

**Vidas Vinculadas: uma abordagem multinível  
longitudinal e mista ao curso de vida da família  
CIES-IUL, funded by FCT (PTDC/SOC-SOC/29132/2017)**

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Linked Lives Working Paper Series



## **WP LINKED LIVES 1**

**Families (en)during the pandemic: Preliminary results  
from the first lockdown in Portugal (March-June 2020)**

**Diana Carvalho, Magda Nico, Maria Silva and Ana Caetano**

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The immediate shock of the pandemic has shaken the relations among people. Mobility restrictions created by physical distancing measures have left people painfully aware of how much their wellbeing is linked to others and how much they take for granted the ability to be with others.

Settersten et al., 2020

## Introduction

This working paper consists of the presentation of some of the first exploratory results of a research project that adapted to the COVID-19 pandemic. "Linked Lives: a mixed, multilevel and longitudinal approach to family life course" (Funded by FCT - PTDC/SOC-SOC/29132/2017) is a research project centered on the linked lives principle of the life course perspective. This principle, in short, recognizes that lives are interdependent, and so, a change in one person's life can impact the lives of other individuals of her/his close network (Elder *et al.*, 2003). The application of this concept has been particularly useful in family and intergenerational studies (Bengtson, 2001; Allen *et al.* 2000). However, despite being a valued and promising concept, particularly regarding family contexts, its use has been limited to a general premise: it is given as certain, as a theoretical principle, or a macro sociological argument, but has not been explored as an empirical hypothesis (Nico *et al.*, forthcoming; Settersten, 2015; Carr, 2018).

Therefore, the main aim of this project is to address a leading role to an under-researched life course principle and contribute to filling some of its gaps; combining quantitative and qualitative approaches, recognizing structural and agency arguments, and exploring the bidirectional effects of relations. The core is the analysis of the impacts of life events of different life spheres in the household and in each household member's life, wellbeing, trajectory and objective and subjective conditions of living. We will also be able to approach family as a microcosm of inequalities and as an observatory of independence, as well as the cross effects of life events. Methodologically, this translates into employing mixed, multilevel and longitudinal features to the study. Our quantitative research stream is based in secondary data to identify the patterns, profiles, effects and trajectories of interrelated events in families. And our qualitative approach operates the collection and analysis of family histories and biographical interviews to explore networks, influences, secrets and biographies, to study how people understand, give meaning and face the impact of events in their households.

When the COVID-19 emerged, most of the family histories had been already collected (85%). Therefore, because subsequent interviews would not be comparable, and because the information we gathered was becoming saturated, the end of the fieldwork was anticipated. We decided to develop a spinoff follow-up project and study these families during the pandemic. From April to June 2020, a longitudinal online survey (with 4 rounds) was applied to members of the 15 previously interviewed families in Portugal. Longitudinal information on health, politics, work, relations, and emotions, was collected, as well as reflections on the meanings of the pandemic, and photographs of the daily life during the lockdown.

The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic and its associated lockdowns turned individual, intimate, relational, and identity experiences, inside out, putting them on pause, and/or in a

reflexive loop. Routines, time management, as well as visions of the self, the world, politics, health and relationships, have been impacted. In this working paper we present data and reflections on how individuals and families adapted and were affected by the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the first lockdown and the lockdown easing measures taken between April and mid-July 2020 in Portugal.

### **Adapting the research: spinoff follow-up project on life course, families, and the pandemic**

It will take several decades to reveal the life course consequences of policies meant to control the pandemic through public health practices and interventions. Such policies have modified people's attachment to and the boundaries between life domains, as well as the interdependencies between people. Lockdown measures, in particular, reduced institutional and organizational boundaries and created significant spillovers as homes became the hub of education, work, and family life.

Settersten et al., 2020

Our research response to the pandemic was based in several sociological premises shared between the members of the team, addressed and enhanced during the lockdown. More than anything, the individual, family and societal response to the pandemic is an unprecedented observatory of the life course. In fact, the very essence of the life course perspectives expose, in high definition, through a pandemic lens, how lives unfold with the bumps and bruises of historical and global events such as this one. It additionally shows how there are emotional and wellbeing chains of social contamination, and therefore, how lives are inevitably linked. Not only at a daily, automatic and face-to-face basis, that has immediately shocked us, as stated Settersten *et al.* (2020), but also, and perhaps more prominently, in terms of its consequences in each other's trajectories.

The resemblance of the research possibilities brought by the COVID-19 pandemic with Elder's "Children of the Great Depression" (1974) is upsetting. Epidemiologists and historians reasonably and quickly made the connection between what humanity had learned with the Spanish Flu and the modern-day lifestyles. Economists discussed the serious and economic concerns of a contemporary pandemic. Political scientists alerted toward the far-right movements that colonize the public space and social networks. In fact, "social sciences are crucial to face the pandemic crisis: namely regarding the knowledge on managing threats, science communication, decision-making, influences on behavior, stress and coping, among others" (Van Bavel *et al.*, 2020). We, as sociologists, argue that the ambition to be quick is counterproductive. To grasp the complexity of human life we need to scratch the surface of the disruptive and profound changes, feelings and dispositions. If, on one hand, we are aware of the difficult balance between imagination, inquietude and patience, on the other, we felt it was the sociologist's responsibility to register, register, register, while others test, test, test (Nico, 2020).

With the development of a project, researchers face unexpected data or events, observatories or facts that were not predicted. Robert K. Merton (1970:173) calls these "surprises" serendipity. He mentions three different sets of serendipity data: unpredicted (in the sense that non

planned topics can emerge), atypical (regarding the mismatch with the previous knowledge) and/or strategic (because of its implications for the elaboration of theory). In our case, the pandemic caused unpredicted serendipity, but also the strategic. In fact, as previously mentioned, the high-definition mode brought by the pandemic “can shed new light on how ordinary people strategically adapt to new or more enhanced realities, and how they reorient their linked lives. (...) This principle reminds us of the importance to understand chains (not only of contamination) but of support, of interaction, of wellbeing, of conditions of existence, their changes over the life course and in the presence of social events (at the individual, meso or macro level). Contamination also has a sociological meaning. With this analytical principle in mind, we have much to understand anew” (Nico, 2020).

Hence, we aimed at providing a research response that we believe is sociological, yet creative and empathic. We developed a quick reaction to the more tangible research hurdles faced concerning the development of the project, the co-presence of the team, and the fieldwork. We interrupted and anticipated the conclusion of the fieldwork that was planned, specifically the recruitment and subsequent interviewees to the 3 to 5 remaining families. But the sociological response was based in much more than dealing with tangible aspects of the research plan. The pandemic, as explained, hits straight to the heart of our sociological research topic: how the relationships people have across their lifetime imprint in their body, mind and lives concrete subjective and objective values, practices, concerns. In a very organic and natural way, our sociological reflections began, together, to form a perfect storm of what we felt was, could be, should be, the sociological responsibility and reflexivity towards the pandemic and its impacts. We, as a team, wondered how people were changing their world views, consumption life styles, grieving, shifting their political participation or orientation, or suffering from the inside of their houses; how the relation between agency and structure was changing beneath our eyes. In fact, “the unprecedented circumstances involving this pandemic impact numerous sociological issues, like: vulnerabilities, surveillance, gender, capitalism, neoliberalism, welfare reforms, etc.” (Matthewman and Huppat, 2020). We wondered how “our” families – the project’s families – were handling the pandemic.

During the first two weeks of the lockdown, we had put a lot of thought and discussion within (and also outside) the team into the ethical issues of studying, in real time, the way the families were adapting to the pandemic. In the cons we found the dangers of disrupting the family dynamics with our questions, of enhancing eventual processes of depression, or approaching someone that was ill. We were basically afraid to interfere in people’s intimacy and wellbeing in such difficult times. These concerns were enhanced by the fact we would not be able to negotiate these boundaries in co-presence (even if mediated) because we were not interviewing them by phone or video call. In the pros we included the terrible sociological opportunity to understand how individuals and families adapt and cope with this collective and intimate crisis (Caetano, forthcoming), and also a much more micro-level genuine emphatic concern towards these families in particular. After much consideration, we decided to contact the families with this specific purpose. The project already included the possibility of a second inquiry moment. It was planned for 2021. For that original purpose, we had already collected, through informed consents,

people's authorization to be re-contacted for another interview or type of inquiry. We only contacted those. A research design was eagerly to be put together.

"Like lava, empirical data is now too hot and uncontrollable for we sociologists to clearly identify shapes and patterns of social change, in worldviews and social behavior. It takes time. It perhaps should take time. And while time – and other resources – is being taken from everyone's daily lives, while we try to follow 'test, test, test' recommendations, let us all 'register, register, register' memories of this overwhelming historical moment. Memories of how we feel, how we persevered, how we communicated, how we grieved, how we adapted. Of how we changed, and of how we are changing".

(Nico, 2020)

Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the scientific community has gathered and diverted its efforts to respond and contribute to this global crisis, being its central pillar. The uncertain and intruding nature of this pandemic, to almost all aspects of life, makes most disciplinary perspectives extremely relevant. The social sciences, indeed, represent a unique value in contributing to face the emerging and future social challenges related to the pandemic. And, therefore, we have been seeing extraordinary efforts and incentives for social sciences to produce data, knowledge and reflections during these times.

The sociological interest on the COVID-19 pandemic impacts can be understood as inversely proportional to its access or understanding. On one hand, to recognize the pandemic as a process, a previous portrait is needed. On the other hand, to understand the pandemic experiences we must take into account its multilevel effects: the impact of this experience in each individual, but also in relation to its family and society. Moreover, the effects of the pandemic are also long-term. For all these reasons, the linked lives principles and the live course perspective became crucial, by recognizing the interdependent nature of lives in the development of a life course embedded by a historical, cultural and social context. And for all these reasons also, the social impacts of the pandemic will take time to identify and understand. Additionally, as the pandemic is still unfolding, its analysis poses risks to its social understanding. Data is like lava: have not cooled down, have not taken up definite forms, are not yet safe. But, as a first step to develop a multilevel and long-term approach, we needed to register and to interact with the families of our longitudinal research.

We developed the project step by step and applied four rounds. We considered that since people were in domiciliary lockdown there were no conditions to perform individual and intimate interviews. Over the phone or the computer, it would be unethical and counter-productive to ask questions in contexts where people would have no privacy to answer to its fullest. As such, we concluded that receiving a link to an online survey that could be answered in the computer and/or on the smartphone (personal and silent devices) would provide the participants the privacy they needed to express their emotions and opinions, as well as to use it in order to ask for help (in eventual cases of domestic violence, COVID-19 symptoms, or other problematic issues). However, this was not a quantitative survey in a strict sense. It was a qualitative-driven survey, that connects with the information and trajectories we collected in the pre-pandemic era about these families. It is no more than another piece of a longitudinal life course research.

The survey was multi-dimensional, multi-level, and multi-data. Questions were asked about the individual, but also about the family as a whole (in terms of dynamics, wellbeing, conflicts, etc.). Many were captured through multiple choice answers, but we also encouraged our participants to express their thoughts and concerns through text and/or sharing photographs portraying their daily lives in lockdown. The covered themes were: COVID-19 infection, agreement and compliance to policy measures, wellbeing, family coexistence and conflicts, changes in work trajectory and work conflicts, changes in household composition and home expenses, daily lockdown practices, work-family conciliation, adaptation to the ease of the lockdown, expectations towards the future, emotions. Additionally, each round took in consideration what we have learned from the previous one. For example, if someone expressed difficulty in the conciliation between work and family, we would write back empathically expressing our concern, asking if things were getting better. At times, we shared some thoughts of our own or experiences as a way of building and strengthening the ties between the team and the participants.

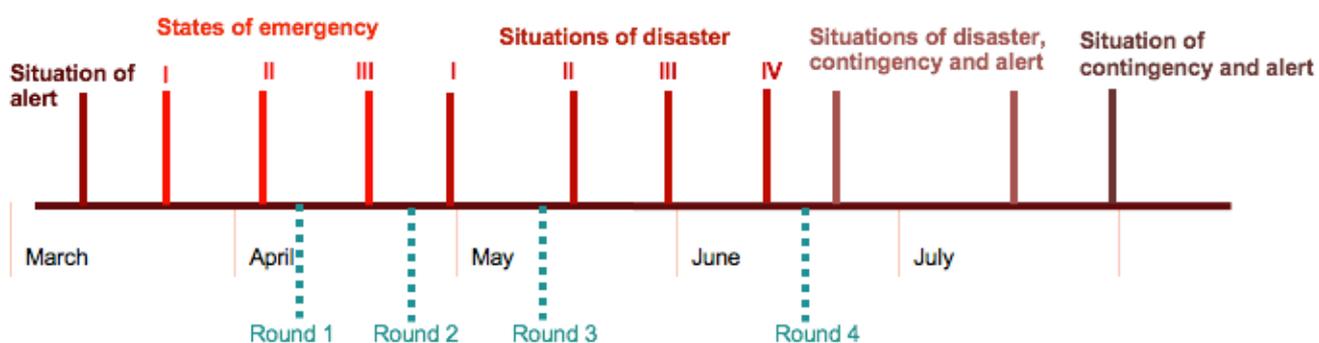
Survey data was stored and organized in a longitudinal fashion in SPSS. Photographs (which were subject to a separate informed consent) and answers to open questions were gathered and coded in MaxQda.

### **COVID-19 pandemic outbreak: contextualizing the Portuguese experience (March – July 2020)**

In order to contextualize and dialogue with the results of this spinoff study, we have been collecting literature on the social aspects of the pandemic. We focused this international literature collection in English written life course journals, youth journals, some French written journals, and through Google Scholar on families and the pandemic for a quicker access to recently published articles and essays. In this context, we can observe that the first publications on the social impacts of COVID-19 on families are concerned with gender inequalities, in many spheres, related to work and income, division of housework and childcare, work-life balance, and wellbeing. There are also a few publications on family stress and domestic violence. Undoubtedly, the impact of the pandemic context on gender related issues is a hot topic in the social sciences. Other relevant themes that appear in these publications are: relations and solidarity issues, work and unemployment relations, as well as family dynamics in general. To a lesser extent, there are also a few publications related to educational, and children and youth, issues.

The outbreak of the pandemic involved many changes in very short periods of time, which dramatically influenced the daily lives of individuals and their biographies as a whole. Therefore, in order to interpret our results, it is crucial to consider the different timings of the response to the pandemic, as well as how they intertwine with the timings of the four rounds of our qualitative-driven surveys (figure 1). This section describes the main events and trends at the time, providing the context for each survey round applied, in a chronological order. We used governmental institutional sources, as well as Portuguese reports that were following the political, health, and social adaptations to the COVID-19.

Figure 1: The chronology of alert phases and survey applications (2020)



### **Situation of alert (March 13<sup>th</sup>)**

The first positive case of COVID-19 reported in Portugal was on March 2<sup>nd</sup>. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of March, along with the declaration of the state of alert for the whole country, a law was approved to establish exceptional and temporary measures to face the epidemiological situation of the COVID-19 (*Decreto-Lei n.º 10-A/2020*). Then, on March 16<sup>th</sup> all schooling activities were suspended.

### **State of emergency I (March 18<sup>th</sup>)**

On March 18<sup>th</sup> a state of emergency is declared and authorized. Many restrictions were employed. On March 20<sup>th</sup>, there is a mandatory adoption of a remote work regime, regardless of the employment relation, whenever the functions allowed.

At that time, very few Portuguese felt the declaration of state of emergency was unnecessary: they were divided between those who thought it was necessary and the restrictions were adequate (51%) and those who thought the restrictions should have gone further (44%). Also, most agreed (approximately 64%) that the population was reacting appropriately to the pandemic context, although 25% thought that people were not taking the risks seriously enough (*"Sondagem ICS/Iscte"*, Report march).

Approximately, 6 in each 1000 people have been tested daily for SARS-Cov-2, and 3 in 1000 have tested positive (*"Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia"*, ISPUP, Report regarding the period between the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of March). Women with more than 60 years old reported greater use of in person and distant healthcare services. Regarding social contacts, older people reported less contacts outside the household, less visits to friends and family, and less contacts with people suspected with coronavirus infection, than younger individuals. However, they declare more frequent trips to supermarkets, other shops, and noncommercial motives (walks, walking dog, etc.), and this is even more evident in men (*"Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia"*, ISPUP, Report regarding the period between the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of March). Almost all Portuguese declared that they have avoided crowded places, increased their personal hygiene, and kept distances when interacting with other people (90 to 96%). However, at this time, only 27% declared using a mask in public places. From those who worked outside home, 59% stopped commuting to the workplace. (*"Sondagem ICS/Iscte"*, Report march).

The transition to remote work was quick, but socially stratified. Those that were able to work from home are the most educated with higher income. Women were also more on remote work than men. And those who were in households without children declared having more conditions for remote working. 40% of the individuals report or suspect a loss in income, affecting more prominently the younger workers ("*Trabalho e desigualdades no grande confinamento*", CoLABOR, Report April).

In fact, already in March there were signs of an approaching social crisis. Indicators of the Portuguese labor market showed that the accommodation and restaurant sectors were significantly the most affected by the coronavirus crisis: preliminary data indicated that 62% of the surveyed companies closed temporarily (55%) or permanently (7%). Unregistered unemployment was rising rapidly (32 thousand registered unemployed in two weeks). The use of the layoff regime was unprecedented: 940 thousand workers and 70 thousand companies, meaning an estimated 1/3 of the employees were covered by layoff at this time. An important part of these layoff workers are from the sectors of accommodation and restaurant and trade (1/4 of the layoff workers). ("*Trabalho e desigualdades no grande confinamento*", CoLABOR, Report April). So, although only 5% of the Portuguese population had been infected or knew personally someone that has been infected, 21% were already seeing their financial situation of their household affected by the pandemic ("*Sondagem ICS/Iscte*", Report march). On March 26<sup>th</sup>, measures regarding job protection and absences for family assistance are approved for the COVID-19 context.

Youth showed less trust in all sources of information on the pandemic and are the ones that declare more difficulties in dealing with the announced restrictions, namely due to the isolation, lack of freedom and social activities. Between the individuals of ages 35 to 44 years old, the difficulties relate to the conciliation of work, family, and children's education. The younger (16-34) also advocate for more restricted measures to face the pandemic, and, at the same time, think it will end earlier, compared to older generations. The main concerns of older people are related to their own and close relatives' health and health services, as well as worries regarding the economic and the education sectors. The young people also expressed concerns about school and entry to labor market ("*O Impacto Social da Pandemia*", ICS/Iscte, Report April).

### **State of emergency II (April 2<sup>nd</sup>) and state of emergency III (April 17<sup>th</sup>)**

A second state of emergency is declared and authorized on April 2<sup>nd</sup>, followed by another renovation on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April. By April 13<sup>th</sup>, about 145 thousand independent workers had requested access to the extraordinary measure of reduction of economic activity ("*Trabalho e desigualdades no grande confinamento*", CoLABOR, Report April).

The pandemic seems to impact differently cohorts regarding the effects on emotional wellbeing. Although the elderly are more vulnerable to COVID-19 disease complications, young people reveal greater fear. Young people express themselves as sadder and more anxious than any other group. About a third of women between 16 and 39 years old referred feeling sad, desperate or depressed, while about a quarter of women with 60 or more years reported the same. These percentages are lower for men, but the age difference is larger: almost 1/4 of young men

expressed these feelings, against only 1 in each 7 of men over 65. Women in general manifested more anxiety, fear and difficulty sleeping. Also, individuals with more comfortable income, and more educated reported less anxiety and sleep disorders. At the same time, individuals expressed hope for the future: about two thirds stated they were always, almost always or many times hopeful, through the week; and in greater proportion for the older and less educated (*"Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia"*, ISPUP, Público April 11<sup>th</sup>).

Regarding the effects of lockdown, approximately 1/5 of the respondents reported more moments of family tension during lockdown than before. This was more frequent in the younger (16-24), and in the less educated, as well as in single parent, extended family or several people without nucleus, households. This increase in family tension was also associated to changes in daily activities and difficulties in dealing with the lockdown restrictions (*"O Impacto Social da Pandemia"*, ICS/Iscte, Report June 22<sup>nd</sup>).

### **Situation of disaster I (April 30<sup>th</sup>) and situation of disaster II (May 17<sup>th</sup>)**

The state of emergency ends, and a situation of disaster is declared on April 30<sup>th</sup>, and renewed on May 17<sup>th</sup>. On May 4<sup>th</sup> the process of easing of lockdown restrictions began. Public services, some shops, bookstores and car trades, hairdressers and similar businesses, libraries and archives, and zoos are reopened. Individual outdoor sports and recreation fishing are authorized.

Most Portuguese fear the easing of restrictions and think it is premature (53%), and this fear is more prevalent on women, the higher educated, and those that have a more leftist ideology. However, almost 2/3 of the Portuguese think the population will react adequately to limit the spread of the virus (52% are confident and 10% are very confident), and even more in men and older generations. (*"Sondagem ICS/Iscte"*, Report may).

There has been a gradual growth of work travel. From the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March until May 10<sup>th</sup> there was an increase of almost 50% in work outside of home: 17% of the employees at the end of March, to 21% in the last week of the state of emergency, to 25% until May 10<sup>th</sup>. Work outside home was always more frequent in the individuals with lowest education level, and accordingly, remote work was less frequent. Also, these were also the ones who contacted more people outside their household. And, in general, from the end of March until the first ten days of May, visits to family and friends duplicated, as well as the visits to shops (not supermarket or pharmacy related) (*"Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia"*, ISPUP, Público May 20<sup>th</sup>).

Not only issues related to work are socially stratified, the risk of contracting COVID-19 is too. "People with worse social conditions have to be more exposed. Exposure and disease are not random phenomena, and depend on the region, the social conditions, age and gender". (Henrique de Barros, May 20<sup>th</sup>, Público, authors' own translation). One in each 7 individuals expressed they were planning on taking the COVID-19 test, and more, ¼ meant to perform an antibody test. 13,3% and 17,7%, respectively, were undecided. These proportions were bigger for those that declared less comfortable income (*"Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia"*, ISPUP, Report regarding the period between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of May).

On May 18<sup>th</sup> more services reopened: shops, restaurants, cafés and pastries, cultural equipments (museums, monuments, exhibitions, etc.). High school and nurseries also reopened.

In relation to individuals' concerns with the future, the most mentioned one referred to the economic situation of the country, followed by the uncertainty of being with family, friends or colleagues. Among those whose personal financial situation was most affected, their own personal financial situation was the second most mentioned concern. Those most concerned with public health were women and those more positioned to the left. The more educated expressed greater concern with the national economy. Individuals also expressed concerns with social inequalities, poverty, social discrimination and ageism, the effects of children being away from school, as well as political consequences such as civic liberties or Europe's future. Lack of control of one's own life due to uncertainties, decreased quality of family and interpersonal relationships, and a loss of a cosmopolitan lifestyle, were also stated concerns ("*O Impacto Social da Pandemia*", ICS/Iscte, Report June 22<sup>nd</sup>).

### ***Situation of disaster III (May 29<sup>th</sup>) and situation of disaster IV (June 12<sup>th</sup>)***

On May 19<sup>th</sup> and June 12<sup>th</sup>, the declaration of situation of disaster is extended. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of July more services reopen: citizen services, other stores and stores inside shopping centers, cinemas, theaters, concerts halls and auditoriums. Kindergartens and afterschool activities are also reactivated. Additionally, partial remote work is now possible, with different schedules or rotating teams.

More than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of individuals declared that a contingency plan was released in their work place, however, 24% of those working outside home were not aware of a specific recommendation to stay home in case of symptoms related to COVID-19. 54% of individuals with children decided to not take their children to school. Approximately half of the individuals expressed concern with the effect of the reopening in the infection rate. This proportion was smaller for more educated individuals. The most mentioned motives for leaving the house were to walk or exercise (76%), visits to family or friends (60%), trips to the beach or green spaces (51%). These last two were more stated by the youngest. 40% of participants went to outdoor dining or drinking, 31% went too non-essential shops and 28% were inside a restaurant. These were more frequent in the 60+. 14% used in person healthcare services and only 8% used public transports (higher in Lisbon Metropolitan Area) ("*Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia*", ISPUP, Report regarding the period between the 25<sup>th</sup> of May and 5<sup>th</sup> of June).

On June 26<sup>th</sup> and July 14<sup>th</sup>, a situation of disaster, contingency and alert is declared and on July 31<sup>st</sup> it is downgraded to a situation of contingency and alert.

### **Exploratory analysis: participation, COVID-19, trajectories and subjective experiences**

The sociological relevance of studying the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic in people's lives in unquestionable, even if these effects are still taking place. However, the sociological interest in

these themes is likely to be inversely proportional to its access and understanding. Despite being aware of this, we developed this spinoff follow-up study of families during a pandemic. Here we touch this “lava” for the first time, which is the material collected about the pandemic (during the course of the same), and share some exploratory results and reflections.

### ***Objective and subjective response***

We re-contacted each one of the members of our 15 families participating in our project. Of the 49 participants, 42 accepted the challenge and answered the first online survey in April, representing a global response rate of approximately 85.71%. The survey was launched in April 7<sup>th</sup>, about 2,5 weeks into the lockdown. This response was beyond our expectations and most of all revealed how willing people were to talk about their lives, feelings and events related to the pandemic. This also reassured us about our early decision and our interpretation on the pros and cons of re-contacting the families in these extraordinary circumstances. The response rate throughout the different rounds was always above 70% in relation to the all the Linked Lives Project’s participants (including the ones interviewed pre-pandemic, and that did not give consent to the be recontacted, or that, having been recontacted, did not reply to the invitation to fill in the survey). Within those that took part of this Spinoff, the response rate was always high, between 83% and 95% comparing to the participation in the first round of this longitudinal inquiry. Those who did not participate in the Linked spinoff online inquiries were mainly younger participants, and more men than women. Table 1 illustrates very well this “objective” response to our study. We do believe this is enhanced by the fact that we already knew and had developed trust relationships with these families.

In this study we preserved two levels of analysis. Although the surveys were individually filled out, these individuals belong to households, families, that are themselves units of analysis of our broader research. For this purpose, we analyze these responses per family (Table 2). All the original 15 families are represented in this spinoff study, and there are 6 of them in which all members participated in all 4 rounds. In general, most families’ members took part of the different inquiry stages. There were 3 families that were less represented in this spinoff study. Some families’ members stopped participating in the third round but then were recovered in the 4<sup>th</sup> round. At the time a very big set of lockdown ease measures took place. We suspect people were in an emotional and objective preparation to “get back to life”. We could, later on, ask the participants why they responded and dropped out at some point to better understand the connection to COVID-19 dynamics.

Table 1: Response rates

		n	Response rate (%) in relation to the Project's participation	Response rate (%) in relation to round 1
Round 1	Apr 7-22	42	85.71	
Round 2	Apr 23-May 5	40	81.63	95.24
Round 3	May 13-27	35	71.43	83.33
Round 4	Jun 19-Jul 27	38	77.55	92.68

Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

Table 2: Participation of each family per round

Family	Members	Round 1		Round 2		Round 3		Round 4		Average of response rts
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1	4	4	100,00	4	100,00	4	100,00	4	100,00	100,00
2	3	2	66,67	2	66,67	2	66,67	2	66,67	66,67
3	4	4	100,00	4	100,00	4	100,00	4	100,00	100,00
4	3	2	66,67	2	66,67	2	66,67	2	66,67	66,67
5	4	4	100,00	4	100,00	4	100,00	4	100,00	100,00
6	4	1	25,00	1	25,00	1	25,00	0	0,00	18,75
7	3	3	100,00	3	100,00	1	33,33	1	33,33	66,67
8	3	3	100,00	3	100,00	3	100,00	3	100,00	100,00
9	3	3	100,00	3	100,00	2	66,67	2	66,67	83,33
10	3	3	100,00	3	100,00	2	66,67	3	100,00	91,67
11	3	3	100,00	3	100,00	3	100,00	3	100,00	100,00
12	3	2	66,67	1	33,33	1	33,33	2	66,67	50,00
13	3	2	66,67	2	66,67	1	33,33	2	66,67	58,33
14	3	3	100,00	2	66,67	2	66,67	3	100,00	83,33
15	3	3	100,00	3	100,00	3	100,00	3	100,00	100,00

Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

The study was particularly well received by the families, which is not only confirmed by the previously presented response rates, but also reflected in the comments many participants left in the several online surveys. As mentioned before, the "subjective" and more emotional response was as meaningful and expressive as the actual answers to the questionnaire. In general, participants were very grateful for being heard and generous with the team members. They expressed enjoying their participation in the study and recognized and congratulated our work. Some also communicated a sense of reciprocity. And sometimes they would greet us with personal wishes or even ask us questions. Below are some examples of the interest shown in the study by some participants.

This considerable response makes us connect to two classic sociological issues. Firstly, and as implied in the below quotations, it relates to the importance of "historical generations" to understand society. The importance of the historical location of a generation (more the cohorts)

speaks to the heart of both sociology and life course theory. What this emotional response has led us to consider is if the – at least immediate- impacts of these historical events might be transversal to generations or social classes.

"Thank you for your concern and I hope the study reveals something about living in society." (Vera, 50, r1)

"What is your prediction for our freedom, work, health, better quality of life?"  
(Amadeu, 47, r1)

"Thank you for your contribution" (Júlio, 34, r1)

"Health and strength for all of us!" (Alice, 36, r2)

"I want to thank this opportunity to answer your survey, which I am happy to do and has also helped me." (Amadeu, 47, r3)

"Thank you and good luck for your work." (Iolanda, 65, r3)

"We liked to collaborate, we hope you enjoyed it." (Elisabete, 64, r3)

"Publish the texts: "Lockdown chronicles" :)" (Paulo, 60, r3)

Secondly, the accounts shared by these families are also worth noting that they seem to have created an increase in unsolicited biographies, representing a change in the current, more fabricated, meant to be seen, Facebook frames of the presentation of the self. People appear to be more prone to registering their thoughts, their own diaries (of the lockdown). The photographs sent illustrate this very well: the mundane, the daily life, the ordinary aspects of life; not exactly the photographs one would publish in social media, or send to a friend in the pre-pandemic era. These are photos to register moments, not necessarily to display.

"I am hopeful that slowly we will be able to have a normal life again. But I think that this lockdown has also led us to some introspection and that we can change some not so good attitudes in our lives. Being confined at home makes us more creative and more open to new knowledge, like reading more, cooking more, talking more, enjoying nature, like listening to the birds singing in the silence of the morning."

(Elisa, 56, r2)

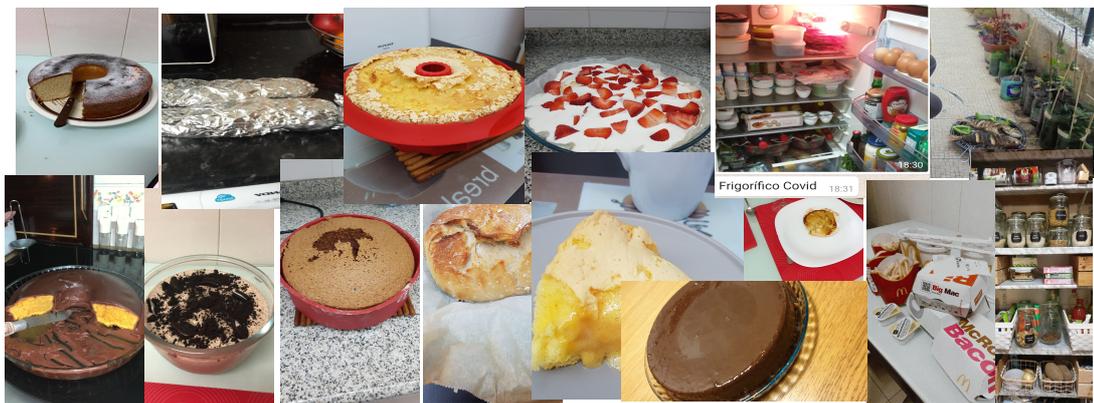
Set of photographs 1: Family pictures during video call



Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

Set of photographs 2: Baking, groceries, preparing food

Source:



Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

### **COVID-19 infections and risk in the families**

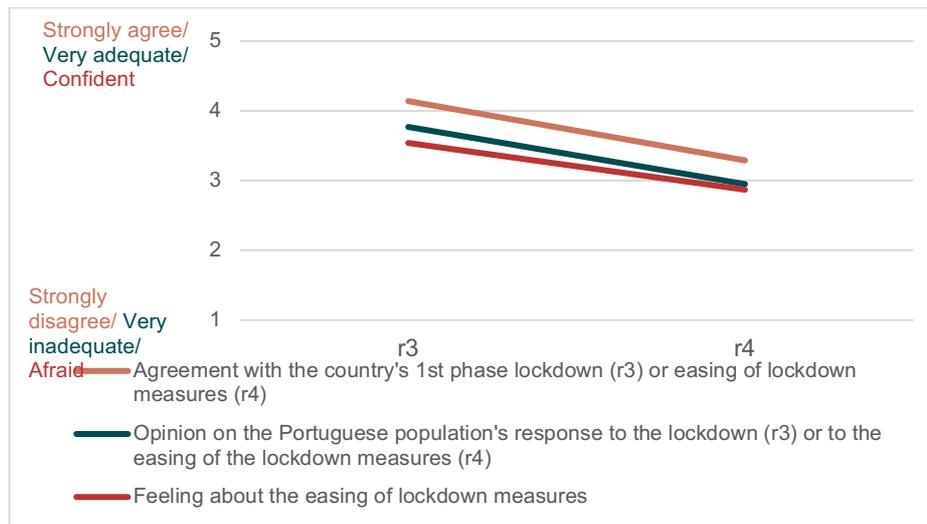
During the spinoff project one family had experienced COVID-19. 3 members of this family were positive on round 1: Amália, Alice and Sérgio. Amália and Alice were in lockdown at home and Sérgio at the hospital. At the time of the round 1 survey, they were all quarantining at home. In round 2 the same participants continued COVID positive. From this family, only Olga was negative and was not living any longer with this family. From the previous interviews, we know Olga (the grandmother) had its own house and rotated between her house and her daughter's. During these spinoff surveys she always stated to be living alone and mentioned these COVID cases as referring to family members and not household members. It seems that she stopped rotating houses during the COVID-19 outbreak and always stayed in her own house, which explains why she was the only household member that did not catch the COVID-19 virus. For the other two participants, the composition of the household is not clear: Amália reported living with her daughter and husband,

her daughter reported living alone, and her husband reported only living with the partner. No other household changes were reported until round 4, when Amália declared to be living only with her husband, and Alice declared to have moved out to live alone. We knew already from the previous interviews that Alice had bought a new house but was not living permanently there, and it seems that during this spinoff period she moved permanently to her new house. So, in this family of 4, directly affected by COVID, many household composition changes were observed. The role of the pandemic in these changes is unclear, but it seemed to stabilize the rotating arrangements of these family members. Some members of the family were moving between houses before and with the pandemic they separated.

We analyzed some comments and reflections this family expressed along the surveys. The words terror and poverty appear as symbolic markers of their experiences and perception (compared also with other reflections made by households not affected directly by the virus). Analyzing the comments by this COVID-19 affected family, they all mention they miss daily activities, like working, being with friends and family, etc., probably because their autonomy of movement was profoundly and directly restricted by the virus. They also mention missing freedom, especially in the last two rounds. All also express a great worry about the overall the pandemic context. Some of the comments in the first round suggest a catastrophic scenery, people were still adapting to all the rapid changes. Silvio especially writes us about his experience with the COVID-19 disease: he was two weeks in the hospital and reveals his concerns about the effects the disease will endure. The reflections are transparent in the way individuals deal with the clash of the ordinary (daily activities, working, being with friends) and the extraordinary (the end of the world, the terror, the disease). Further research may be interested in knowing if this pandemic will have a scarring impact on individuals' reflexivity, world views and lifestyles, apart from the immediate effects.

Participants also expressed their perceptions regarding the lockdown and easing of lockdown measures, as well as the populations' response to it during waves 3 and 4. We can observe that most participants agreed (25.7%) and strongly agreed (45.7%) with the country's first lockdown measures. This is consistent with other studies that show that most Portuguese considered that the state of emergency and related restrictions were necessary ("Sondagem ICS/Iscte", Report march). This was not so consensual, however, regarding the easing of the lockdown measures, where the agreement was much lower. The same happened to the opinion about the Portuguese response to these measures: respondents thought it was more adequate in the lockdown context than in the easing of lockdown measures. They also expressed more fear regarding the lockdown measures. Some participants mentioned particular concerns, like Sílvia (47) regarding the behavior of the elderly- *"Impotence to change behaviors of the older population where I live"*, - or Antónia (56) about the EU - *"Revolt with the EU action, little support and the measures adopted by each country without consensus"*. Nonetheless, globally, as can be seen in the figure below (figure 2), respondents were more positive regarding the lockdown measures than regarding the easing of lockdown measures. It should also be noted that there was a decrease in the agreement with the lockdown and easing of lockdown measures, as well as in the opinion concerning the population's response to it between rounds 3 and 4.

Figure 2: Perceptions of lockdown and easing of lockdown measures across time (means)



Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

Regarding these perceptions by sex, almost no differences are observed (Table 3). The most relevant are related to the opinion about the Portuguese population to the easing of the lockdown measures, where women expressed it as more inadequate. More differences are observed per education level, although not always in the same direction. Regarding the measures, we can highlight, in general, that the more highly educated express less satisfaction (more disagreement and more inadequacy) with these issues. In relation to age, in general, younger and older respondents are more positive (agree more, think they are more adequate and are more confident) about these issues than the middle-aged group. Other studies have shown that older generations were more confident with the reaction of the population ("Sondagem ICS/Iscte", Report may). In our open-ended survey questions, however, some people expressed concerns regarding how measures are being complied with, as illustrated with this quote: "People not complying with the quarantine, nor the measures indicated by our SNS (National Health Service)" (Vera, 50, r2).

Table 3: Perceptions of lockdown and easing of lockdown measures per sex, education level and age groups (means)

Opinions on lockdown and easing of lockdown measures per sex, education level and age								
	Women	Men	1st and 2nd cycle	3rd cycle	University	18-39 yr	40-59 yr	60 yr or +
Agreement with the country's 1st phase lockdown measures (r3)	4.15	4.13	4.43	4.00	4.14	4.09	4.06	4.43
Opinion on the Portuguese population's response to the lockdown measures (r3)	3.75	3.80	3.86	3.79	3.71	3.91	3.76	3.57
Feeling about the easing of lockdown measures (r3)	3.50	3.60	3.86	3.57	3.36	3.64	3.24	4.14
Agreement with the easing of lockdown measures taken from June 1st (r4)	3.33	3.24	3.67	3.14	3.20	3.46	3.06	3.57
Opinion on the Portuguese population's response to the easing of the lockdown measures (r4)	2.86	3.06	3.22	3.14	2.60	3.15	2.61	3.43
Feeling about the easing of lockdown measures (r4)	2.90	2.82	3.22	2.50	3.00	3.31	2.39	3.29

Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

### Trajectories impacted by the pandemic

The pandemic removed many adults from their workplaces and primary daily networks, forcing them to collaborate and sustain connections remotely. Increased work at home can colonize family life. This problem has several dimensions, including the fact that it is employers who benefit most when employees use their private time, space, and other personal and relational resources to accomplish their work. It also reinforces or increases inequality due to differences in employees' personal resources and home situations that make it more or less difficult to work remotely. Remote work can also increase stress through instant availability, high demands, the press of care for children and infirm relatives, and the blurring of work and nonwork boundaries.

Settersten *et al.*, 2020

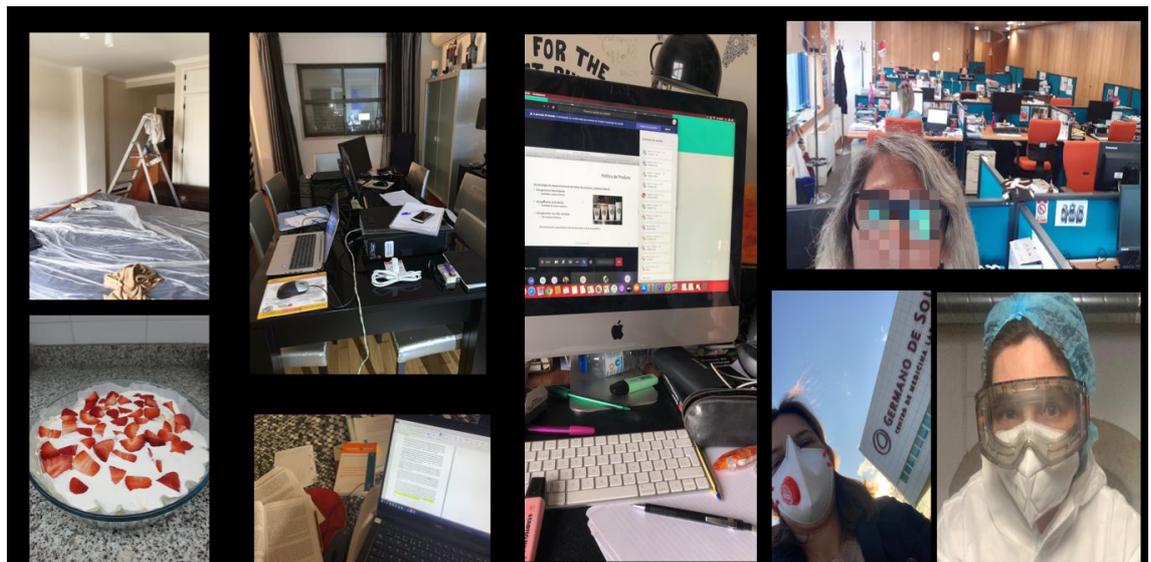
In order to grasp the effects of the pandemic on trajectories, we tracked the changes in the individuals' lives, especially in relation to the household and to the work relations. The family that undergone more changes in the household composition was precisely the family with the COVID-19 cases, as mentioned earlier. There were 4 members and in round 1 the grandmother was not living with the rest of the family, but living alone. Also, the granddaughter was in the process of leaving the parental home. In round 4 she mentioned she moved due to remote work. We are unsure of the role of the pandemic in these changes. In two more families, changes in the household were also observed. In one of the families, João's mother left and he stayed living with his partner (because this was reported in the first round we are not sure if it happened during or

after the outbreak of the COVID-19). Also, in one more family, the couple, son and stepson welcomed one more person, a friend of their son. The motives were not mentioned.

Concerning the costs of housing, most families did not resort to institutional support to bear the costs of housing. We can observe that 44% of the respondents were paying a bank loan and 15.8% a monthly rent. Of these, only one to 2 respondents reported cost reduction with the house. This points to the fact that the effects can be slower and that our families are not in the poverty line. Nonetheless, in these questions, some respondents took the opportunity to mention that they are experiencing more monthly expenses in services like, water, electricity, gas, food, and pharmacy, mostly due to the extended time spent at home.

Regarding work relations, when this study kicked off in April during the state of emergency, remote work was mandatory whenever the function allowed, and regardless of the employment relations. This measure came into force a few days after all schooling activities were suspended (March 16). This meant that for families, most members were working and studying at home, as expressed by many photographs of tables turned into offices (photograph 3 pg. 35 and set of photographs 3).

Set of photographs 3: The different work situations (layoff, working from home, studying from home, minimum services but in person, working in frontline services)



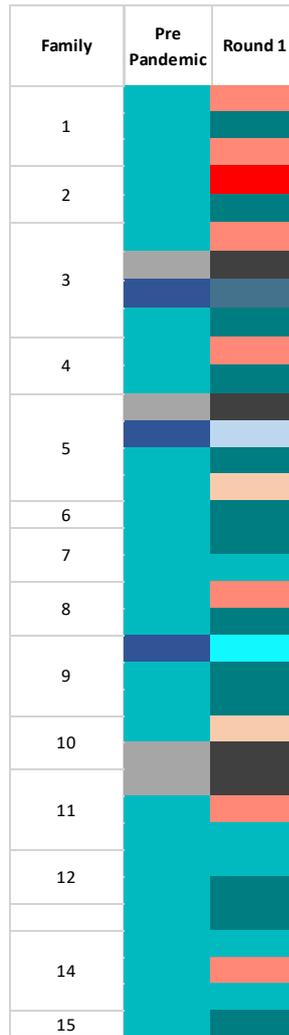
Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

This transition was quick, and we can observe that most working respondents were in remote work in round 1, representing 43.8%. Remote work was socially stratified, being more composed of highly educated, and higher income professionals, and more women than men ("Trabalho e desigualdades no grande confinamento", CoLABOR, Report April). During round 1, a significant part of the participants (21.9%) were working outside home, some working in priority areas, as is illustrated with Raquel's portrait of going all equipped to work at a day care center (in set of photographs 3). The same proportion has been dismissed with layout. A simplified layout regime was defined by the Government as part of the measures to support companies and workers to

deal with the effects of the pandemic, in order to promote the maintenance of the enterprises and the upkeep of jobs. For businesses whose activities were being severely affected due to COVID-19 (sales drop over 40%), workers were guaranteed a compensation of two-thirds of their wages (up to 1905 euros) – of this, 30% supported by the employer and 70% by social security, to a maximum of 6 months. This layout regime meant that some people spent more time doing household cooking or renovations, as illustrated by the photos above. At this time, among our working participants most (66.7%) has the same wage but already 18.2% were earning 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of their wages. In, fact, nationally, already in April, 40% of individuals reported or suspected a loss in income, affecting more prominently the younger. Also, unregistered employment was rising ("*Trabalho e desigualdades no grande confinamento*", CoLABOR, Report April). More changes happened in the subsequent rounds, where 1 more person was fired, then in the last round some people started going back to in person work, some full-time, some part-time, and some with rotating schedules. Some students also went back to in-person classes. These changes reflect the easing of lockdown measures that began on May 4<sup>th</sup>. Businesses started to reopen gradually, and workers started commuting to work. High schools reopened on May 18<sup>th</sup> and starting from July, many more services, as well as preschools, were reactivated. Partial remote work was now possible, with the recommendation of having different schedules or rotating teams. Antónia's photograph of round 4 illustrates this half functioning of in-person work (in set of photographs 3).

We can confirm in figure 3 how some families very quickly shifted from having regular jobs to a myriad of situations, where, in the same family and household, you can have 3 to 4 different situations. Perhaps more than the changes at the individual level, it is this heterogeneity at the family level that is known to the wider public and through the many individual surveys collected. Our further research aims at looking at how these abrupt changes in the homogeneity of the households impacted the dynamics, conflicts and negotiations within each family during the lockdown.

Figure 3: Changes in relation to work and school at round 1



Legend:



Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

**The internal, intimate and subjective experience**

The immediate shock of the pandemic has shaken the relations among people. Mobility restrictions created by physical distancing measures have left people painfully aware of how much their wellbeing is linked to others and how much they take for granted the ability to be with others.

Settersen *et al.* 2020

Photograph 1: a rainbow in a storm

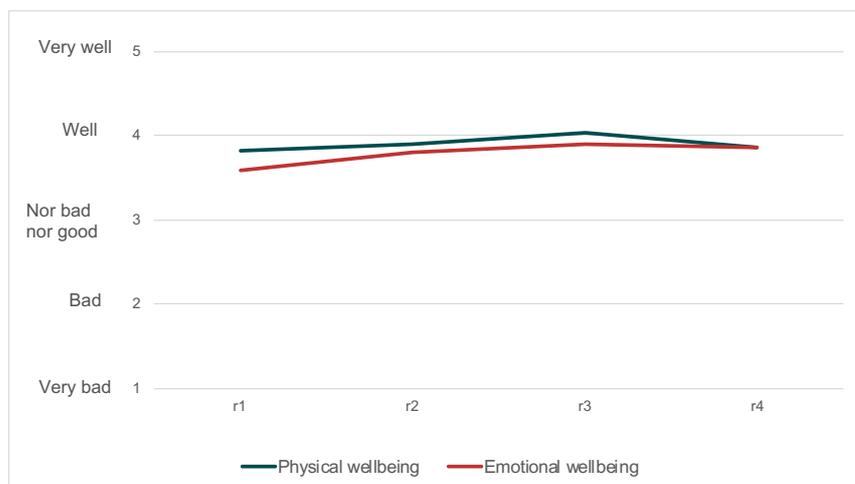


Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives) (Mariana, 47, r1)

"I feel more fearful and very apprehensive about the future, for what we will now have to face. I will live in suspicion permanently because I don't know how safe I will be out there. Fear of myself, fear of my people, a terrible fear of being infected and being part of the wrong statistic. Although this lockdown is affecting my mental health, I know that until now I was more protected, but from now on I do not know, and I will not be able to protect my 24 hours from the enemy that lurks around the corner ... " (Antónia, 56, r3)

With all these changes in the world and in their daily lives, participants reflected upon their emotions, wellbeing, and families. The disruptions related to COVID-19 is a challenge to families' and family members' wellbeing, that can have lasting and spillover effects (Prime, Wade and Browne, 2020). Regarding wellbeing, we can observe that, overall, participants reported fairly positive levels on both physical and emotional wellbeing with no dramatic changes over time (figure 4). We can see, however, that these slightly increase from round 1 to round 3, and in round 4 there is a decrease. This might reflect, in the beginning, a strategic adaptation to the lockdown context, and, in the last round, a weariness due to the extended nature of the pandemic. Physical wellbeing is always higher than emotional wellbeing, but these differences tended to diminish with time.

Figure 4: Physical and emotional wellbeing across time (means)



Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

Photograph 2: Physical exercise at home



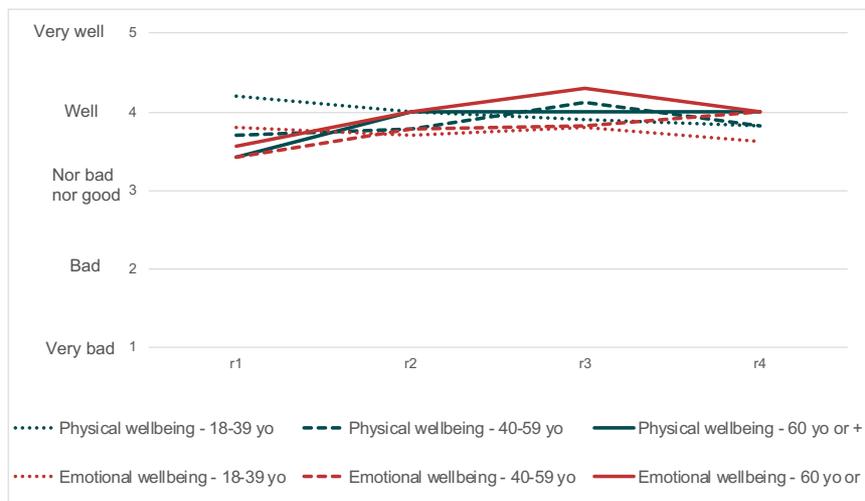
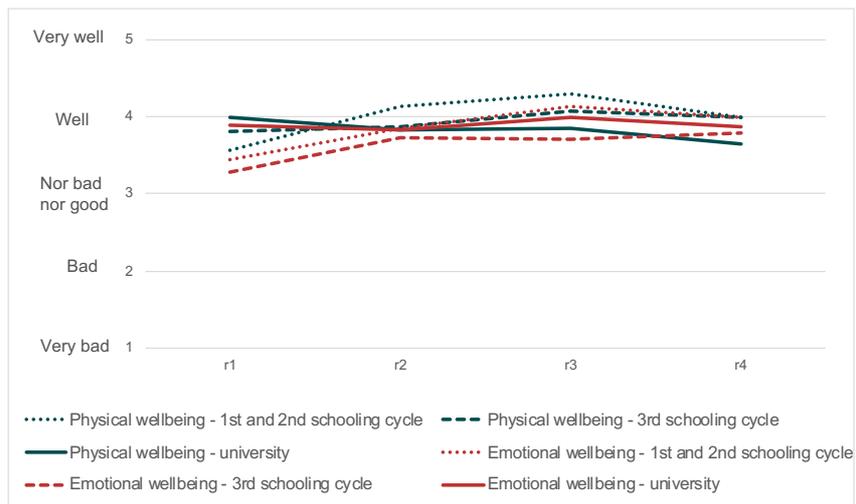
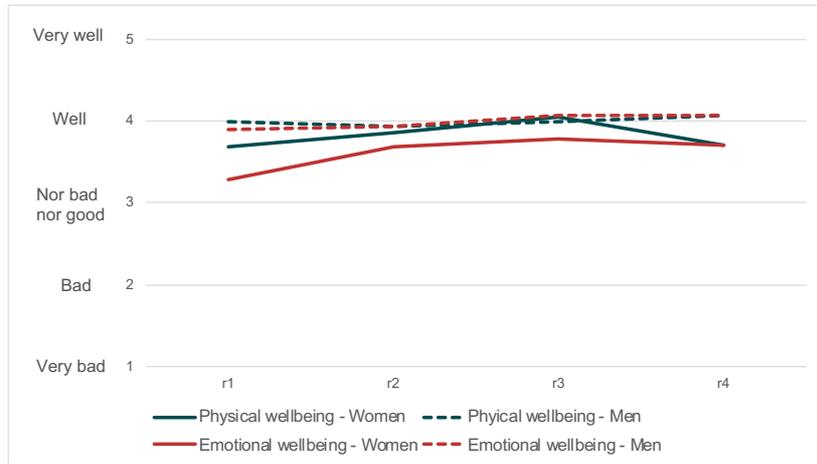
Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives) (Antónia, 56, r1)

In our study we could observe that physical and emotional wellbeing is higher in men than in women; however, in men they are very similar, whereas in women, the physical wellbeing is higher. In other words, women stand out for having a comparatively lower emotional wellbeing (figure 5). Other studies have also been showing the same pattern: women show a greater detrimental effect of COVID-19 on mental health than men (Ausín *et al.* 2021). This can be due to the higher burden women report regarding family responsibilities. In what concerns education levels, this relationship changes across time. In round 1 those with highest education reported highest levels of wellbeing, both physical and emotional, and these levels remain relatively stable in the subsequent surveys. For those with lowest education levels, the wellbeing increased in relation to round 1, maybe reflecting a greater impact in the beginning of the pandemic (figure 6). In the last round those with lowest educational levels reported higher wellbeing levels. Finally, regarding age groups, in the older population, wellbeing, especially, emotional, increases along the rounds (figure 7). For the youngest group, from 18 to 39 years old, both types of wellbeing decrease along the waves. The youngest participants seem to have felt a greater impact on their wellbeing during the lockdown and easing of lockdown phases. Indeed, as many studies consistently showed, although the elderly are more vulnerable to COVID-19 disease, young people expressed less wellbeing than any other group during this time ("*Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia*", ISPUP, Público April 11th).

Observing these levels of wellbeing per family (Table 4), we suspect that there are more differences between families (their social classes, their heterogeneity, their density of occupational impacts from the pandemic), than across time, which indicates us that other structural factors are key in explaining previous inequalities in wellbeing. As we observed earlier, reported physical wellbeing is generally higher than emotional wellbeing. However, 3 families were an exception to this: family 4, family 9 and family 13. Also, in family 9, the responses are less consistent in the family,

with a greater standard deviation regarding physical wellbeing. This is a family with financial issues and where one of the members has many health issues.

Figures 5, 6 & 7: Physical and Emotional wellbeing, per sex, per education level, and per age group (means)



Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

Table 4: Physical and emotional wellbeing per family

	Physical wellbeing								
	r1		r2		r3		r4		4 rounds
	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean
Family 1	4,00	0,00	4,00	0,00	4,00	0,00	3,75	0,50	3,94
Family 2	2,50	0,71	3,00	1,41	3,50	0,71	3,50	0,71	3,13
Family 3	3,75	0,50	3,25	0,96	3,50	1,00	3,33	0,58	3,46
Family 4	4,50	0,71	4,00	0,00	4,50	0,71	4,50	0,71	4,38
Family 5	4,75	0,50	4,25	0,96	4,50	0,58	4,25	0,96	4,44
Family 6	4,00		4,00		4,00				4,00
Family 7	4,00	0,00	4,00	0,00	4,00		4,00		4,00
Family 8	3,67	0,58	3,67	0,58	3,67	0,58	3,67	0,58	3,67
Family 9	3,67	1,53	3,67	1,53	3,50	2,12	3,50	0,71	3,59
Family 10	3,67	0,58	4,00	0,00	4,00	0,00	3,33	1,15	3,75
Family 11	4,00	0,00	4,33	0,58	4,00	0,00	4,00	0,00	4,08
Family 12	4,00	1,41	5,00		5,00		4,50	0,71	4,63
Family 13	2,50	2,12	3,00	0,00	3,00		3,50	0,71	3,00
Family 14	3,67	0,58	4,00	0,00	4,00	0,00	3,67	0,58	3,84
Family 15	4,00	1,00	4,67	0,58	5,00	0,00	4,67	0,58	4,59

	Emotional wellbeing								
	r1		r2		r3		r4		4 rounds
	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean
Family 1	3,25	0,50	4,00	0,00	4,00	0,00	3,50	0,58	3,69
Family 2	2,00	0,00	2,50	0,71	3,00	0,00	3,50	0,71	2,75
Family 3	3,25	0,50	3,25	0,50	3,33	0,58	3,00	0,82	3,21
Family 4	4,50	0,71	4,50	0,71	4,50	0,71	4,50	0,71	4,50
Family 5	4,25	0,96	4,25	0,96	4,50	0,58	4,50	0,58	4,38
Family 6	3,00		4,00		3,00				3,33
Family 7	3,33	0,58	3,33	0,58	3,00		4,00		3,42
Family 8	3,67	0,58	3,33	0,58	3,67	0,58	4,00	0,00	3,67
Family 9	4,33	0,58	4,67	0,58	4,00	0,00	4,50	0,71	4,38
Family 10	3,33	1,15	3,00	0,00	3,50	0,71	3,33	0,58	3,29
Family 11	4,00	1,41	4,00	0,00	4,00	0,00	4,00	0,00	4,00
Family 12	4,00	1,41	5,00		5,00		4,50	0,71	4,63
Family 13	2,50	0,71	4,00	0,00	3,00		3,00	1,41	3,13
Family 14	3,33	0,58	3,50	0,71	3,50	0,71	3,67	0,58	3,50
Family 15	4,33	0,58	4,33	0,58	5,00	0,00	4,67	0,58	4,58

Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

Along the rounds, participants also marked the most important emotions at each time. As a team, we believe it is important to acknowledge emotions as a sociological topic, and we most of all believe there is an emotional capital, heterogeneous between the families, that may contribute to explain the differences in the responses and adaptation to the pandemic and to the lockdown. Globally, the main expressed feelings were concern and hope, which in itself reflects two moderate and mixed feelings (figure 8). They do not reflect skepticism, nor “fear”, as publicized by the media and opinion makers. The least mentioned were sadness and discouragement. And across the four rounds, these feelings became more positive: anxiety, concern, fear, and especially, sadness, decreased across the rounds, while hope increased gradually, and especially when the easing of lockdown measures started.

This is revealing that, despite the population being described by the media as being in shock, in panic, or in denial of the pandemic, this might be a methodological artefact. If researchers open the emotional possibilities, acknowledging the individuals, the plurality, and their complexity, the answers demonstrate a greater and nuanced variety of emotions triggered by the pandemic. Other studies have also found how family experiences regarding the COVID-19 restrictions were very varied: from mental health issues, parenting stress, family conflict, to positive benefits concerning quality time with family and opportunities of tolerance, learning and development. (Evans *et al.* 2020)

Figure 8: Wordclouds of feelings along the rounds



Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

Comparing the individual feelings with the individual feelings of the household, what stands out is that the fear regarding the household decreases consistently across rounds, contrasting with the individual feelings of fear that are steadier (figure 9). The feeling of love also increases considerably regarding the household context in the last round. This highlights the impact of the dynamics of the household in the individuals and the importance to study the invisible links of lives: the emotional ones.

Figure 9: Wordclouds of feelings of the individual and the household, per round

	Individual feelings	Household feelings
r2		
r3		
r4		

Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

Looking now at the individual feelings per sex, educational level, and age group, in the last wave, we can observe some differences (table 5). Women expressed more anxiety and fear compared to men, who expressed more hope and confidence. Higher educated individuals expressed less hope and fear and more discouragement. Finally, we can also highlight that the older generation, 60 or plus, had, simultaneously, less feelings of anxiety and hope. Many of these results are supported by other studies, that show that women in general expressed more anxiety, fear, and difficulty sleeping, during these times. And individuals expressed hope for the future: about two thirds always, almost always or many times, through the week; and in greater proportion for the older and less educated. (“*Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia*”, ISPUP, Público April 11th).

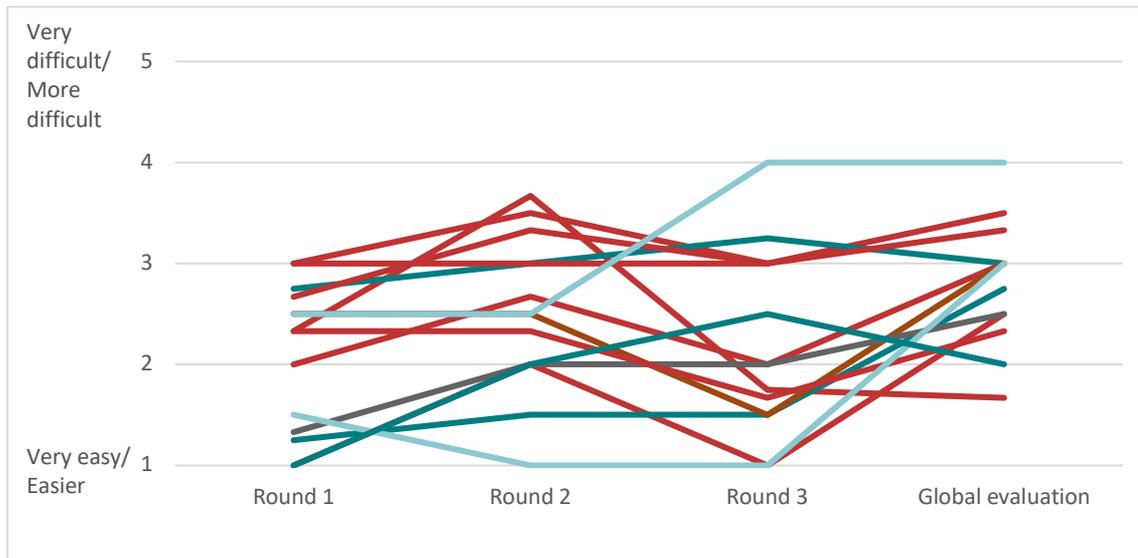
Table 5: Feelings at round 4 per sex, education level, and age group

% based on respondents and within sex, education level or age group		Round 4							
		Women	Men	1st and 2nd cycle	3rd cycle	university	18-39 yr	40-59 yr	60 yr or +
Anxiety	n	6,00	3,00	2,00	4,00	3,00	3,00	5,00	1,00
	%	30,00	18,80	28,60	28,60	20,00	23,10	29,40	16,70
Hope	n	11,00	13,00	6,00	10,00	8,00	10,00	12,00	2,00
	%	55,00	81,30	85,70	71,40	53,30	76,90	70,60	33,30
Discouragement	n	3,00	3,00	0,00	2,00	4,00	4,00	2,00	0,00
	%	15,00	18,80	0,00	14,30	26,70	30,80	11,80	0,00
Concern	n	14,00	11,00	5,00	11,00	9,00	7,00	14,00	4,00
	%	70,00	68,80	71,40	78,60	60,00	53,80	82,40	66,70
Confidence	n	8,00	12,00	4,00	8,00	8,00	9,00	8,00	3,00
	%	40,00	75,00	57,10	57,10	53,30	69,20	47,10	50,00
Sadness	n	1,00	1,00	0,00	2,00	0,00	1,00	0,00	1,00
	%	5,00	6,30	0,00	14,30	0,00	7,70	0,00	16,70
Love	n	6,00	5,00	3,00	3,00	5,00	4,00	5,00	2,00
	%	30,00	31,30	42,90	21,40	33,30	30,80	29,40	33,30
Fear	n	6,00	3,00	2,00	5,00	2,00	2,00	5,00	2,00
	%	30,00	18,80	28,60	35,70	13,30	15,40	29,40	33,30
Total		20	16	7	14	15	13	17	6

Source: Pandemic Qualitative-Driven Survey (Linked Lives)

Finally, regarding how easy the household coexistence was at this time, we can observe that it varies extensively, both between families and across time (figure 10). The difficulty in coexistence increases in many families from round 1 to round 2, with the prolongation of the states of emergency, and then decreases from round 3 with the easing of the lockdown measures. Interestingly, in many families, the global assessment of the whole period was more negative than what was registered along the rounds. Further analyses will be performed to explore families that experienced more and less increases and decreases of difficulties in family coexistence (as shown by the different colors). Although many families report difficulties in time management and coexistence, studies have shown how the COVID-19 crisis has reinforced relationships within families (Perelli-Harris and Brienna and Walzenbach, 2020; Prime, Wade, and Browne, 2020).

Figure 10: Difficulty of household coexistence per family (means)



## Further reflections and research

In this working paper we tried to touch the lava of the family data during the several periods of the first lockdown and easing of lockdown. We are aware the data we have collected is immense, and we are also aware that the sample limitations of this longitudinal survey will have to be overcome with triangulation with all data (reflections and photos) we have collected, as well as with the previous knowledge on these families, and on future research yet to be published.

The preliminary analysis presented in this paper, first of all, showed positive responses to the participation in the study. Beside reassuring our ethical concerns in studying these families during a crisis time, it also reflected participants' eagerness and appreciation in sharing and expressing their daily lives, feelings and expectations.

Secondly, we were able to observe many disruptions in the trajectories of these individuals and families. The family directly affected with COVID-19 infections suffered many household changes. And although not many families reported resorting to institutional supports to bear the costs of housing, many mentioned the burden of other house expenses, like electricity, gas, and food, due to the extended time at home. Regarding work, many abrupt changes were registered, particularly regarding remote work and study, as well as layoff and unemployment situations. Further explorations of the data will look into how these unforeseen changes impacted family dynamics.

Thirdly, issues of feelings and mental health became central. Globally, the expressed feelings were diverse and moderate, between concern and hope. However, the impact of the lockdown on mental health proved more harmful to women and young people, and more studies are needed to assess the gender and age gap of the pandemic. Additionally, there seems to be important differences between families, indicating that other aggregate family level factors play a role in the wellbeing and feelings during the pandemic. Further data will explore the interaction of individual and household factors in this differentiation and impact.

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### Links

<https://covid19estamoson.gov.pt/>

<https://dre.pt/legislacao-covid-19-upo>

<https://dre.pt/legislacao-covid-19-por-areas-tematicas>

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### Reports

"Sondagem ICS/Iscte", Report march

"*Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia*", ISPUP, Report regarding the period between the 23rd and 30<sup>th</sup> of March

"*Trabalho e desigualdades no grande confinamento*", CoLABOR, Report April

"*O Impacto Social da Pandemia*", ICS/Iscte, Report April

"*Sondagem ICS/Iscte*", Report may

"*Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia*", ISPUP, Report regarding the period between the 1st and 18<sup>th</sup> of May

"*O Impacto Social da Pandemia*", ICS/Iscte, Report June 22nd)

"*Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia*", ISPUP, Report regarding the period between the 25<sup>th</sup> of May and 5<sup>th</sup> of June

### **News**

"*Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia*", ISPUP, *Público* April 11th

"*Estudo Diários de uma Pandemia*", ISPUP, *Público* May 20