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WORK-FAMILY BALANCE DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN EU MEMBER STATES

Dalina-Maria ANDREI, PhD

Institute for Economic Forecasting, Bucharest, Romania dalinaandrei@yahoo.com

Abstract: This paper analyzes how much the people's family life and work were both affected and how these two affected each other during the COVID-19 Pandemic within the European Union countries. It includes: concepts and a historical view of family-work relationships and finally a statistical analysis based on the survey named "Living, working and COVID-19", done by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) during 2020 and 2021. For this analysis, we have selected specific indicators assumed to indicate how the pandemic affected the individual's family life in EU countries and how this last, in turn, affected the same people's ordinary earning life work. As in detail, aspects like keeping/changing/loosing job, raising/lowering the working time will be connected to those of specific psychological impact worrying about work/ anxiety/ lack of concentration. The obtained results demonstrate that conflicts have arisen in the family work relationship generated by (i) concerns about job security and income (6.3% of EU respondents in 2020), (ii) losing jobs permanently or temporally (28.2% of the EU employed person), (iii) significant reduction in working hours (32.4% of employees), (iv) financial worsened situation (38% of the employed population of EU), (v) started to work at home/remotely as a result of the pandemic (36.3% of interviewed employees). Conclusions of the study indicate that during the pandemic, work-family balance was significantly deteriorated, which was caused by bidirectional conflicts between work and family domains.

Keywords: work - family balance, work-family conflict, COVID-19 Pandemic, European Union

JEL Classification: J01, J28, J81, J83

1. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has generated significant disruptions in various aspects of life including the balance between work and family responsibilities. As the world was fighting with the health and socio-economic consequences of the health crisis, individuals saw themselves included in new work arrangements, increased caregiving responsibilities, and higher uncertainties. These circumstances have highlighted the importance of work-family balance and its impact on individuals' well-being and productivity. Here we will start by exploring definitions and historical context of work-family balance, providing a foundation for understanding the complexities of this multifaceted issue. A literature review about these concepts will be also briefly presented. Furthermore, statistical data from the large scale Eurofound (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions) survey "Living, Working and COVID-19" was helping us in obtaining valuable insights into the experiences and challenges faced by individuals across European Union (EU) member states. Europe was one of the hardest hit regions by COVID-19 so, we expect that Eurofound dataset to capture diverse realities of work and family dynamics during this extraordinary period. By examining key issues such as: job security perception, job permanently / temporary loss, changes in working hours, psychological impact on the work-family balance, concerns regarding work and family and trust in authorities, this article seeks to shed light on the impact of the COVID-19 crisis on work-family balance in EU countries in order to found if the work-family balance was deteriorated and to understand the challenges faced by individuals and families during times of crisis.

2. Literature review

The concept of work-family balance means the integration and harmonization of work and family life (Frone, 2003). The commonly accepted definition of work-family balance is the absence of conflict between work and family roles. As described by Greenhaus & Beutell (1985), work-family conflict refers to "a form of inter role conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect". Put simply, work duties can create challenges that affect family life (work-family conflict), while family responsibilities can have an impact on work (family-work conflict). Furthermore, Frone (2003) proposes that work-family balance should be understood as a multidimensional concept, considering both the reciprocal

influence between work and family roles (work-to-family and family-to-work) and the nature of that influence (conflict or facilitation).

Greenhaus, Collins & Shaw (2003) in their turn defined the *work-family balance* as an individual capability in managing and find satisfaction in both the employee role and the family role. They divided the concept of work-family balance in three components: *time balance, involvement balance, and satisfaction balance*. Time balance considers an equal allocation of time between work and family; involvement balance considers an equal engagement in work and family roles; and satisfaction balance relates to equal satisfaction derived from both work and family. Their study about relation between work-family balance and quality of life, found that individuals who combined work and family roles, experienced a higher quality of life when they spent more time on family than work.

According to Kahya and Kesen (2014), both work and family hold significance in individuals' lives. While they can bring happiness, they can also lead to *conflicts in both work and family domains*. It is considered theoretically that employees' personal lives should not impact their work life. However, in reality, people undergo various events that can have positive or negative effects on other aspects of their lives. Kossek and Lee (2017) highlighted that workfamily conflict represents a form of work-life conflict. They emphasized the increasing significance of work-family conflict in society, as it have substantial implications for work-related outcomes, non-work aspects, and personal well-being (such as productivity, turnover, family well-being, health, and stress). Their research indicated that work-family conflict directly and indirectly affects majority of the global population and is not limited to individuals with family responsibilities, as even single individuals and those without children reported experiencing some level of work-family conflict.

The simultaneous demands of work and family inevitably lead to work-family conflict, as noted Wang and Shi (2022). Authors find in their review of work-family conflict that this conflict can manifest in *three forms*: time-based conflict, which happen when individuals have difficulties to meet the demands of both work and family simultaneously due to limited time; stress-based conflict, which arises from the psychological stress or negative emotions when individuals are engaged in work or family roles; behavior-based conflict, which arises from the mismatch between the behaviors exhibited in work and family roles. These three types of conflict highlight the challenges individuals face when balancing work and family responsibilities, and they can significantly impact both areas of life. According to Wang and Shi (2022) the presence of work-family conflict is associated with lower job satisfaction and a higher degree of psychological burnout, mental health problems, and a decline in family quality of life.

3. Methodology

Data were collected by Eurofound in their survey entitled "Living, Working and COVID-19" in 2020 and 2021 through online questionnaires or telephone interviews, ensuring a wide reach and representative sample. The survey respondents were selected in order to ensure demographic diversity and representation across EU member states. The findings derived from the data analysis will be interpreted and discussed in the context of the research objectives and the existing literature on work-family balance/ or conflict during the COVID-19 crisis. Some limitations of using the Eurofound survey data to extract conclusions may include respondent's bias and inability to establish causal relationships between family – work issues.

Research question: Job loss (temporary or permanent), reduced working hours and start to work remotely during the COVID-19 Pandemic, followed by financial constraint, have had a significant impact on the workfamily relationship in EU countries?

4. Results and discussions

Data collected from each round of the Eurofound survey provide insights into different aspects such as employment status, working hours, work-life balance, jobs security, jobs quality, teleworking levels, and experiences of working from home.

4.1. Jobs security perception during COVID-19 crisis

At the EU aggregate level, the percent of respondents who thought they might lose their job in proximate three months remained low during all survey rounds and slightly decreased (6.3% in 2020 to 3,6% in 2021). A higher percentage belongs to respondents very likely to not losing jobs (43-52% of respondents) in the immediately following periods of survey rounds. The rest of employed respondents who were not included in those two categories (very likely or very unlikely) were uncertain in losing or not losing jobs in next near months. The countries where respondents were most likely sure in losing their job according to their perception were Bulgaria (19.9% from persons interviewed), Greece (15.4%) and Romania (10.3%). These percentages were specific to the lockdown period of April/May 2020 in Pandemic COVID-19 period. In the following survey rounds, a second one when almost all restrictions were ended (June/July 2020) and the third one (February/March 2021), the job security

perception changed but its significance remains rather the same in the EU countries, e.g., in Bulgaria (8%), in Greece (8.9%). In Romania perception of job losing were decreased to 4.6 % in June/July 2020 and to 2.6% of the respondents in the first months of 2021.

Atypical behavior was recorded in (i) Sweeden, just in the second survey round of June - July 2020 (when 7.9% from respondents were very likely sure to lose their jobs in the following months, even when the restrictions had ended and the economy was gradually reopening and in (ii) Slovakia, where people thought they'd lose their jobs in 2021, more or almost in equal proportion with 2020. Some reason for differences in job loss perception across the EU countries could be the economic stability of some EU countries with lower unemployment rates. Also, the structure of a country's economy and the composition of its industries play some role. Some industries also may be more resilient during times of crisis, while others, such as tourism or hospitality, may be more vulnerable. Countries with a larger share of industries severely affected by the pandemic may have a higher perception of job loss. Government support and policies could also influence the perception of job loss. Countries with well-developed social protection systems, strong unemployment benefits, and active labor market policies may provide more reassurance and reduce job loss perception. Also, the quality and clarity of communication from government authorities and employers regarding job security can impact perceptions.

Last but not least, the trust in institutions such as the government, employers, and labor unions, can influence job loss perception. A higher trust may lead to greater confidence in the ability of institutions to protect jobs and mitigate the impact of crises.

On the opposite side, employed people who considered *very unlikely* to lose their jobs were recorded in Luxembourg (67.9%), Netherlands (61.8%) and Denmark (60.3%) in the lockdown interval of April/May 2020 and this high level of perception was maintained in these countries during the rest of 2020 and first part of 2021. However, the employed people perception in not losing jobs increased in majority of EU countries, together with lifted pandemic restrictions. Significant increase of trust in not losing jobs was recorded in Bulgaria (from 17.2% in April/May 2020 to 42,7% in Feb/March 2021); in Poland (from 16.8% to 37.3% and in Slovenia from 21.6% to 53.7% in same intervals). The increase in trust in not losing jobs in these countries indicates that employees in these regions likely experienced a level of stability and security in their remote work arrangements. As remote work became more prevalent, companies and organizations adapted to the new reality and found ways to continue their operations while ensuring their employees' safety.

Then, about effective losing jobs during COVID-19, Eurofound survey found approx. 28.2% of the EU employed person who lost their jobs, 5.3% permanently and 22.9% temporarily. As we compare this 5.3% of permanently jobs lost (for EU as a whole) with previous data, results are similar to what was really expected from some people employed which were very likely to lose their jobs (6.3%). Further on, 22.9% declared losing jobs just temporary and 70.2% did not lost their jobs (fig.1).

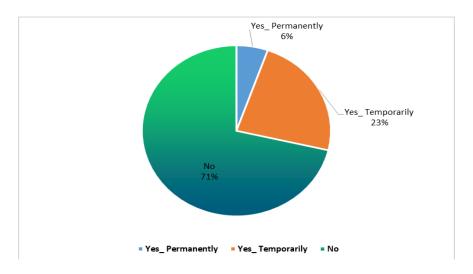


Figure 1. EU27 - Jobs lost during the COVID-19 Pandemic (%) Source: Eurofound (2020)

If look at results for individual countries, *the highest number* of permanently jobs lost during Covid-19, approx. 10.4%, were declared by Bulgarian respondents followed by Hungary (8.2%) and Poland (8.1%). In some of these countries the reality was similar with the previous corresponding perception of job losses - e.g., the highest in Bulgaria.

The lowest percents of job contracts permanently lost during pandemic were recorded in Denmark (1,2%), Sweeden (2.2%), Belgium (2,8%), Ireland (2.9%), Luxembourg (3%). In some of those countries, perception of employed people who considered very unlikely to lose their jobs was also very high e.g., Luxembourg, Denmark. As for temporary jobs lost Greece had the highest percent of respondents 40.1% who declared their jobs temporary lost during Covid 19 crisis, followed by those from Cyprus with 36.2%, from Slovenia with 34.5% and from Romania with 31.8%.

The number of job losses varied across countries within the EU, being influenced by factors such as the severity of the pandemic, government

responses, and economic conditions. Each country's unique circumstances played a role in determining the magnitude of job losses experienced. We should also mention that the majority (70.2%) of Europeans did not lose their jobs during COVID-19. This EU average was overpassed by Sweeden (89.3%), Denmark (88.6%), Luxembourg (85.1%), Netherlands (84.1%).

4.2. Changes in working hours during COVID-19 pandemic

The lockdown period (April/May 2020) brought significant changes in the number of working hours for employees across the EU. The number of hours worked decreased for EU as a whole, with 32.4% of employees reporting a significant reduction of hours worked, and a similar proportion (31.5%) reported the same number of hours worked as before pandemic. However, the number of working hours impacted by COVID-19 restrictions varied from country to country.

As for individual countries significant reductions in the number of hours worked between April and May 2020 (Eurofound) were reported in Croatia, Cyprus, France, Greece, Italy, Malta, Spain, and Romania. These countries working hours were above the EU average level (32.4% of respondents).

On the opposite side, Sweden recorded a lower percentage, with only 6.2% of employed persons reporting a decline in hours worked (fig.2). However, in the majority of countries, employees responded that the number of hours worked remained unchanged from before the pandemic. The graph below represents the EU countries based on the number of significant reductions in hours worked during April/May 2020.

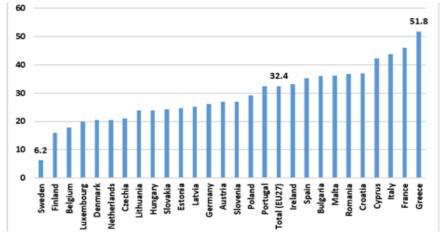


Figure 2. EU27 - significant decrease in working hours (% of respondents) - 2020 Apr/May. *Source: Eurofound (2020)*

The COVID-19 Pandemic hit important sectors such as tourism, hospitality, and retail (UNWTO and IMF,2020). The closure of businesses, travel restrictions, and reduced consumer spending had led to a decrease in economic activity and, consequently, to a reduction in working hours (economic impact). For instance, countries heavily reliant on seasonal tourism, and not only, experienced significant disruptions due to travel restrictions and reduced demand. Italy and Spain have been among the countries hit earliest and hardest by the coronavirus pandemic (WEF,2020) followed by France and Greece (UNRIC,2020).

4.3. Financial situation worsened during COVID-19 Pandemic in EU

Reduction in hours worked or job loss (temporarily or permanent) were often associated with a reduction in pay and benefits (Anderson & Kelliher, 2020). Regarding the financial situation of households during the period of 2020-2021, Eurofound data revealed that 38% of the employed population in Europe experienced a worsening financial situation in April/May 2020 in lockdown interval. However, there was an improvement in the financial situation at the EU level, with just 26.3% of respondents in February-March 2021 reporting a deterioration in their financial situation compared to the previous three months (fig.3).

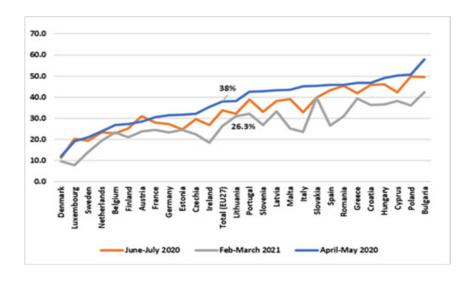


Figure 3. EU27-Financial situation of household compared to previous 3 months by country, (% of respondents)

Source: author's calculation based on Eurofound (2020)

There can be distinguished two groups of EU countries, with differing levels of financial worsened situations during Pandemic. The first group includes countries such as Italy, Slovakia, Spain, Romania, Greece, Croatia, Hungary, Cyprus, Poland, and Bulgaria, with Bulgaria having the highest percentage of respondents who experienced a worsened financial situation. These countries also had higher percentages of respondents reporting highest financial difficulties.

In the second group of EU countries (Denmark, Luxembourg, Sweden, Netherlands, Belgium, Finland, Austria, France, and Germany), the financial situation also got worse, but for a smaller number of people, ranging from 12% to 30%. Various factors could have generated these differences in financial situations among EU countries such as the severity of the pandemic's impact on specific industries, government support measures, and the overall resilience of national economies. One aspect of economic resilience that has been crucial throughout the pandemic is the extent to which activity shifted rapidly from on-site to remote work (OECD,2020).

4.4. Working at home as a result of COVID-19 Pandemic

During the Covid-19 pandemic, many employees have been forced to work remotely, making it even more valuable to understand their experience Zhang, Yu & Marin (2021). Individuals who had not previously considered or been provided with the option to work remotely found themselves compelled to do so (Anderson & Kelliher, 2020). Regarding the EU, 36.3% of interviewed employees declared that they started working from home due to pandemic restrictions. The proportion of those who began their remote work solely as a result of the pandemic varied, with the lowest weight reported in Romania at 19% (likely due to less prior experience in the remote working), and the highest weight recorded in Finland at 61%. Countries that exceeded the EU average in this (36.3% of respondents in the first round of the Eurofound survey) were Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Denmark, with over 50% of interviewed employees transitioning to remote work solely due to the pandemic. They were followed in this same order by Ireland, Austria, Italy, and Sweden, with approximately 40% (fig.4)

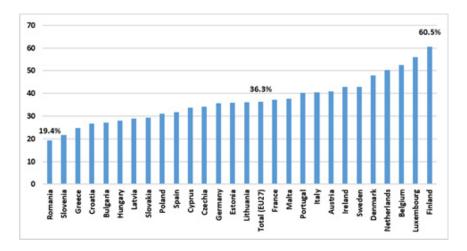


Figure 4. EU27 employed people who started work from home as a result of the Covid-19 situation, (%)- April/May2020. *Source: Eurofound (2020)*

4.5. Worrying about work when not working

Related to worrying about work, one of the questions of Eurofound survey was: "How often in the last 2 weeks, have you kept worrying about work when you were not working?". We think the responses to this question helped in obtaining valuable insights of how work-related concerns do persist outside of working hours and indicate potential challenges in achieving work-life balance. The frequency of options provided in the survey included responses such as "always", "most of the time", "sometimes", "rarely" and "never". We here consider all the responses indicating any worrying degree about work (even "rarely") against those who answered "never". "Rarely" worrying about work could be a valuable indicator of a certain level of concern, even if it differs from responses indicating constant or frequent worries. "Rarely" means that the person experiences work-related worries less frequently or less intensely compared to those who respond with "most of the time" or "always".

However, these responses still suggest that there are some moments or situations where persons feel concerned about their work. Around 80.6% of respondents experienced all positive degrees of work-related worries during the lockdown period, while 19.4% did not report such concerns ("never"). These proportions remained relatively the same across the first three survey rounds until February/March 2021 (fig.5).

These findings suggest that a significant part of respondents experienced varying degrees of work-related worries during periods of lockdown, but also a year after. The persistent levels of work-related concerns could indicate the

potential impact of the pandemic on individuals' mental well-being and work -life balance (see also fig.6).

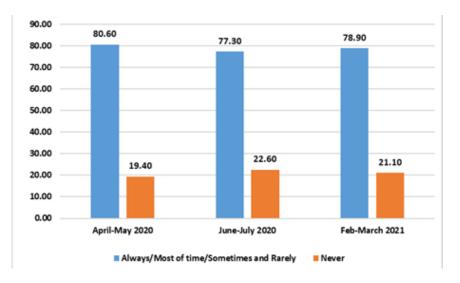


Figure 5. EU27-Employed worrying about work when they were not working by country (% of respondents)

Source: author's calculation based on Eurofound (2020)

Austria (45.7%) and Germany (30.6%) had the highest proportions of employed individuals who reported "never" experiencing work-related worries during their non-working hours from April 2020 to March 2021. For the rest of EU member countries, the percentages of respondents who indicated never worrying about work during non-working hours were significantly below 20%.

4.6. Felt downhearted and depressed

According to the Eurofound (2020) survey data, there has been a significant increase in the percentage of individuals experiencing feelings of depression and/or downheartedness during the pandemic across EU countries. During April/May 2020, 75.9% of respondents reported these emotions, which have raised one year after to 78.4% in Feb/March 2021. We categorized responses into different degrees of positive feelings (e.g., "all of the time," "most of the time," "more than half of the time," "less than half of the time," and "some of the time") in order to a better understanding impact of pandemic on individuals' sentiments and well-being.

Negative responses, which represents the individuals who did not felt depressed and/or downhearted at any time, accounted for the remaining of the whole 100%. Analyzing individual countries, Greece recorded the highest percentage of respondents experiencing feelings of depression and

downheartedness in February/March 2021, reaching 89%, which showed an increase from 85% in 2020. Conversely, Denmark had the lowest percentage in Feb/March 2021, with 56.9%, showing a decrease from 59.8% in April 2020. These findings underscore the diverse emotional responses of individuals to the pandemic across EU countries.

4.7. The mental well-being score of individuals in the EU

Eurofound included the WHO-5 Well-Being Index questions in their survey to measure the mental well-being of respondents and assess the impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic on emotional health. On a scale of 0 to 100, the mental well-being of individuals in the EU registered its lowest level with a score of 45.3 in February/March 2021, down from 48.7 in April/May 2020 This decline was particularly higher among young people and of those who have lost their jobs (WHO-5, Eurofound 2020).

Across all EU countries, during 2020 and the first months of 2021, the mental well-being scores fluctuated around a middle value of 50 (scores below 50 on the WHO-5 scale are considered to indicate a higher risk of depression). Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Slovenia, and Hungary recorded scores over 50 but lower than a maximum of score 61(Denmark), suggesting a moderate risk of depression. On the other hand, Greece, Poland, and Cyprus had the lowest scores, indicating a high risk for depression. These scores were calculated based on five categories of questions, concerning individuals' self-perceptions, likely related to their mental well-being (fig.6).

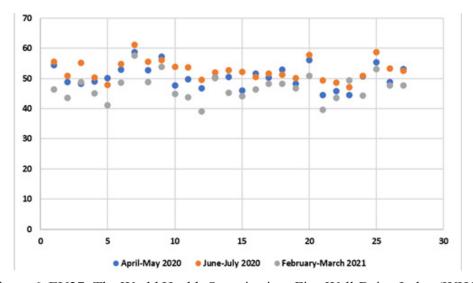


Figure 6. EU27- The World Health Organization- Five Well-Being Index (WHO-5) (score 0 to 100). *Source: Eurofound(2020) based on WHO-5 questionaries*

4.8. Impact of jobs duties on family time availability

The percentage of employed respondents reporting various levels of impact of their jobs on family time availability in the EU was 73.3% during the lockdown period (April/May 2020). This percentage continuously increased at 78.1% in February/March 2021.

We here included four answers categories as "always", "most of the time", sometimes" and "rarely" (based on Eurofound 2020 survey) in order to obtain a clearer image of impact proportion of jobs on family life. On the other hand, the proportion of employed individuals who reported "never" having their family time affected by job duties started at 26.7% and consistently decreased to 21.9% by February/March 2021(fig.7).

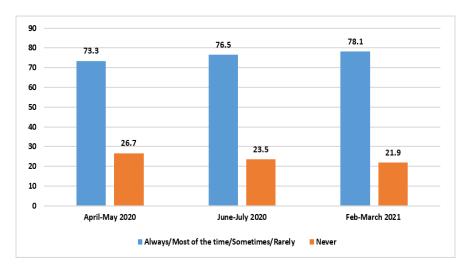


Figure 7. EU27 - Impact of jobs duties on family time availability (% of respondents). *Source: author's calculation based on Eurofound (2020)*

The impact of jobs on family time during the lockdown period and the subsequent increase can be attributed to several factors: (i) lockdown measures created significant changes in work dynamics. Many employees started to work remotely or work-from-home (fig.4), which often blurred the lines between work and personal life. As a result, employees may have found themselves attending work-related tasks outside regular working hours, and experiencing difficulties in disconnecting from work; feeling more uncertain about their jobs; feeling stressed and worried about work (fig.5). Also, during the lockdown period, traditional support systems, such childcare services/ schools, have been disrupted or inaccessible in majority of countries (employees with caregiving responsibilities had to perform their work tasks alongside fulfilling their family

duties). All of these have increased pressure on individuals trying to balance work and family obligations.

Among individual countries, Austria exhibited the highest increase (17.07%) in the percentage of positive responses indicating a certain impact of work duties on family time between April 2020 and March 2021 followed by Luxembourg with a 14.85% increase (we considered positive response: "always", "most of the time", "sometimes", "rarely" and negative one being" never"). Anyway, the majority of EU countries observed varying degrees of increasing impact of job responsibilities on family time availability during the same period, with the exception of Denmark and Sweden, which experienced a very slight decrease of positive responses.

4.9. Impact of family responsibilities on jobs duties

During the lockdown period in April-May 2020, over half of the surveyed employees in the European Union (53.7%) provided positive responses when assessing the impact of fulfilling family duties on work responsibilities. This percentage remained relatively substantial in 2021 (52.1%), with a slight decrease noticed in June/July 2020 (49%). For the purpose of this study, positive responses were defined as those indicating 'always', 'most of the time', 'sometimes', or 'rarely', while a clear negative response of "never" was considered as a negative assessment. The trend recorded in the evolution of these responses aligns with the progression of the pandemic waves, with an initial increase in the impact of family duties on work responsibilities, followed by a subsequent decrease (fig. 8).



Figure 8. EU27 - impact of family responsibilities on job time allocation (% of respondents). *Source: author's calculation based on Eurofound (2020)*

The impact of family responsibilities on job time allocation among employed respondents in EU countries shows a pattern that is different from the previously discussed one related to the impact Job on Family Time Availability. While the former showed an increase during the years 2020-2021, the latter, involving family responsibilities that prevented employed individuals from allocating enough time to their work, decreased.

The increase in the impact of job on family time availability was caused by changes in work arrangements (e.g., work at home/ remote) or increased work demands (more than half of EU employed people 53-55%, worked in their time-off (every day/ every other day/once or twice a week or/ less often in order to meet work demands, between April 2020 and March 2021 according to Eurofound). On the other hand, the decrease in the impact of family responsibilities on job duties suggests that individuals have found ways to better manage their family responsibilities, together with their work obligations. It does not necessarily mean that work is more important than family, but rather reflects the changing dynamics and adaptations that individuals have made to balance both aspects of their lives. In such order they transferred some possible conflicts from job to family and from family to job in a balanced relationship.

5. Conclusions

By examining the bidirectional conflicts and factors contributing to the deterioration of this balance, the study adds to the existing body of research on work-family dynamics. Also, by examining various aspects related to work-family dynamics during the crisis, this study identifies major differences between EU member countries regarding work-family conflict levels, access to flexible work arrangements, number of hours worked during pandemic, financial situation of households and various degrees of psychological distress in individuals.

Since our previous research question asked, evidence has been found of multiple factors affecting family work relationship during Covid-19 pandemic. As anticipated, this impact was influenced by job losses as temporarily or permanently, reduced working hours, the shift to work from home for the first time, worsened financial situations, and declining individual well-being and health. The conflict between these two dimensions of life (work and family), acted bidirectionally as literature also concludes on (Frone, 2003). We found an increasing conflict from job to family and a decreasing one from family to job during 2020-2021.

We here summarize the main findings based on Eurofound large scale survey:

- a) 28.2% of EU employed persons lost their jobs during the April/May (5.3 % permanently and 22.9% temporary)
- b) 36.3% of EU employed persons started to work from home due to pandemic restrictions.
- d) 38% of the EU employed persons experienced a worsening financial situation in April/May 2020 with an improvement in February/March 2021 (26.3% of respondents).
- e) A clear impact of jobs on family time availability in the EU during the April/May, was proved by 73.3% of positive answers of EU employed persons and this percentage continuously increased till 78.1% in February/March 2021
- f) On the other hand, an impact of family responsibilities on job time allocation was remarked among employed respondents in EU countries, but with a different pattern. During April/May 2020 53.7% of the surveyed employees in the EU provided positive responses about the impact of family duties on work responsibilities attainment and a decreased but still high percentage in 2021 (52.1%).
- g) 53-55% of EU employed persons worked in their time-off in order to meet their work demands.
- h) 80.6% of EU employed persons experienced all positive degrees of work-related worries
- i) financial challenges and uncertainty negatively affected mental health and family well-being of EU population. During April/May 2020, 75.9% of respondents reported different degrees of depression and/or downheartedness and percent raised to 78.4% of respondents in Feb/March 2021.
- j) on a scale of 0 to 100, the mental well-being of individuals in the EU registered its lowest level with a score of 45.3 in February/March 2021, down from 48.7 in April/May 2020. This decline was higher among those who have lost their jobs and on young people.

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