

**DOUBLE PRESENCE, PAID WORK, AND
DOMESTIC-FAMILY WORK**

**DOBLE PRESENCIA, TRABAJO ASALARIADO,
Y TRABAJO DOMESTICO-FAMILIAR**

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ABSTRACT

Double presence, which is understood as the need to respond simultaneously to the demands of paid and domestic-family work, mostly affects women and may negatively affect their health. Our hypothesis is that double presence increases as a function of the demands of domestic-family work, but is also associated with management practices related to the availability of time for paid work, prolonged and atypical work schedules, and heightened demands. A cross-sectional study was conducted with a representative sample of the salaried population in Spain. Information was gathered through a standardized questionnaire administered through home visits. Statistical analysis shows a relationship between double presence and the demands of increased work schedules, rotating schedules, irregular schedules, and exposure to psychosocial risks (high quantitative and emotional psychological demands). Double presence should be considered as a variable in the evaluation of psychosocial risks, and collective bargaining should consider negotiating clauses that can impact it positively.

RESUMEN

La doble presencia, entendida como la necesidad de responder a las demandas del trabajo asalariado y del doméstico-familiar de forma sincrónica, afecta principalmente a las mujeres. Tiene efectos negativos sobre la salud. Nuestra hipótesis es que la doble presencia aumenta en función de las exigencias del trabajo doméstico-familiar, no obstante también está asociada a las prácticas empresariales de gestión de la mano de obra basadas en las exigencias de disponibilidad del tiempo de trabajo, las jornadas atípicas y prolongadas, así como a la exposición a las exigencias elevadas. Se realizó un estudio transversal en una muestra representativa de la población asalariada española. La información se obtuvo mediante un cuestionario estandarizado, administrado a través de entrevista en el domicilio. El análisis estadístico muestra una asociación entre doble presencia y las exigencias de alargamiento de jornada, los turnos rotativos y el horario irregular y la exposición a algunos riesgos psicosociales (las exigencias cuantitativas y emocionales altas). Por lo tanto, la doble presencia debería ser considerada como una variable en la evaluación de riesgos psicosociales y la negociación colectiva debería contemplar cláusulas que incidan positivamente en ella.

One of the most important changes in the social and labor arenas in recent decades in Spain has been the entry of women into the paid workforce. In the last 10 years the rate of participation of women has increased by 12.3 percentage points (in the last quarter of 2008 it had reached 51.8 percent) [1]. Women's entry occurs in the context of an existing gender-based division of labor and marked inequality in paid work. Women continue to carry the burden of being responsible for and performing domestic-family work [2, 3], dedicating to it three hours and 56 minutes per day compared to the two hours that men dedicate [3]. Women's entry into, stay in, and exit from the paid workforce occur amidst conditions of inequality: the rates of unemployment and contingency are higher among women, and substantial vertical and horizontal segregation and undervaluing of the work still exist. In 2006, women earned 25.3 percent less than men [1].

Another important element is the "flexibilization" of the work schedule, that is, the increasingly frequent practice of working at "asocial hours" (adding shifts) and the demand to be available (irregularity and variability in the work schedule). This type of flexibilization decreases the possibilities of engaging in activities with others. As a result, working people lose control of their time (paid work time, domestic work time, time for civic activities, and leisure time) and the value of their work decreases (deregulation reduces the price of labor as the employer gains access to these practices) [4]. This reality tends to be the norm in female labor [5, 6].

INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades research has looked at how the need to respond to the demands of paid work and domestic-family work has negatively affected women's health. Some of these studies have referred to this exposure as "double exposure" or "double work," referring mainly to the effects that paid work and domestic-family work have on women's health as a result of the increased hours and demands [7, 8]. Numerous other studies are based on the "work-family conflict"—defined as the conflict between the spheres of paid work and domestic-family work. With time, the dimensions of "work-family interference" (that identify the interference of paid work in the domestic-family sphere) have been integrated with those of "family-work interference," which inversely identify the impact that family demands have on the work sphere. All of these studies have taken into consideration the gender-based division of labor [9].

We must also highlight the importance of studies that associate the relationship between the organization of paid work, the exposure to psychosocial risks, and the difficulties involved in attending to the demands of paid work and domestic-family work. The most commonly studied associations are those that focus on paid work. In a recent review, the author concludes that there is a relationship between low levels of balance in work and family lives, and long, prolonged, atypical, and irregular work schedules [10]. This review identifies protective measures such as the possibility of control over time (mainly around flexibility on start and end times, the availability of free days, and the possibility of leaving work for family reasons) and a part-time schedule.

Fewer studies relate the demands of paid and domestic-family work to the exposure to psychosocial risks in paid work. One study concludes, as it relates to the demands of paid work, that when such work allows one to manage domestic-family demands (for example, by making phone calls or using the Internet), this has positive results in the resolution of conflicts between the two spheres [11]. In our study, we refer to double presence as an exposure, and we define it as the need to respond to work and domestic-family demands simultaneously, since paid time and domestic time function synchronically. Paid work and domestic-family work form part of the same social reality, particularly for women, and present frequent interferences in the moment in time when one needs to respond to the demands of both spheres [12-17]. We understand this as a method that allows us to advance in understanding a complex work reality considering both organizational (work organization and working conditions) and other non-work-related factors (the domestic-family sphere). This approach, in our case, also has a markedly social and labor union element, in that we attempt to show how work organization and working conditions play a part in perpetuating the sexual division of labor that furthers gender-based inequalities.

A scale for measuring double presence was developed and presented in the questionnaire of the CoPsoQ-istas21 for evaluating psychosocial risks [18, 19].

This was a first attempt to integrate into the explanatory factors of double work (productive and reproductive spheres, and work hours in both of these spheres) the synchronic time dimension for the execution of both productive and reproductive work. The objective of including them in the evaluation of psychosocial risks in businesses was to facilitate both the visualization of gender-based inequalities as well as the identification of preventive measures, since the synchronic time of productive and reproductive work implies that working conditions in the two spheres are interrelated and mutually conditioned.

Population studies that utilized the CoPsoQ-istas21 questionnaire reveal that “double presence” is associated with worse mental health, as well as with indicators of stress and loss of vitality [18]. In the same manner they show how the frequency of double presence is notably higher for salaried women than for their male counterparts, that it is prevalent in all occupations, and that it increases inversely to the qualifications for the occupation, reflecting the interaction between gender and occupational categories [20]. The occupation-related data are consistent with data from previous studies [21].

The goal of this study is to analyze the relationships between double presence and the conditions of paid and domestic-family work. Our hypothesis is that double presence increases with the demands of domestic-family work, but is also associated with the organization of paid work and exposure to psychosocial risks at the workplace. We attempt to respond to two key questions: Is there a relationship between double presence and the demands of paid work? Is there a relationship between double presence and business practices related to work time: the relaxation of work schedules, lengthening of the working day, and atypical work schedules?

METHODS

Research Design and Population

A cross-sectional study of the Spanish population was conducted. The population of the study comprised a representative sample of the Spanish wage-earning population ($N=7,650$; maximum error of ± 1.14 ; $p=q=50\%$; confidence level is 95.5%). The criteria for inclusion were: persons between 16 and 65 years of age, who during the week in question worked at least one hour and were compensated with money or in kind, with or without a work contract. Those people who, having paid jobs, were temporarily absent due to illness, vacation, and so forth, were included. The sampling was multi-stage and the selection of houses was done randomly.

Data were obtained by means of a standardized questionnaire administered during home interviews that took place in three waves (October 2004, February 2005, and June 2005) in order to take into consideration seasonal employees. A

more detailed description and analysis of the sampling and the field work is available in other publications [22].

This analysis excluded persons who lived alone and those who worked less than 35 hours a week, in order to construct a more homogeneous study population in terms of the need to assume domestic-family and paid work burdens. We focused our attention on what we would define as the core of the double presence. The population of the study consisted of 5,946 persons.

Measures

The variables are: demographic characteristics (age, gender, educational level, country of origin); characteristics of the family unit and of the domestic-family work (co-habitation with a partner, presence of dependents (up to 12 years old, over 65 years old, or with chronic illnesses or disabled)); performing or having assistance for domestic-family work; work and working conditions (current occupation, employment relationship, hours worked, schedule, days of the week, ability to decide work schedule, demands for longer work schedule, compensation and salary structure, psychosocial risks); and business characteristics (activity, size, unionization, subcontracting).

The dependent variable was double presence. This was measured using a three question Likert-style scale:

- When you are at work, do you think about your domestic-family tasks?
- When you are at home, do you think about work?
- Are there times when you need to be at work and at home at the same time?

The response categories for the three questions were: always / often / sometimes / rarely / never.

The main independent variables chosen were those related to domestic-family work (performing tasks, dealing with minors and with chronically ill and disabled persons), work hours (schedule, demand to increase work hours, and flexibility in starting and ending time), and psychosocial exposures (quantitative psychological demands, emotional psychological demands, and social support). The person's gender, age, occupational category, and employment relationship were considered as confounders and controlled in the analysis.

The exposure to psychosocial factors analyzed was measured using scales of quantitative psychological demands, emotional psychological demands, and social support of the CoPsoQ-istas 21 questionnaire (mid-length version), which was previously validated [18], and was coded into "good," "intermediate," and "poor" categories according to the Spanish CoPsoQ-istas21 normative reference values [19]. Double presence was dichotomized, collapsing the low and medium categories into one, to allow it to be used as a dependent variable in logistic regression models.

To measure the amount of domestic-family work, two Likert-style questions were used as a scale:

- What part of the familial and domestic work do you perform? (none or almost none / only specific tasks / about one-fourth / about half / most of it)
- If you are ever not at home, do the domestic tasks that you perform remain undone? (always / often / sometimes / rarely / never)

Analysis

The analysis consisted of three phases. The first covered the description of all the variables and their distribution along the segregation axis (gender, age, occupational category). The second phase assessed bivariate relationships between the independent variables and double presence, using odds ratios and 95 percent confidence intervals. In this phase, the low and middle categories of the *social support at work* variable were collapsed, as these did not show significantly different odds ratios. The third phase consisted of an adjustment in the logistic regression model to achieve an estimate of the multivariate association between those variables that were associated at a bivariate level with double presence. In the final model, age, employment relationship, and occupational category were introduced as control variables, while the *gender* and *cohabitation with a partner* variables were excluded due to their high correlation with the *performing domestic-family work* variable ($r^2 = 0.45$).

RESULTS

The response rate was 60 percent. Table 1 shows bivariate associations (odds ratios and 95 percent confidence intervals) between double presence and all the other independent variables that were considered.

Among all the independent variables, *performing domestic-family work* showed the strongest association with double presence, which was 13 times and 3 times more prevalent among persons in the high and medium levels, respectively, than among persons in the lowest level (which was used as reference), thus showing a gradient. Similarly, double presence was more than twice as prevalent (odds ratio ≥ 2) among salaried females (compared to males), among workers who are asked to extend their hours (compared to those who are not), among high level technicians (compared to managers), and among those exposed to high quantitative and emotional psychological demands (compared to those who are not).

Table 2 shows the results of the multiple-variable model using the same variables, adjusting for age, occupational category, and employment relationship. The adjustment of the model was adequate as showed by usual goodness of fit statistics (Hosmer and Lemeshow = 0.44; global classification: 74.2%).

Table 1. Bivariate Associations between Double Presence and Domestic-Family and Salaried Working Conditions

	Reference category	Odds ratio	95% Confidence limits	
			Lower	Upper
Female gender	Male	2.67	2.39	2.97
<i>Domestic-family context</i>				
Performing domestic-family work	Low level			
Middle level		2.97	2.57	3.45
High level		12.74	10.8	15.01
Cohabitation with minors	No	1.45	1.3	1.61
Cohabitation with disabled person	No	1.62	1.2	2.19
<i>Occupational category</i>				
Occupation	Managers			
High-level technicians		2.12	1.3	3.44
Mid-level technicians		1.83	1.17	2.85
Mid-level supervisors		0.85	0.49	1.45
Auxiliary		1.53	0.99	2.36
Qualified manual workers		1.04	0.67	1.59
Semi-qualified manual workers		1.68	1.09	2.57
Non-qualified manual workers		1.39	0.9	2.16
<i>Conditions of employment and of salaried work</i>				
Employment relationship	Fixed			
Autonomous and dependent worker		1.82	1.4	2.36
Temporary and/or without contract		1.08	0.95	1.23
<i>Exposure to psychosocial risks at work</i>				
Quantitative psychological demands	Low level			
Middle level		1.54	1.32	1.78
High level		2.12	1.84	2.44
Emotional psychological demands	Low level			
Middle level		1.29	1.12	1.48
High level		2.00	1.76	2.75
Low social support	High	1.34	1.2	1.49
<i>Work time</i>				
Work schedule	Fixed morning or afternoon			
Split shift		0.87	0.77	0.99
Fixed night		1.1	0.7	1.72
Irregular or rotating shift		1.16	0.97	1.38
Demands to extend workday	No	2.66	2.34	3.16
Ability to decide work schedule	No	1.28	1.14	1.43

Table 2. Multivariate Associations (Logistic Regression Model) between Double Presence and Domestic-Family and Salaried Work^a

		Odds ratio	95% Confidence limits	
	Reference category		Lower	Upper
<i>Domestic-family context</i>				
Performing domestic-family work	Low level			
Middle level		3.01	2.57	3.52
High level		13.25	11.07	15.85
Cohabitation with minors	No	1.36	1.20	1.55
Cohabitation with disabled person	No	1.79	1.26	2.55
<i>Exposure to psychosocial risks at work</i>				
Quantitative psychological demands	Low level			
Middle level		1.48	1.24	1.76
High level		1.83	1.54	2.18
Emotional psychological demands	Low level			
Middle level		1.20	1.02	1.42
High level		1.74	1.48	2.05
Low social support	High	1.17	1.03	1.33
<i>Work time</i>				
Work schedule	Fixed morning or afternoon			
Split shift		0.99	0.85	1.15
Fixed night		1.10	0.63	1.95
Irregular or rotating shift		1.30	1.05	1.60
Demands to extend workday	No	2.41	1.96	2.98
Ability to decide work schedule	No	1.11	0.97	1.27

^aAdjusted OR for age, occupational category, and employment relationship.

The gradient and the association with performing domestic-family work are maintained even when all the other variables are considered simultaneously. The frequency of exposure to double presence is more than 13 times higher among the salaried population that performs the most domestic-family work than among those who perform specific tasks or who do not perform any domestic-family work. In terms of work conditions, the association between double presence and a longer work schedule is also notable. Double presence is more than twice as prevalent (OR = 2.41) among those persons who are required to prolong their work schedule (compared to those who are not). The frequency of double presence is 83 percent and 74 percent higher among those with high quantitative and high emotional psychological demands, respectively, compared to the lowest exposure level for each.

High double presence was cited 30 percent more frequently by salaried persons with irregular schedules or rotating shifts, compared to those with fixed morning

or afternoon shifts. Associations between high double presence and a split shift, a night shift, and the possibility of deciding work schedule were also positive but were not statistically significant.

DISCUSSION

These results coincide with the conceptual framework of this study. They demonstrate that double presence is associated with the amount of domestic-family work that is performed and also with conditions of salaried work, as well as with some psychosocial exposures related to the way work is organized. These results invite us to reflect on the fact that in order to reduce exposure to double presence, which affects primarily women, it is important to focus not just on the domestic-family sphere and on the gender-based division of work, but also in the work sphere, and more specifically in the areas of business practices that relate to the lengthening of the working day and those that generate quantitative and emotional psychological demands.

Of all the results presented on working conditions, those that relate to the amount of time of salaried work are the ones that draw our attention, for a variety of reasons. The frequency of double presence is doubled when the working day is lengthened. This result coincides with previous studies that have looked principally at the negative impact of long work schedules in terms of the reconciliation of family and work lives [21, 23-25]. This association is of great importance in the social and labor context in Spain due to the frequency of extended work hours: 50.4 percent of males and 43.8 percent of females tend to extend their work schedule, noting that 18 percent of males and 19.2 percent of females do not receive either economic compensation or time off as compensation—that is, they work extra hours that are not declared or recognized [2].

Even though the frequency is much lower than for the prolonged working day, our study also found that both irregular schedules and rotating shifts were associated with double presence. These results coincide with previous studies [23, 24] and are also relevant to the Spanish working population, which shows a significant frequency of rotating shifts (23.5 percent among males and 21 percent among females) [2]. In summary, exposure to double presence has to do with the demands for availability in relationship to the working day (the demand to extend the working day and, to a lesser degree, shift rotation and irregularity). The demands of domestic-family work, especially in the areas of providing care, which are necessarily social, have strict time limits (for example, start and end times of schools or centers for dependent persons, meal hours, etc.). Despite this, and regardless of the schedule one has, salaried persons arrange the execution of domestic-family work in such a way that it does not occur concurrently with paid work. The problem with synchronic demands, or double presence, appears when business practices change this arrangement by

varying the way the working day is organized, which is what is implied by lengthening the work schedule, and to a lesser degree by shift rotation (sequential shifting of work schedule).

The other side of the extension of the working day is part-time work. Despite the analyses that show a positive association between part-time work and the reconciliation of work and family lives [10, 23, 24], we have not taken it into consideration in our study. Part-time work is mostly done by females in the Spanish and larger European context and has facilitated the relationship between work and domestic-family work by having women dedicate less time to work. This formula can make daily life for women in these situations more pleasant, but as some specialists have pointed out, it does more to perpetuate gender inequality in the salaried work sphere (women have jobs that require lesser qualifications, and they have less power, reduced salaries, less opportunity for advancement, etc.) [15, 26, 27]. In other words, part-time work can reduce double presence but it perpetuates gender inequality and females' subordinate status [6].

Finally, our study describes an association between double presence and exposure to other psychosocial risks: increased quantitative and emotional psychological demands. Both types of demands are included in the sphere of work-related psychological demands. Quantitative demands are related to the amount of work and the available time to perform it. Emotional demands are the emotional situations that result from interpersonal relationships, especially in occupations that involve providing services to others. Both types of demands are associated with negative health impacts [28, 29]. To interpret these associations accurately will require more in-depth studies and more specific methodologies. Taking into consideration conclusions from a limited number of previous studies [11], we suggest that one possible explanation for the association between high quantitative psychological demands and high double presence is the impossibility of solving demands that appear in the domestic-family sphere while at work, even those that could be resolved with a telephone call or by Internet or during established rest periods. If the amount of work is too high for the time available to perform it, which implies that one is not able to finish it or that one must work at a very accelerated pace (high quantitative psychological demands) it is clear that during this time it is impossible to manage any issues from the domestic-family sphere.

In conclusion, this research demonstrates that double presence is related not only to characteristics of work that are highly associated with gender, but also to the demands of a prolonged work schedule, of rotating shifts and of an irregular schedule, as well as to the quantitative and emotional psychological demands of salaried work.

Our results support the conclusions of other studies indicating that the gender division of labor has its most significant manifestations in double presence. They are also consistent with other research about the difficulties that the working population, particularly females, has in being able to respond to the

demands of domestic-family and work spheres [4, 6, 12-16]. We argue that in order to reduce these difficulties, action must be taken not only to address the gender division of labor in the domestic-family sphere, but also in the organization of salaried work, creating a more compatible work schedule that promotes shared responsibility. Also, if double presence primarily affects women, and is related to business practices for the management of work schedules, it is necessary to study the impact of working conditions among salaried workers on the gender division of labor, with solutions that do not add a new form of discrimination, such as part-time work.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND EXPERIENCES

In order to properly visualize and transform the health and working conditions of the working population, in particular those of working women, it is essential to incorporate double presence in labor relations. Its relationship with working conditions and psychosocial risks suggests that double presence should be looked at as an exposure to psychosocial risks in the work environment in order to identify it, determine its causes, and develop preventive measures that would diminish or eliminate it. In the implementation of the CoPsoQ-istas21 in businesses, particularly in those with large female populations, we observed that double presence is one of the most prevalent exposures to psychosocial risks. On the other hand, experience shows us that introducing elements in collective bargaining that improve working conditions related to job schedules, whether it be sector-wide or at a single business, represents a greater guarantee that agreed-upon rights will be respected.

In the last few years there has been increased interest in, and efforts to respond to, the problems generated by work and personal life related to double presence. In 2008 and 2009, the Consell de Relacions Laborals de Catalunya (the tri-party organization created by labor and employer organizations along with the government of Catalunya) created two documents that include recommendations for collective bargaining and business agreements to address this issue. They recommend improving Spanish legal regulations in terms of permission to take time off, the reduction of the working day, and allowances related to the care of dependents.

To guarantee an effective reconciliation of personal and work lives, the documents also recommend regulating the working day and how work schedules are arranged. For example, each business should include worker representatives in the development of an annual calendar that responds to the needs of the business and of the people who work there. The documents suggest how to accomplish this through collective bargaining negotiations at the sectoral and business level to address a common employer's practice in Spain: the use of a pool of variable hours, which are hours in the annual work schedule not subject to assignment according to previously established schedules. The documents

suggest that this pool of variable hours instead be assigned as needed to respond to production or service demands by changing the schedule of a workday or changing the days worked in a week. The collective bargaining agreement would guarantee that assignment of the pool of variable hours by the employer is justified, that the affected workers are advised in advance, that the employer prioritizes giving time off in return as compensation, and that the labor union may follow up to ensure proper implementation [30, 31].

One of the collective agreements that has had the best results in regulating the pool of variable hours is the XV Agreement of the Chemical Industry in Spain, signed in 2007 and covering nearly 3,000 businesses and 200,000 workers. Efforts to develop the labor union platform built on the experience of work previously undertaken to address psychosocial risks.

In relation to double presence, this agreement is important in that it established a goal of placing limits on the assignment of daily and weekly work schedule changes and in giving workers the right to organize, both individually and collectively, their use of the time given them as compensation for changes in their work schedules. Under the XV Agreement of the Chemical Industry, each of the employers must agree with the worker representatives on an annual work calendar that includes the possibility of assigning up to 100 hours of a variable work schedule, with seven days advance notice, in acknowledgment of the need to modify the work schedule for productivity or organizational reasons. Facing the possibility of management-led changes in the work schedule, an “individual” pool of available time is created, which a worker can use to take time off by agreeing in advance with management or, in the absence of such agreement, by giving a seven-day advance notice. In other words, the employer decides when a worker is scheduled to work, but the worker decides when s/he will take time off. This measure brought to the forefront the social value of work time for the two parties involved. Another important aspect of the XV Agreement of the Chemical Industry is the way in which hours worked are compensated and exchanged for time off in response to changes in the work schedule. All of the hours worked outside the regular work schedule are exclusively compensated with time off. When the work schedule is extended beyond the tenth hour, each additional hour worked is compensated with 1.5 hours of time off, and if the schedule change requires working on a Saturday, Sunday, or holiday, each hour worked is compensated with two hours of time off. These measures favor workers by increasing time off when facing irregular work schedules, and attempting to penalize their use, giving value to the social time of the affected workers. Finally, worker representatives receive annual reports regarding the development and implementation of workers’ individual pools of available time [32].

As mentioned previously, by using the CoPsoQ-istas21 method to evaluate psychosocial risks in work environments, we can identify, measure, and act on double presence. In 2006, we developed an intervention in a textile company with 544 workers, 90 percent female, in which the measurement of psychosocial

risks showed that 73.4 percent of the production workers presented exposure to double presence at the level most unfavorable to health. Analysis of the causes of double presence indicated that it was due to a lack of autonomy in organizing work schedules, to work schedules not coinciding with the care of dependents, and to changes in the work schedule.

The measures that were agreed on and implemented were the following. First, the work schedule was changed from a more traditional Spanish split-shift schedule that includes a two-hour lunch break and that split the work day, to a continuous-shift schedule from 7:00 AM to 3:00 PM. Second, despite the fact that the textile industry sectoral collective agreement established an annual maximum of 104 hours in the pool of variable hours—which can be assigned to lengthen the work day by up to two hours and must be compensated by 15 percent either in time off or money—this company limited the assignment of variable hours to 40 in a year and established a Saturday schedule in which each hour worked is compensated by pay and by the equivalent time off. Workers had rejected the extension of the daily work schedule because of accumulated fatigue (from performing cyclical and repetitive movements) and because of the difficulties in reconciling their work and family lives. This resolution was made possible through a process that included employer and labor representatives in negotiating work schedules to address the critical problem of double presence.

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