LABOUR ATTITUES BY GENDER AND GENERATIONAL COHORTS IN SPAIN

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ABSTRACT:

Gender differences in labour market participation, such as productivity and earnings, are frequently debated. The explanation for these differences lies in employment policies, working conditions and factors related to labour attitudes.

Social representations of the Spanish population concerning employment in Spain were analysed using the databases of the European Social Survey (2004/08/10/16). The research results show that respondents' educational level is important in the distribution of these attitudes and they allow us to infer objective consequences in accessing the job market. Women's educational level facilitates participation and adaptation to work.

Keywords: attitudes, job market, gender, inequality, Spain.

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INTRODUCTION

Despite advances in gender equality in the job market, the gender gap persists even in economically developed countries (De Moortel, Vandenheede and Vanroelen, 2014). In view of this situation, the European Union recognises that sexual discrimination against women at work is part of a serious social problem that questions human rights (Kong, 2011).

The first indicator of this inequality would be a higher probability of women being unemployed for longer (Heindenreich, 2015), although differences at work are also found in salary, management and promotion possibilities (Kong, 2011). In Europe, female directors earn less, receive fewer bonuses in their jobs and have less decision-making and training ability than their male counterparts. These European trends are worse in countries in the South and East (Puig-Barrachina, et al., 2014).

The fact that these differences are ongoing has led to the job market study and the behaviour of its various social agents based on gender. Factors such as the economic and political situations, gender culture and so on, influence the working population's preferences and beliefs (Dobrotic, 2015). Vice versa, these attitudes and values affect work behaviour, for example seeking and remaining in employment, and they can even reflect working conditions in the job market. Employment policies demonstrate a rather diverse approach to the maternal role and how it balances with work (facilitating employment or staying at home) (Korpi, 2010; Korpi et al., 2013).

As Gaddis and Klasen (2014) postulate analysing the interaction between attitudes and values on gender and the job market is a priority line of research to change these

inequalities. Their results could lead to prevention and co-education projects adapted to social reality that will facilitate a fairer working environment.

This article uses the Spanish situation within its European context as a reference. In contrast to Nordic countries and the Great Britain, the Spanish job-market model is based on the traditional family and supports women working part-time (Korpi et al., 2013). The objective of this study is to analyse the background and consequences of this model on the employment conditions of Spanish women and on underlying attitudes on their role in the family and in the working environment.

We will use data from the European Social Survey (ESS: 2004, 2008, 20010, 2016) for that purpose. The ESS is a powerful instrument integrating the characteristics of 3706 individuals aged from 25 to 64 years old living in Spain. The sample allows us to make estimations from several aggregation levels depending on gender (men and women) and generational cohort (baby boom and X generation). Responses on the role of women in the job market and in the family are expected to differ on the basis of the respondent's gender, age and educational level.

Main contribution: The age range considered allows us to reduce working status to basically three: Domestic work, unemployment and working.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The current deregulation processes of the European job market have especially affected women at the top level of the public sector and with fewer qualifications in the employment system (Perugini and Selezneva, 2015; Rubery, 2015). This trend places women in a position of inferiority and clearly questions the achievements gained in more favourable social-employment posts.

In Spain, 6.1 million workers joined the job market in the period from 1994 to 2008. Over half of this contingent was women (3.4 million). The number of jobs created was 8.2 million, 4.3 million of which were held by women (Cebrían and Moreno, 2008). This progress was made possible by legislative and social changes promoting women's empowerment. In addition, in this sense, the incorporation of Spain to the European Union in 1986 as well as to other international organizations has also brought about positive changes in terms of equality policies. Despite this progress, the level of activity and female employment did not attain the EU-27 average (Alonso and Trillo, 2015). In fact, differences in employment and unemployment ratios between men and women have recently increased again in Spain (Otegui, 2014).

Women's work functions as a flexibility factor between the formal and informal and domestic economy. Torns Martín (1997) calls unemployment tolerance and social exclusion, which makes it very easy to cross the limits between "inactivity", formal employment and, above all, informal employment. Although the volume of paid and unpaid work performed by women intensifies during the recession, it was male employment that recovers more easily (Gálvez and Rodríguez, 2013a). Therefore, employment laws and job security have not achieved equal opportunities for women and men (Gálvez and Rodríguez, 2013a).

Attempts have been made to explain gender labour differences. The reserve model posits that a woman's job complements that of her male colleagues and operates as capital that is activated when business is booming and reduced during recessions (Milkman, 1976; Mitchell, 1976). The segregation hypothesis deems that women's inclusion in the job market will depend on the demand for feminised jobs, which drops in a recession (Miller, 1990). The substitution hypothesis prioritises the man's role as

the family wage earner by following a traditional family model (Rubery and Tarling, 1982). As Vásconez (2012) argues, women's unpaid work is part of the value chain and the production process. That is, the value that is generated with that labor force, being unpaid, enters the accumulation process and is transferred to capital. In this sense, women's poverty transfers resources to the system and becomes a buffer against systemic crises (Seguino, 2009). All this can lead us to believe that the causes of these inequalities are systemic and do not belong to the individual causes of a specific moment, which makes us replace our responsibility in achieving our own well-being.

The explanations for these trends refer to considering the perceived role women should have at work based on the sociocultural context. In the Mediterranean and some other cultures, this role is often associated with reproduction. Under these contextual backgrounds, women can be workers, but, above all, they are mothers and responsible for the domestic sphere.

Adopting this double responsibility influences expectations on which job types and working conditions are suitable for each gender (Vosko et al., 2009).

The adaptive strategies inferred from adopting these roles can prove contradictory. On the one hand, part-time work can prevent family–work conflict, but it restricts women to the domestic space and allows men to spend more time working and perform better. Satisfaction with this type of work depends on where the analysed region is in Europe. Workers that are more discontent with their job and with their health work part-time in continental[1] and southern European countries (Bambra, Lunau and Van der Wel, 2014; Bartoll, Cortes and Artacoz, 2014). We should also remember that insecure, non-standardised and contingent work affects both employment quality and worker welfare

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[1] Continental European countries: Germany, France, Belgium and Netherlands.

(Benach, et al., 2014). According to Gálvez (2012), since the recession began, over two thirds of the people expelled from the job market have been women.

Added to these figures is the growing mass of women who lose the expectation and opportunity of finding a job after increasingly longer periods of insecure employment and unemployment (Ortiz, 2013); a spell of unemployment lasting more than two years increases the likelihood of transitioning to inactivity for men and women by 3.5% and 4%, respectively (Jansen et al., 2016).

The consequences of this situation amplify the risk of poverty. In Spain, this risk is greater in women in the collective aged 45–64 (47.5%) than in their male colleagues (44.9%), observed in data for 2014 (Alonso and Trillo, 2015).

In the case of Spain, these paradoxes obviously stem from a lack of resources for work–life balance and/or dependency policies and the privatisation of social support resources (Artazcoz, et al., 2014). The impact of these cuts is felt at the same time as the value of women as a mother, wife and carer is defended. In this sense, Vicent, L., Castro, C., Agenjo, A. and Herrero, Y. (2013) points out that women have been the "shock absorbers of the crisis" because they have been forced to take on care work. In contrast to this conservative viewpoint, the idea of prioritising in equal-opportunity policies is currently gaining considerable ground. From a model based on work–life balance in which women adopt this double role, increasing emphasis is now being paid to the need to distribute family responsibilities equally between men and women (Stratigaki, 2004). Fernández (2007), Fernández and Fogli (2009) and Fortín (2005) have been championing the need to distribute housework for some time as a key means of promoting gender equality at work. The report *Women at Work: Trends 2016* (ILO, 2016) again highlights that the unequal distribution of unpaid caring and domestic tasks

between men and women and between families and society is an important determinant in gender inequalities at work. A novel approach, which Carriero, R. and Todesco, L. (2018) offers, by presenting how certain salient characteristics of the social actors impact the relationship between gender role attitudes and housework division.

The fact that these stances coexist highlights the importance of underlying discourses in equality policies and the persistence of a triangulated cultural heritage in defining gender, the workplace and the domestic sphere. How the population integrates these discourses will depend on a variety of variables, such as: gender, age, marital status, educational level, employment situation, and so on.

In relation to the interaction between gender and age, Addabbo, Rodríguez and Gálvez (2015) have studied how the recession in Spain has especially affected the young female population because they have the disadvantage of starting out in the job market combining seasonal with part-time work. In older women, it is the heritage of less training and specialisation and adopting their male colleagues' work decisions and domestic burdens that prove to be decisive (Gálvez and Rodríguez, 2013b).

Family composition interacts with gender and age to explain differences in employment and temporary employment. Young women having children and living with their partner is a deterrent to employment and increases the frequency of temporary jobs and inactivity (Plantenga et al., 2013). This deterrent effect remains in place even when the children are at primary school (Addabbo, Rodríguez and Gálvez, 2015). Spanish young women with high educative levels are postponing first. As a consequence, young Spanish women with a high educational level are delaying both their life as a couple and the birth of the first child (Legazpe Moraleja, 2016). In this sense, Sanchez-Mira, N., and O'Reilly, J. (2019) show with their findings that the household organization of

employment is not only contingent on dominant societal norms or policies, but is clearly affected by the educational status of household members and their ability to find employment locally.

Scientific literature provides evidence of the predictive factor of educational levels of both individuals and their parents on attitudes to the job market (Dobrotic, 2015). In particular, many studies (Bobo and Licari 1989; Converse 1964; Desjardins and Schuller 2006; Kane 1995; Kerckhoff, Raudenbush and Glennie 2001; Lipset 1960; Ohlander, Batalova and Treas 2005) have emphasized the role of education in the development of qualities such as tolerance and egalitarian ideals, as well as mental and intellectual properties, such as mental flexibility and coherent belief systems. Consequently, a higher educational level can be expected to lead to more egalitarian gender attitudes. Undoubtedly, besides being a credentialist instrument in the job market, individuals' educational level can provide them (both men and women) with strategies and resources to be flexible and skilled in a changing employment context in a recession. However, since our ancestors, women have been characterized by presenting a greater degree of flexibility to the economy and the family sphere, and this is what Hufton (1984) called "improvisation economy". Women have traveled more frequently between what we previously called the formal, informal and care economy. In other words, they have never abandoned, assuming in many cases an increase in total working time or an intensification of it (Gálvez Muñoz and Rodríguez Modroño, 2011, 2013; Gálvez Muñoz, Rodríguez Modroño and Ramos Palencia, 2011; Gálvez Muñoz, 2013).

For all these reasons, and taking into account the generational cohorts taken for the study, a very decisive time for the labor market and the gender perspective in it is

presented. That is, the context of crisis that our country experienced, like many others, from the year 2008. Therefore, the present approach allows us to carry out this analysis in the long term and not as an unforeseeable and irremediable conjunctural accident in our society.

To properly explain this situation and infer the policies promoting it, the empirical framework of this article outlines the study of generational and socio-educational differences in the adoption of attitudes and values on the role of gender in domestic work and the employment environment. Research on the impact of family attitudes and social policies in the job market presents a common front to reduce current inequalities inherited from gender discrimination.

EMPIRICAL FRAMEWORK

Education is the cornerstone of this research. For this reason, we begin by describing how the variables gender, generational cohort and survey year determine the formation of the educational level. The variable *Education* takes three possible values that identify if the interviewed has *Primary* (1), *Secondary* (2) or *Tertiary* (3) studies. Due to the categorical nature of the dependent variable, we choose the multinomial logit reporting the results in elasticities (to measure education's sensitivity to a change in an explanatory variable).

After estimating educational level, we continue with labour attitudes. We focus on the primary questions of whether men should have a priority over women in accessing work when jobs are scarce (*MenPriorityWork*)[2]. As an empirical strategy, we consider an

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[2] Original questions:
Using this card, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statement: When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women.
Codification: 1 (agree strongly) 2 3 4 5 (disagree strongly) 8 (Don't know)
We have recoded *MenPriorityWork* so a higher value implies higher grade of agreement. Observations of individuals who reported this question with 8 has been deleted.

ordinary least squares regression because because it is the simplest method to estimate a variable that takes 5 possible values (from 1: complete disagreement to 5: complete agreement). We repeat the estimations twice. In Model 1, we include as explanatory variables: gender, generational cohort, educational level and survey year. In Model 2, we include interaction terms. The reason why we have introduced interactions by gender and generational cohort is because we want to analyze how education figures out labor attitudes by gender and generational cohort. The interactions allow us to answer questions such as: Does the educational level have the same impact on labour attitudes for men and women?

The explanation of labor attitudes is completed by analyzing the impact of the economic crisis. When trying to explain labour attitudes based on educational level, we face a conundrum: to what extent is an economical crisis the ultimate determinant? Therefore, we carried out the decomposition method of Blinder-Oaxaca in order to understand what explains the difference in the means of dependent variables (*MenPriorityWork*) between groups of two: pre-crisis and post-crisis (2004 versus 2016), pre-crisis and crisis (2004 versus 2010[3]) and crisis post-crisis (2010 versus 2016). The Blinder-Oaxaca method decomposes the gap on results, on one hand, into a part that is due to differences in groups' characteristics (Endowment Effect), on the other hand, into a part that is due to group differences in their efficiency (Coefficients Effect). The endowment effect informs that characteristics of individuals belonging to different groups are important determinants of the group gap, whereas coefficient effect informs about the differences in performance due to unobserved differences such as preferences.

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[3] Faced the dilemma of choosing 2008 or 2010, we selected 2010. Although 2008 marks the beginning of the economic crisis, in 2010 its negative consequences were more latent. On the other hand, when selecting 2010, a 6-year jump is guaranteed between periods: 2004-2010-2016.

Finally, we analyze, among other issues, the implications that labor attitudes have on labor decisions. The variable *WorkingStatus* takes three possible values that identify if the respondent carries out as primary activity: *DomesticWork* (1), *Unemployment* (2) or is *Working* (3). As for the case of *Education*, we choose the multinomial logit reporting the results in elasticities due to the categorical nature of the dependent variable. We repeat the estimations twice. In Model 1, we include as explanatory variables: gender, generational cohort, educational level and labour attitudes and survey year. In Model 2, we include interaction terms by gender and generational cohort with educational level and labour attitudes.

Summarizing the main working hypotheses of this research are:

H1: Gender, generational cohort and time determine achieved educational level.

H2: Gender, generational cohort, educational level and time determine gender attitudes in labour market.

H3: Gender and generational cohort moderate the impact of education on gender attitudes in labour market.

H4: National economic settings conditions that time tendencies on gender labour attitudes are explained not only by differences on population characteristics but also by different impacts of the same characteristics.

H5: Gender, generational cohort, educational level, gender labour attitudes and time determine working status.

H6: Gender and generational cohort moderate the impact of education and gender labour attitudes on working status.

DATABASE

We have drawn data from the European Social Surveys (ESS; 2004, 2008, 2010 and 2016) because the questionnaire includes items about attitudes to female work and a basic set of socio-demographic characteristics. It, therefore, represents a robust instrument to analyze working attitudes in Spain.

The sample size is 3706 individuals with between 25 and 64 years living in Spain. The age range considered allows us to reduce working status to basically three: Domestic work, unemployment and working. We have included 2061 people from baby boom generation (birth years: 1945–1964) and 1645 from X generation (birth years: 1965–1980). Sample is equally distributed by men and women. Regarding individual variables, we consider gender (*Male* and *Female*) and generational cohort (*BabyBoomer* and *XGeneration*), educational level (*Primary*, *Secondary*, *Tertiary*), labour atttitudes (*MenPriorityWork*), working status (*DomesticWork*, *Unemployment*, *Working*), and year survey (*Year2004*, *Year2008*, *Year2010* and *Year2016*).

Graph 1 shows gender labour attitudes by gender and generational cohorts along time. Men and baby boomers tend to show less equal labour attitudes than women and people of X generation. Labor attitudes on gender equality improve considerably along time, except for year 2010, when there is a rebound towards less equal labour attitudes.

<p align="center">(See Graph 1)</p>

Means for *MenPriorityWork* are provided in Table 1, which also summarizes information about socio-economic variables. Among these descriptive statistics, we highlight that women and those of X generation are more likely to achieve tertiary education than men and baby boomers. Educational level shows also a positive

tendency along time. Most interviewed work. Unemployment increases, especially among male baby boomers, and domestic work decreases among women of X generation.

(*See Table 1*)

RESULTS

Table 2 is devoted to explaining educational level and labour attitudes taking special attention to gender and generational cohort differences. Results confirm previous descriptive statistics. Women and people of X generation are more likely to achieve tertiary education and to have more equal gender labour attitudes than men and baby boomers. Educational level increases along time. The same is valid for equal gender labour attitudes, except for Year2008 when there is a rebound of less equal attitudes. Regarding labor attitudes, we observe that the educational level is a key explanatory factor[4]. The lower the educational level, the less equal the gender labour attitudes are. Interactions of Model 2 also ratify that low educational levels reinforce in a greater extend less equal labour attitudes among women than among men. Concerning generational cohorts, secondary education plays a more important role defining labour attitudes to people from X generation than baby boomers.

(*See Table 2*)

Table 3 summarizes main results obtained from different economic periods. There is a gap of 0.5 points on labour attitudes if we compare *MenPriorityWork*'s mean of 2004

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[4] Our starting point is that labour attitudes are determined by educational level, but achieved educational level might be also conditioned by labour attitudes (for example as a source of motivation or demotivation). This reverse causality introduces problems of endogeneity, which main consequence is an overestimation of coefficients. We have carried out Durwin Watson endogeneity test, and a priori there is no empirical evidence of endogenity.

(pre-crisis = 1.9) with data of 2016 (post-crisis = 1.4). This difference is basically based on Coefficient Effects (0.4), thus education play a stronger role defining labour attitudes in post-crisis years than in pre-crisis. Comparing 2004 (pre-crisis) and 2010 (crisis), the mean gap is quite reduced (0.1). It is important to remind than during the crisis there is a rebound of less equal labour attitudes, closing to but not overcoming levels of 2004. Lastly, there is a gap of 0.4 points on labour attitudes between 2010 (crisis = 1.8) with data of 2016 (post-crisis = 1.4). This difference is basically based on Coefficient Effects (0.3), thus education play a stronger role defining labour atttitudes in post-crisis years than during the crisis.

(*See Table 3*)

Lastly, table 4 show how gender, generational cohort, education, labour attitudes[5] and survey year determine working decisions. Women are more likely to do housework and less likely to be unemployed or working than men. Even X generation corresponds to a later generation than the baby boomers, people from X generation are more likely to engage in domestic work and less likely to work than the baby boomers. Higher levels of education and more equal gender labour attitudes are positively correlated with the decision to work and negatively correlated with being unemployed or engaging in housework. Interactions of education with gender and educational level do not provide further results, and regarding the corresponding interactions for labour attitudes, less equal labour attitudes play a stronger determining domestic work for people of X generation than for baby boomers. Looking at tendencies, there is some empirical evidence that people are less likely to do housework and more likely to be unemployed.

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[5] Our starting point is that working status is determined by labour attitudes, but labour attitudes might be also conditioned by working status (for example, as a consequence of being discriminated in the workplace). This reverse causality introduces problems of endogeneity, which main consequence is an overestimation of coefficients. We have carried out Durwin Watson endogeneity test, and a priori there is no empirical evidence of endogenity.

(*See Table 4*)

This research confirms the following hypotheses:

H1: Gender, generational cohort and time determine achieved educational level. **Accepted**. Women and people of X generation are more likely to achieve tertiary education. Educational level increases along time.

H2: Gender, generational cohort, educational level and time determine gender attitudes in labour market. **Accepted**. Women and people of X generation are more likely to have more equal gender labour attitudes than men and baby boomers. Gender labour attitudes tend to be more equal along time.

H3: Gender and generational cohort moderate the impact of education on gender attitudes in labour market. **Accepted**. Low educational levels reinforce in a greater extend less equal labour attitudes among women than among men. Secondary education plays a more important role defining labour attitudes to people from X generation than baby boomers.

H4: National economic settings conditions that time tendencies on gender labour attitudes are explained not only by differences on population characteristics but also by different impacts of the same characteristics. **Accepted**. For example, the improvement on equal labour attitudes from pre-crisis (2004) to post-crisis (2016) is justified on the fact that education play a stronger role defining labour attitudes in post-crisis years than in pre-crisis.

H5: Gender, generational cohort, educational level, gender labour attitudes and time determine working status. **Accepted**. In general, being women, belonging to X generation, having achieved higher educational levels having more equal gender labour

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attitudes are positively correlated with the decision to work and negatively correlated with being unemployed or engaging in housework.

H6: Gender and generational cohort moderate the impact of education and gender labour attitudes on working status. **Partially accepted**. There is only empirical evidence that less equal labour attitudes play a stronger determining domestic work for people of X generation than for baby boomers.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This article has analysed the relationship between gender inequalities in the job market and attitudes towards the role of men and women in the domestic and employment environment. In these days, the male working is more priority than the female working in the household, thus the sexist argument is still valid. Nevertheless, the deep-seatedness of these attitudes is qualified by a series of socio-economic variables. In this study, we have looked at the influence of gender, age, marital status, employment status and own educational level.

The main result of our work is that education improves the perception of women's work among both men and women. The role of education is especially interesting for older people. Generation X presents the most gender differences concerning the impact of sociodemographic characteristics in the definition of labour attitudes. This outcome shows how social achievements of equality and parity should not be considered as consolidated. The progress of these achievements also depends on new generations being able to preserve and defend them.

One argument that inspires hope is that an individual's educational level has a positive influence on both equal access to the job market and how the role of women is

understood in that market. Educational levels help women adapt to a changing context, promote their participation in the job market and protect them from unemployment situations (Dobrotic, 2015; Gaddis and Klasen, 2014).

Therefore, individual factors are not the only influential ones, since the group, for example parents, family, the cultural context and so on, also counts. When employment policies and conditions in a country are more aligned with women working, the situation demonstrates more gender equality in terms of women accessing and participating in the employment environment. Equality policies should take these issues into consideration. Considering the socio-economic environment as a system that integrates both economic and labour conditions and the attitudes that stem from them is important. This multidimensional feature facilitates individual and social decision-making.

Lastly and taking into account the recent economy tendencies, as McKay, Campbell and Thompson (2013) suggest that analysing the impact of recessions on the job market requires a gender focus. This focus enables suitable policies to be drafted in times of recession and recovery. Even job insecurity is not distributed equally and requires an individual and group analysis focus for decision-making and to establish family priorities (Puig-Barrachina et al., 2014). Consequently, a future line of research to be explored would be the study of the indicators of gender employment gaps based on subtle forms of labour discrimination, such as population and political attitudes.

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Graph 1. Gender labour attitudes (*MenPriorityWork*)
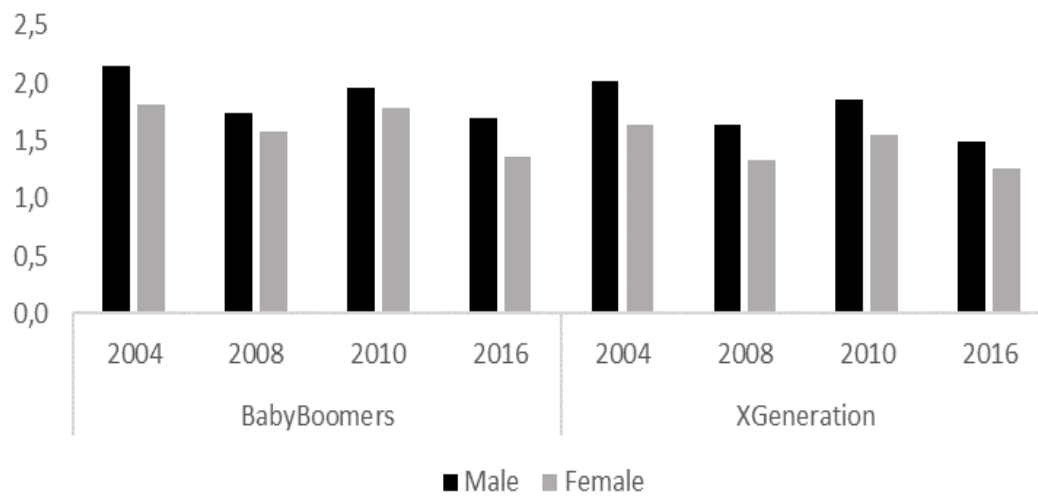
Source: European Social Survey. Own elaboration.

Table 1. Population characteristics by gender, generational cohort and survey year.

		Babyboomer					XGeneration				
		2004	**2008**	**2010**	**2016**	**Change 2004-2016**	**2004**	**2008**	**2010**	**2016**	**Change 2004-2016**
MenPriorityWork	**Male**	2.14	1.74	1.96	1.69	-21%	2.01	1.64	1.86	1.49	-26%
	Female	1.82	1.57	1.79	1.36	-25%	1.64	1.33	1.55	1.25	-24%
Primary	**Male**	9.5%	10.1%	13.3%	11.0%	16%	1.4%	0.5%	2.2%	0.5%	-66%
	Female	6.2%	8.5%	6.3%	2.9%	-54%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	1.0%	--
Secondary	**Male**	55.4%	56.1%	45.8%	44.8%	-19%	63.0%	48.9%	47.8%	49.3%	-22%
	Female	48.9%	50.2%	52.5%	40.8%	-17%	41.7%	39.6%	32.1%	25.1%	-40%
Tertiary	**Male**	35.0%	33.8%	41.0%	44.2%	26%	35.5%	50.7%	50.0%	50.2%	41%
	Female	44.9%	41.3%	41.2%	56.3%	26%	58.3%	60.4%	67.4%	73.8%	27%
DomesticWork	**Male**	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	--	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	--
	Female	1.2%	1.4%	3.2%	1.7%	38%	16.5%	11.6%	17.4%	4.7%	-71%
Unemployment	**Male**	9.2%	4.6%	12.9%	16.6%	80%	7.6%	3.6%	8.9%	12.4%	64%
	Female	7.5%	6.5%	6.3%	8.0%	8%	7.8%	3.1%	4.7%	6.3%	-19%
Working	**Male**	90.8%	95.4%	87.1%	82.9%	-9%	92.4%	96.4%	90.6%	87.6%	-5%
	Female	91.3%	92.2%	90.5%	90.2%	-1%	75.7%	85.3%	77.9%	89.0%	18%

Source: European Social Survey. Own elaboration.

Table 2. Determinants of Educational level and MenPriorityWork.

	Educational level (Mlogit: mfx)			MenPriorityWork (Regress)	
	Primary	**Secondary**	**Tertiary**	**Model 1**	**Model 2**
Male[a]					
Female	-0.028***	-0.093***	0.121***	-0.238***	-0.335***
BabyBoomer[a]					
XGeneration	-0.118***	-0.029*	0.147***	-0.114***	-0.071**
Primary[b]				0.435***	0.254***
Sencondary[b]				0.239***	0.200***
Tertiary[a,b]					
*Primary*Female*					0.474***
*Sencondary*Female*					0.153***
*Primary*XGeneration*					0.241
*Secondary*XGeneration*					-0.086*
Year2004[a]					
Year2008	0.005	-0.028	0.023	-0.326***	-0.330***
Year2010	0.013	-0.072***	0.059***	-0.104***	-0.108***
Year2016	-0.005	-0.114***	0.119***	-0.425***	-0.425***
Intercept				1.937***	1.971***
Pseudo-R^2	4%			11%	12%

[a]Variable of reference

[b]Endogeneity test:

Primary	$F_{(1, 3691)} = 0.61$; Prob > F = 0.4348
Secondary	$F_{(1, 3691)} = 0.49$; Prob > F = 0.4828
Tertiary	$F_{(1, 3691)} = 0.25$; Prob > F = 0.6140

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$ and * $p < 0.1$

Source: European Social Survey. Own elaboration.

Table 3. Determinants of *MenPriorityWork* by economic growth (Oaxaca-Blinder)

	Before-After Crisis Group1(2004) Group2(2016)	**Before-During Crisis Group1(2004) Group2(2010)**	**During-After Crisis Group1(2010) Group2(2016)**
Group1	1.913***	1.913***	1.800***
Group2	1.448***	1.800***	1.448***
Difference	0.465***	0.113***	0.352***
Endowments	0.018	0.008	0.016*
Coefficients	0.412***	0.102***	0.320***
Interaction	0.035**	0.002	0.016*
Endowments			
Male[a]			
Female	-0.009	-0.005	-0.002
BabyBoomer[a]			
XGenaration	0.018***	0.003	0.013**
Primary	0.001	-0.007	0.002
Sencondary	0.008	0.017***	0.003
Tertiary[a]			
Coefficients			
Male[a]			
Female	-0.004	-0.041	0.037
BabyBoomer[a]			
XGeneration	0.027	0.001	0.026
Primary	0.026***	0.014	0.018***
Sencondary	0.111***	0.045	0.071**
Tertiary[a]			
Intercept	0.252***	0.084	0.168**

[a]Variable of reference

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$ and * $p < 0.1$

Source: European Social Survey. Own elaboration.

Table 4. Determinants of working status (Mlogit: mfx).

	Model 1			Model 2		
	DomesticWork	**Unemployment**	**Working**	**DomesticWork**	**Unemployment**	**Working**
Male[a]						
Female	0.127***	-0.019**	-0.108***	0.116**	-0.004	-0.111**
BabyBoomer[a]						
XGeneration	0.069***	-0.009	-0.060***	0.063***	0.005	-0.068**
Primary	0.038**	0.085***	-0.124***	-0.271	0.116	0.155
Sencondary	0.013**	0.057***	-0.070***	0.021	0.059***	-0.080*
Tertiary[a]						
*Primary*Female*				0.333	-0.040	-0.293
*Sencondary*Female*				0.018	-0.005	-0.013
*Primary*XGeneration*				-0.013	-0.061	0.073
*Secondary*XGeneration*				-0.029	0.002	0.028
MenPriorityWork[b]	0.006*	0.015***	-0.021***	-0.005	0.020***	-0.015
*MenPriorityWork*Female*				-0.001	-0.005	0.006
*MenPriorityWork*XGeneration*				0.018**	-0.008	-0.007
Year2004[a]						
Year2008	-0.009	-0.035***	0.044***	-0.009	-0.035***	0.044***
Year2010	0.008	0.009	-0.017	0.008	0.010	-0.017
Year2016	-0.025***	0.040***	-0.015	-0.025***	0.040***	-0.015
Pseudo-R^2	12%			13%		

[a]Variable of reference

[b]Endogeneity test:

MenPriorityWork   Chi^2(2) = 0.87 ; Prob > chi^2 = 0.6471

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$ and * $p < 0.1$

Source: European Social Survey. Own elaboration.