decline in moods is not as much a consequence of confinement as of the expected future economic situation.

This exceptional situation has also brought out feelings of support and family solidarity towards others. Among Spaniards, 48.6% had an improved assessment of fellow citizens (third wave 40 dB), and 46.9% value their neighbors more highly, together with 93.5% who consider that most people are reacting to this crisis with civility and solidarity (CIS, 2020). Indeed, when the confinement ends, 60.3% of the population believes that society will be more supportive (second wave 40 dB). The impact of this crisis seems to have reinforced these networks of extra-family solidarity, but the strength of internal family solidarity, which was crucial in the previous economic crisis, has also been maintained (Marí-Klose and Escapa, 2015). In fact, one in three Spaniards say that after this crisis they are very likely to receive financial assistance from their relatives should they need it (second wave 40 dB). Therefore, according to the data analyzed, the *hypothesis of solidarity* is confirmed. The health crisis has not only strengthened family solidarity, but has also increased willingness to help others.

The consequences of confinement on family relationships and family life

These weeks of confinement have tested the family relationships of Spaniards, both between those who live together and those living far away (Table 2). Internally, almost half of the families consider that the relationship among their members has improved (49%), although there are significant differences by age group. Those under age 24 have a more positive perception (60%), while those aged 25-34 are more likely (32%) to believe that family relationships have worsened. This generation is the most affected by confinement because these individuals are in the process of creating their life project, both at work and as a couple or family (Miret, 2010). Older people have seen their family relationships least altered (56%), and those with a university education the most (21%). The negative assessment of intra-family relations during confinement rises as the size of the city of residence increases (13% in nuclei of less than 10,000 inhabitants versus 21% in cities of more than 500,000), possibly associated with the family structure itself and the smaller size of the dwelling.

No data are available regarding the stability of couples, although there are data regarding the care of children. Spending so much time at home has led to an increase in parenting time. Compared to the time spent with the youngest children before and during the pandemic, the average daily duration has increased. Previously, childcare took 2 hours and 48 minutes (Eurostat, 2010) and during confinement, 3 hours and 42 minutes. This time increased during the weeks of isolation in both men (from 2.4 hours to 3.1) and women (from 3.6 to 4.3), although the differences by gender remained (Table 2). This has made it very difficult for families with children to balance their work and family lives, mainly affecting women (Barnés, 2020). During this period, domestic violence against children has also increased (Yanke, 2020).

Family relationships between members living outside the home have shifted from primarily physical contact to entirely virtual contact. However, assessment of these

relationships has not been influenced, since for 57% of Spaniards these relationships have improved (Table 2); above all, for women (61% compared to men 53%), the 25-34 year-old generation (65%), university students (63%), and residents of large cities (64%). Only 8% of Spaniards consider that external family relationships have worsened. Thus, the *hypothesis of family relationships* is accepted in part, since despite difficulties reconciling work and family life in families with children and the cases of intra-family violence, in general, Spaniards consider that confinement has improved their family relationships, both internally and, above all, externally.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

The role of ICTs during family confinement

ICTs have played an essential role during the confinement of Spanish families, both in continuing normal family life rhythms (shopping, entertainment, etc.) and in maintaining communication or work. For example, on-line shopping has experienced significant growth and has allowed many families to access both food and leisure products. During the first week of confinement, 27% resorted to shopping online and 18%, although they had not done so, had considered doing so (first wave 40 dB). The time spent playing video games doubled during confinement from 90 minutes per week to 179, and in individuals under age 25 from 110 minutes to 223 (seventh IMOP barometer on *The Media in the Coronavirus Crisis*).

An even more significant role has been played by ICTs in communication between family members, where nearly the entire population has made use of some of these technologies (99%) to interact with family members or friends (Table 2). The main gap is among individuals with less than primary education (91%), although significant use of ICTs by older people is evident, as some studies have shown (Taipale, 2019). The average daily time spent communicating with family and friends is 1 hour and 24 minutes, 18 minutes more for women than for men. The

youngest spend the most time (2 hours and 24 minutes). These technologies do not replace face-to-face relationships as was also known (Requena and Ayuso, 2019); one in three Spaniards plans to undertake a trip specifically to visit relatives (35%), especially men between 55 and 64 years of age, university students and residents of large cities (Table 2).

Another important phenomenon affecting families through ICTs has been teleworking, which until now was underdeveloped in Spain.¹ During confinement, 28% of employed people in Spain have been able to telework (this has tripled), with this percentage being higher in individuals between 45 and 54 years of age (39%) and in those with university studies (50%). The average daily time dedicated to teleworking is 6.5 hours. This possibility is highly conditioned by the type of occupation and the tasks involved (Chuliá and Garrido, 2020). The effects of teleworking on the family sphere have led to a reorganization of domestic roles that may have had positive effects on work-life balance (Meil, 2020), but also negative consequences, especially for women with children who have been the most affected in their work because of their greater involvement in domestic tasks. Only 34% of workers would like to continue teleworking after the crisis (fourth wave IMOP). The consequences and their experience for the future are not easy to evaluate: first, because confinement did not provide optimal conditions for telework (competition for space in the home, density of relationships and difficulties in organizing working time); second, because of the difficulties in differentiating working time from family time (Chuliá, 2020). Thus, the first part of the *hypothesis of technology* is confirmed, although its effects on reconciliation of work and family are ambivalent.

² In 2018, no more than 7.5% of employees worked (“occasionally” or “more than half the days worked”) at home. Portugal and France nearly doubled and tripled that percentage, respectively (14.7% and 20.7%), but were far behind countries such as Sweden (34.7%) and the Netherlands (35.7%) (Chuliá and Garrido, 2020).

Conclusions: what does this confinement of Spanish families teach us?

The response of Spanish families to confinement raised important questions due to the high sociability and density of family relationships in Spanish society (Requena, 2011). However, the analysis shows that Spanish families have adapted to confinement better than anticipated. This is largely due to this situation not having been experienced in a completely isolated way. That is, compared to other countries, in Spain it continues to be more common to live with several people in the home and in a networked way as a result of ICTs. The Spanish family, as occurred with the serious economic crisis of 2008, has shown an important capacity to adapt by mobilizing its relational resources, especially emotional, but also instrumental (Castro et al., 2014). The main concern of families has revolved around the possible economic effects after confinement, as well as the loss of family members, especially older people, who in Spain play a key structural role and who were fundamental in the previous crisis (Marí-Klose and Escapa, 2015).

Spain has traditionally been a country dominated by “amoral familism” (Banfield, 1958), i.e. the strengthening of internal family ties in the face of poor solidarity between weak non-family ties and very little social trust (Putnam, 1995). Confinement, however, has led to a high degree of extra-family solidarity, among neighbors, colleagues and even strangers, the evolution and consolidation of which should be studied in the future. This solidarity has not weakened family ties during isolation. Instead, overall, the data indicate that the opposite effect has occurred, with improved relationships between household members and among family members living elsewhere. The reorganization of domestic roles has produced an improvement in family communication through spending more time with children, sharing family tasks (cooking, tidying up, cleaning, etc.) and a greater rapport within couples. This is not inconsistent with cases of intra-family violence or partner break-up, but these were primarily

responses to problems that existed prior to this crisis and which have been exacerbated during it.

This confinement has also shown us the importance of ICTs in the domestic sphere and that this phenomenon is here to stay and includes all generations, even the oldest (Taipale, 2019). Despite the distrust with which ICTs have traditionally been perceived due to their impact on family relationships (Ayuso, 2015), their role is increasingly important (Tennakoon, 2015; Romero et al., 2017), both in internal family dynamics and in the work environment. Nonetheless, aspects such as teleworking should be reviewed when considering ICTs as tools for reconciling work and family life.

This crisis has accelerated progress towards the new information and knowledge society, in which a more flexible, individualized and global type of family is developing, but also with new and greater forms of sociability. The confinement in Spain signals the development of this family model in which the family nucleus is reinforced (increasingly reduced), supported by a very diverse network of weak “family” ties and proximity (friends, neighbors, co-workers and even people who know each other only through virtual networks), where face-to-face and digital contacts are combined. This form of family based on communicative exchange will be fundamental in the future to address problems including feelings of loneliness and dehumanization.

References

- Ayuso, L. (2012). El deber de apoyar a la familia. Una revisión del pacto intergeneracional de ayudas familiares en España. *Panorama Social*, 15, 143-158.
- Ayuso, L. (2015). El impacto de las TIC en el cambio familiar en España. *Revista Española de Sociología*, 23, 73-93.
- Ayuso, L. (2019). Nuevas imágenes del cambio familiar en España. *Revista Española de Sociología*, 28(2), 269-287. <https://doi.org/10.22325/fes/res.2018.72>
- Banfield, E.C. (1958). *The moral basis of a Backward society*. The Free Press.

- Barnés, H. G. (2020, 14 de mayo). *Ni en el colegio ni en casa: millones de niños y familias españolas en un callejón sin salida*. El Confidencial.
https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2020-05-14/colegio-casa-millones-ninos-familias-espanolas_2593767/
- Bauman, Z (2003). *Liquid Love: On the Frailty of Human Bonds*. Polity Press.
- Beck, E., and Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Reinventing the family. Search of new lifestyles*. Polity.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a new modernity*. SAGE.
- Bell, D. (1973). *The coming of post-industrial society: A venture in social forecasting*. Basic Books.
- Castells, M. (1996) *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Volume I: The Rise of the Network Society*. Blackwell Publishers.
- Castro, T.; Martín, T.; Abellán, A.; Puyol, R. and Puga, D. (2015). Tras las huellas de la crisis económica en la demografía española. *Panorama social*, 22, 43-60.
- CIS (2015). *Estudio n°3036. Cohesión social y confianza*. <http://www.analisis.cis.es/cisdb.jsp>
- CIS (2016). *Estudio n°3131 Barómetro de marzo*. <http://www.analisis.cis.es/cisdb.jsp>
- CIS (2018). *Estudio n°3201 ESGE 2017*. <http://www.analisis.cis.es/cisdb.jsp>
- CIS (2018). *Estudio n°3216 Innovarómetro*. <http://www.analisis.cis.es/cisdb.jsp>
- Chuliá, E. (2020, 15 de mayo). Teletrabajo (II): un horizonte todavía borroso. FUNCAS.
<https://blog.funcas.es/teletrabajo-ii-un-horizonte-todavia-borroso/>
- Chuliá, E. and Garrido, L. (2020, 28 de abril). La expansión (¿temporal?) del teletrabajo. FUNCAS. <https://blog.funcas.es/expansion-del-teletrabajo/>
- De Singly, F. (2003). *Les uns avec les autres: Quand l'individualisme crée du lien (Individu et Société)*. Armand Colin.
- España, Real Decreto 463/2020, de 14 de marzo, por el que se declara el estado de alarma para la gestión de la situación de crisis sanitaria ocasionada por el COVID-19.
- Eurofound (2017). *European Quality of Life Survey 2016: Quality of life, quality of public services, and quality of society*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg.
- Eurostat (2010). *Time Use Survey*. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database>
- Eurostat (2018). *The European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC)*. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database>
- Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences of Modernity*. Stanford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1992). *The Transformation of Intimacy. Sexuality, love & eroticism in modern societies*. Polity Press.

- INE (2019). *Encuesta sobre equipamiento y uso de tecnologías de información y comunicación en los hogares* <https://www.ine.es/>
- Kalmijn, M. and Saraceno, C. (2008). A comparative perspectives on intergenerational support. *European Societies*, 10(3), 479-508. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616690701744364>
- Marí-Klose, M. and Escapa, S. (2015). Solidaridad intergeneracional en época de crisis: ¿mito o realidad? *Panorama social*, 22, 61-78.
- Meil, G. (2011). *Individualización y solidaridad familiar*. La Caixa.
- Meil, G. (2020, 4 de mayo). *Más reparto de tareas en el hogar*. El País. <https://elpais.com/especiales/2020/coronavirus-covid-19/predicciones/mas-reparto-de-tareas-en-el-hogar/>
- Miret, P. (2010). Emancipación juvenil a través de la formación de la pareja. Una comparación entre los censos de 1991 y de 2001. *Papers*, 95(3), 757-777. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5565/rev/papers.50>
- Miyar, M. (2020, 7 de mayo). *¿Con quién vamos a estar en casa?* FuncasBLOG. <https://blog.funcas.es/teletrabajo-i-de-la-necesidad-virtud/>
- Putnam, R. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6(1), 65-78. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-62397-6_12
- Requena, F. (2011). *Las redes de apoyo social*. Thomson.
- Requena, F. (2019). Opinión pública y felicidad. Las bases sociales y políticas del bienestar subjetivo. *Panorama Social*, 30, 183-196.
- Requena, F. and Ayuso, L. (2019). Individualism or complementarity? The effect of digital personal networks on face-to-face personal networks. *Journal Information, Communication & Society*, 22(14), 2097-2111. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2018.1477968>
- Romero, K., Echeverri, L., Peña, J., Vásquez, S., Aguilera, M. Herazo, C., Valencia, A and Bran, L. (2017). Information and communication technologies impact on family relationship. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 237, 30-37. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2017.02.007>
- Saraceno, Ch., M. Olagnero and P. Torrioni (2005). First European Quality of Life Survey: families, work and social networks. *European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions*.
- Sciences Po (2020). *Attitudes toward COVID19. A comparative Study*. <http://www.sciencespo.fr/>
- SHARE (2008). *Survey on Health, Age and Retirement in Europe (SHARE), Family Networks*. www.share-project.org
- Taipale, S. (2019). *Intergenerational connections in digital families*. Springer.
- Tennakon, U.S. (2015, 11-12 of June). *The relationship between ICT use and work/family conflict: moderation effect of ICT perception*. International Conference on

Contemporary, Jaffna, Sri Lanka. <http://conf.jfn.ac.lk/iccm/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/2015-Organization.pdf>

Torres, C. (2013). La sociedad de la información y del conocimiento. *Panorama Social*, 18, 9-18.

Touraine, A. (1969). *La société post-industrielle. Naissance d'une société*. Denoëll.

UE Studio (2020, 16 de abril). *Tecnología, la "medicina" que cuida de nosotros durante el confinamiento*. El Mundo.

<https://www.elmundo.es/promociones/native/2020/04/16s/index.html?follow=1>

Van de Kaa, D. J. (1987). Europe second demographic transition. *Population Reference Bureau*, 42(1), 1-59. <https://doi.org/10.1146 / annurev-soc-060116-053442>

Yanke, R. (2020, 7 de mayo). *Crece la violencia contra menores en el hogar por el aislamiento: "Mi familia no me habla, me siento sola y me he acabado cortando"*. El Mundo.

<https://www.elmundo.es/papel/historias/2020/05/07/5eb2ebc821efa029508b462e.html>

Table 1. Surveys used for data analysis

Date	Source	Methodological characteristic	Family indicators
16-3-2020	CIS (E3278)	National, National, 2,200 phone surveys. 95.5% with an error of +/- 2.1%	-Evolution of the economic situation of the household
24-04-2020	IESSA	National, 2,391 web surveys. 95% with an error of +/- 2.1%	-Valuation of life together during confinement
30-03-2020	FUNCAS (IMOP)	3rd wave: National, 710 phone surveys	-Effects on family relations within the home (5th)
06-04-2020	FUNCAS (IMOP)	4th wave: National, 714 phone surveys	-Effects on family relations outside the home (5th)
20-04-2020	FUNCAS (IMOP)	5th wave: National, 707 phone surveys	-Telework (All but 1st [general question]) -Evolution of the economic situation of the household (5th)
11-05-2020	FUNCAS (IMOP)	6th wave: National, 706 telephone surveys	-Daily organization (3rd and 4th) - Intention of trip to visit family -Feeling of happiness about deconfinement (6th) -Feeling of fear about deconfinement (6th)
03-2020	40 db (El País)	2nd wave: National, 1400 online surveys 95% with an error of +/- 2.6%	- Effect of the economic situation of the household - Financial assistance from family, friends and the government (2nd wave)
04-2020	40 db (El País)	3rd wave: National, 1,007 online surveys 95% with an error of +/- 3%	- Telework (2nd wave) - Feeling of nervousness during confinement (3rd wave)

Source: *Authors' elaboration*

Table 2. The impact of confinement on Spanish families

Variables	Feelings about deconfinement		Child care (hours) ¹	Child care (hours) ²	Family relationships in the home (%) ³			Family relationships outside the home (%) ³			Communication with relatives and friends (%) ²	Intention to travel to visit family ⁴	Teleworking ² (Percentage and mean hours/day)
	Happines ⁴	Fear ⁴			Better	Same	Worse	Better	Same	Worse			
Man	36	41	2.4	3.1	48	33	19	53	39	8	98 (1.2)	38	27 (6.3)
Woman	31	51	3.6	4.3	49	36	15	61	31	8	100 (1.5)	32	29 (6.7)
14-24	45	32	2.4	2.0	60	19	22	56	25	19	100 (2.4)	37	13 (7.8)
25-34	36	46	3.6	4.8	55	13	32	65	25	10	100 (2)	35	24 (6.5)
35-44	35	39	3.7	4.5	57	24	19	61	31	8	99 (1.3)	32	25 (6.7)
45-54	34	49	2.1	2.4	46	40	14	61	33	6	98 (1.1)	31	39 (7)
55-64	32	45	1.3	1.0	46	45	10	48	45	7	99 (1)	50	28 (4.9)
65 and older	24	57	0.3	1.9	33	56	11	52	44	4	97 (1.1)	28	32 (1.5)
Works	37	40	-	3.7	50	30	19	58	32	9	99 (1.3)	-	28 (6.5)
Student	41	36	-	3.3	63	17	21	55	25	20	100 (2.4)	-	-
Rest	27	53	-	3.6	43	44	14	56	40	4	98 (1.3)	-	-
Less primary	32	62	3.8	3.6	51	34	14	44	36	20	91 (1.5)	30	0 (0)
Primary	28	53	1.9	3.3	44	45	11	51	43	6	99 (1.2)	33	2 (8)
Secondary	36	40	2.9	3.6	51	30	19	59	32	9	99 (1.6)	34	19 (5.6)
University	35	43	3.5	4.0	50	29	21	63	30	7	100 (1.5)	40	50 (6.8)
Less 10,000	-	-	-	-	46	41	13	49	44	7	-	26	-
10,000 – 50,000	-	-	-	-	51	32	17	52	35	13	-	37	-
50,000 – 200,000	-	-	-	-	47	36	18	55	39	7	-	39	-
200,000 – 500,000	-	-	-	-	51	30	19	73	22	5	-	29	-
More 500,000	-	-	-	-	47	32	21	64	30	6	-	42	-
Total	33	46	3.1	3.7	49	34	17	57	35	8	99 (1.4)	35	28 (6.5)
(N)	706	706	(148)	(164)	615	615	615	707	707	707	714 (714)	513	347 (101)

Source: Authors' elaboration based on the weekly survey on the *Opinion of Spaniards on the Covid-19* FUNCAS (IMOP)

Note¹ Third wave (30/03/2020)

Note² Fourth wave (06/04/2020)

Note³ Fifth wave (20/04/2020)

Note⁴ Sixth wave (11/05/2020)