

LEISURE TIME SHARED AS A FAMILY: A SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL INTERPRETATION OF THE GALICIAN SITUATION¹

TIEMPOS DE OCIO COMPARTIDOS EN FAMILIA: UNA LECTURA SOCIOEDUCATIVA DE LA REALIDAD GALLEGA

LAZER E TEMPOS PARTILHADOS COM A FAMÍLIA: UMA LEITURA SOCIOEDUCATIVA DA REALIDADE GALEGA

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ABSTRACT: The fast-paced world in which we live today makes it increasingly difficult for parents to organise the day-to-day lives of their children. Work and family-related commitments dominate daily routines and make it increasingly difficult to find time for other aspects that are essential for our well-being and development, such as leisure. This lack of time determines the rhythms of the daily lives of children who routinely find it difficult to share recreational experiences with their parents, as family leisure time is often relegated to second place. In view of this situation, this article has the following aims: a) to find out how Galician families with children in primary school organise their leisure time in terms of artistic/cultural and physical/sporting activities; and b) to examine how parents' educational level and income influence this leisure time. We used a quantitative research methodology consisting of an *ad hoc* questionnaire for the collection of data, from which a total of 2,037 valid responses were obtained. The results show that Galician parents tend to share responsibility for leisure experiences with their children, but when examining the role of the mother and father in isolation, there are notable differences in their roles, especially with respect to the type of leisure activity carried out. In terms of conclusions, we can confirm that parents generally prefer to share

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	leisure activities with their children, but when the role of the parents is analysed in isolation, inequalities are detected in terms of gender, with mothers being more actively involved. The study also shows that there are inequalities in terms of the income and educational level of the parents. It is necessary to develop socio-educational policies for the promotion of shared leisure regardless of gender and socio-economic factors.
PALABRAS CLAVE: ocio cultural tiempo libre ocio deportivo ocio vida familiar	RESUMEN: La sociedad apresurada en la que nos encontramos inmersos incrementa las dificultades de las familias con hijos para organizar sus tiempos cotidianos. Las ocupaciones relativas al ámbito laboral y familiar están ligadas a la falta de tiempo en las rutinas diarias, resultando más complejo atender a otras facetas vitales para el bienestar y desarrollo humano como es el ocio. Esta falta de tiempo condiciona los ritmos cotidianos de los más pequeños que, habitualmente, ven limitadas sus posibilidades de compartir experiencias lúdicas con sus progenitores, situando al tiempo de ocio familiar en un segundo plano. Ante esta realidad, el presente artículo tiene como objetivos: a) conocer cómo configuran las familias gallegas con hijos escolarizados en Educación Primaria sus tiempos de ocio vinculados al ámbito artístico-cultural y físico-deportivo; y b) estudiar cómo influye el nivel de estudios e ingresos de los progenitores en la configuración de dichos tiempos. La metodología de investigación es cuantitativa, empleando para la recogida de información un cuestionario elaborado <i>ad hoc</i> , obteniendo un total de 2037 válidos. Los resultados evidencian que las familias gallegas tienden a la corresponsabilidad al compartir experiencias de ocio con sus hijos, pero cuando se estudia el protagonismo de la madre y del padre en solitario se observan diferencias notables en sus papeles, especialmente en función de la tipología de actividad de ocio. Como conclusiones podemos afirmar que, en general, las familias prefieren compartir conjuntamente con sus hijos las actividades de ocio estudiadas, pero cuando se analiza el papel de los progenitores en solitario se detectan desigualdades en cuanto al género, siendo mayor el protagonismo de las madres. También se comprueba que existen desigualdades en cuanto al nivel económico y de estudios de las familias. Es necesario desarrollar políticas socioeducativas para la promoción de un ocio compartido con independencia del género y de factores socioeconómicos.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE: atividade cultural atividade de tempo livre desporto lazer vida familiar	RESUMO: A sociedade apressada em que estamos imersos aumenta as dificuldades das famílias com crianças para organizar seus tempos diários. As ocupações relacionadas ao trabalho e à família estão ligadas à falta de tempo nas rotinas diárias, sendo mais complexo abordar outros aspetos vitais para o bem-estar e o desenvolvimento humano, como o lazer. Essa falta de tempo condiciona os ritmos diários dos mais jovens que, geralmente, limitam suas possibilidades de compartilhar experiências lúdicas com os pais, colocando o tempo de lazer da família em segundo plano. Diante dessa realidade, este artigo tem como objetivos: a) saber como as famílias galegas com crianças matriculadas no Ensino Básico compõem seu tempo de lazer vinculado aos campos artístico-culturais e físico-desportivos; e b) estudar como o nível de estudos e renda dos pais influencia a configuração de tais tempos. A metodologia de pesquisa é quantitativa, usando um questionário <i>ad hoc</i> para coletar informações. Os resultados mostram que as famílias galegas tendem a compartilhar a responsabilidade quando compartilham experiências de lazer com seus filhos, mas ao estudar o papel da mãe e do pai, há diferenças notáveis em seus papéis, especialmente dependendo do tipo de atividade de lazer. Como conclusões, podemos afirmar que, em geral, as famílias preferem compartilhar com seus filhos as atividades de lazer estudadas, mas quando o papel dos pais é analisado isoladamente, as desigualdades são detetadas em termos de género, sendo as mães as protagonistas. Mostra também que existem desigualdades em termos de nível económico e estudos das famílias. É necessário desenvolver políticas socioeducativas para a promoção do lazer compartilhado, independentemente de fatores de género e socioeconómicos.

1. Introduction

Spain tops the list of least egalitarian European countries in the use of time, a situation that is not only difficult for all of society, but also particularly adverse for women (Goñi-Legaz, Ollo-López and Bayo-Moriones, 2010). Along with the family and work situation, gender is a significant variable in the study of social time because the mass incorporation of women into the workplace has not coincided with greater involvement of men in domestic and childcare activities (MacInnes and Solsona, 2006). This means that, in addition to suffering the consequences of the wage gap, the

worst working conditions and glass ceilings, they are the ones that continue to have to maintain a dual presence that makes them particularly disadvantaged in terms of time inequalities (Brullet, 2010; Prieto and Pérez de Guzmán, 2013).

The division of responsibilities in the family is still not governed by equal criteria, meaning that it is too often impossible to adapt the organisation of time to the realities of everyday life (Valdemoros, Ponce de León, Sanz & Caride, 2014). The multiplicity of work, administrative, childcare and rest schedules generates asynchronies that families need to resolve by seeking strategies to enable them to deal with the numerous activities that

they have to carry out on a daily basis (Caballo, Gradaïlle & Merelas, 2012).

The overload of work and its corresponding personal sacrifices are not enough to prevent many families from being forced to resort to external reconciliation services, and even to dispense with other forms of social time of equal or greater importance to life, such as leisure experiences.

Distribution of time is related to quality of life; indeed, an unbalanced organisation generates, among other issues, higher levels of stress, worse levels of well-being and less satisfaction with family functioning (Boz, Martínez-Corts & Munduate, 2016). The dynamics of current society – characterised by ‘time poverty’ (Warren, 2010) or ‘time stress’ (Haller, Hadler & Kaup, 2013)– reach all social sectors, including children, whose daily rhythms are set more according to commercial interests and the obligations of adults than their care needs or preferences (Rosenfeld & Wise, 2011).

The rigidity of time structures prevents an increasing number of parents from taking on daily tasks such as accompanying their children to school, eating at home, helping with homework and doing leisure activities as a family. As a result, children spend increasing amounts of time at school, where a wide variety of complementary services has been created (early bird service, school dinners, school transport, extracurricular activities, etc.) with the aim of resolving the overlap of work and school timetables (Varela, Varela & Lorenzo, 2016).

Against this backdrop, the school is in an ambivalent situation in which, at the same time as being a fundamental resource for helping the organisation of family life, it also reproduces dynamics that legitimise a distribution of times that increasingly coincide with the working days of adults (Fraguela, Lorenzo, Merelas & Varela, 2013).

In addition, competitiveness and the culture of success also affect the composition of children’s schedules, with the inclusion of numerous activities that aim to build perfect CVs at increasingly premature ages (L’Ecuyer, 2015). Because of this, children’s free time is being taken over by ‘activities that do not necessarily respond to their interests, but rather to the desire of their parents to ensure greater academic achievement’ (Martínez, Maroñas & Gradaïlle, 2016, p. 44).

This time, therefore, tends towards institutionalisation and instrumentalisation. On the one hand, because the complexity of timetables results in children having to use reconciliation services that replace the care and supervision functions that the immediate family once exercised; and, on the other hand, because the obsession

with ‘over education’ means that the activities carried out in these services become in many cases an extension of the school day (Fraguela, Lorenzo & Varela, 2011).

The experience of leisure especially suffers the consequences of these overcrowded schedules. Indeed, the time devoted to recreational activities on a daily basis is residual when compared to that dedicated to paid work in the case of adults (INE, 2015) or to academic activities in the case of children (Ruiz, Gómez-Vela, Fernández & Badia, 2014).

In this respect, we are witnessing a paradoxical situation in which leisure is enjoying growing social popularity but shortage of time has become a common problem that reduces the quantity and quality of the leisure time available (De Valenzuela, Maroñas & Delgado, 2014).

Although it has been a line of secondary enquiry, in recent decades, there has been an increase in studies on family leisure with a focus on the following main themes: its relationship with well-being, its benefits and limitations and how it is organised in different types of family (Bocarro, Henderson, Zabriskie, Parcel & Kanter, 2015).

According to the model of family leisure functioning of Zabriskie and MacCormick (2001), recreational experiences can be grouped into two broad categories: core activities (those that respond to the need for stability, regularly participating in recreational activities that promote personal relationships and feelings of closeness with family members) and balance (those that introduce the need for change in the family environment, with new information that challenges its members). Within this line, the studies derived from this model indicate that a relatively equal amount of both categories achieves a higher degree of cohesion and family satisfaction, as well as greater levels of adaptation to the challenges of today’s society (Zabriskie & McCormick, 2003; Agate, Zabriskie, Taylor & Poff, 2009).

The growing interest in the subject may be related to the many benefits that shared leisure has been shown to have for family life. These include greater cohesion, the assimilation of healthy leisure patterns, greater adaptability to change, greater and better intrafamily communication and improved emotional bonds (Bocarro, *et al.* 2015).

From this perspective, the socio-educational reach that the family has in the forming of healthy leisure habits is no less, since, although ways of experiencing leisure vary in the different stages of life, the guidance and accompaniment of adults is of vital importance in the creation of leisure itineraries during childhood and youth; hence, it is of interest to relate family co-responsibility with this

type of experience (Caride, 2012, Monteagudo & Cuenca, 2012).

The specialised literature on the subject has associated, with disparate results, the type of family, income, place of residence, age and educational level with the quality of family leisure (Craig and Mullan, 2013; Goñi-Legaz *et al.* 2010; Hornberger, Zabriske & Freeman, 2010); however, the internal functioning of the family itself is a key factor in the carrying out of successful leisure experiences within the family (Valdemoros *et al.* 2014).

Inequalities in the use of time are transferred to the dimension of leisure; this means that mothers and fathers continue to adopt different roles in the recreational activities that they share with their children (Craig & Mullan, 2013; Sayer, Bianchi and Robinson, 2004). The research suggests that mothers, despite having less free time available, are the ones who share more time with their children and that the presence of male or female parents varies depending on the type of activity carried out (Wallace & Young, 2010).

The axes on which this work pivots are the relationships generated between the uses of time, co-responsibility and leisure; in this case, emphasising how artistic/cultural and physical/sporting activities carried out by families with children between 6 and 12 years of age are organised. The proposal materialises in two aims:

- To find out how the shared leisure time of the families studied is organised, specifically that involving artistic/cultural and physical/sporting activities.
- To study how the educational level and income of the parents influence the organisation of the leisure time.

2. Method

This work is part of a broader research project¹ that aims to analyse how Galician families with children in primary school in the Autonomous Community of Galicia organise and harmonise their daily lives.

2.1. Description of the sample

Using the reference population (Galician primary school pupils during the 2014-2015 academic year – a total of 135,602) as a basis, we carried out a simple random sampling appropriate to the criteria of proportionality and representativeness, and took schools as the reference unit. For the configuration of the schools sample (Table 1), we maintained the proportions of the population in terms of province (A Coruña, Lugo, Orense, Pontevedra); territorial context (dense population area, DPA, intermediate population area, IPA, sparse population area, SPA) (IGE, 2015); type of school (state or private) and year (primary school years 1 to 6).

Table 1. Sample identification data (%)							
Province		Territorial context		Type of school		Year	
						1	16.2
A Coruña	27.5	DPA	46.6	State	72.3	2	17.1
Lugo	19.1	IPA	18.9	Private	27.7	3	16.4
Orense	16.2	SPA	34.6			4	16.3
Pontevedra	37.2					5	18
						6	16

A total of 3,400 questionnaires were submitted, of which 2,037 were valid, representing a satisfactory response rate (59.91%). This level of participation ensures the representativeness of the sample with an error of 2.2% and a confidence level of 95.5%.

2.2. Data collection procedure

Selection of schools and assignment of class groups was carried out randomly, respecting the criteria of proportionality with regard to the population indicated above. The process consisted of distributing the questionnaires to pupils during school hours. They were asked to give the

questionnaires to their parents and return them to the school within a week for the research team to collect them. Once the schools had agreed to participate in the study, no significant difficulties were identified that would have hindered the carrying out of the research. The parents were able to choose who answered the questionnaire. 78.1% were completed by the mother/guardian and 19.6% by the father/guardian; the remaining 2.3% were completed by the mother and father jointly (0.3%), another member of the family (0.3%) and 1.4% did not answer the question.

2.3. Instrument

For the collection of the information, an ad hoc questionnaire was prepared for the parents to complete. The tool was configured on the basis of the following themes: personal details; reconciliation; free and shared time; resources and community services and, lastly, leisure, physical activities and health. This article focuses on the study of variables from the first and third themes, namely:

Personal details: defining the socio-economic profile of the sample. The following variables were studied: educational background of the mother (disaggregated into 'primary studies,' 'secondary studies,' 'vocational training' and 'higher education studies'), educational level of the father (with the same response options as the previous variable) and parents' monthly income (with ranges that included 'less than €1,000,' 'between €1,001 and €1,500,' 'between €1,501 and €2,000' and 'more than €2,000').

Free and shared time: providing information on who takes responsibility for sharing leisure time with the children. On the one side, the headings 'attending cultural shows with the children (cinema, theatre, concerts, etc.)' and 'sharing games and artistic activities (music, painting, reading, etc.)' were studied to analyse artistic/cultural leisure experiences and, on the other side, the headings 'attending sports events with the children (matches, championships, etc.)' and 'doing physical and sporting activities with the children (riding a bike, walking, football, etc.)' to analyse physical/sporting leisure activities. The response alternatives for all of the questions were as

follows: 'mother,' 'father,' 'shared between mother and father' and 'shared with other people' (others alone, others with the mother or others with the father) and 'alone' (no one accompanying).

In this regard, we initially present a univariate analysis of the above headings and, then, a bivariate analysis that examines whether there is a relationship between those who share artistic/cultural and physical/sporting leisure experiences, the educational level of the parents and family income.

2.4. Analysis of the data

Analysis of the data was carried out with the statistical program IBM SPSS Statistics (version 20.0 for Windows). For studying the association between variables, the Pearson's chi-squared test and Haberman's adjusted standardised residuals test (1973) were used. This test shows, with a confidence level of 0.95 (alpha of 0.05), that residuals greater than 1.96 reveal cells with more cases than there should be if the two variables were independent, while residuals lower than 1.96 indicate cells with fewer cases than expected under the condition of independence of the variables (Pardo and Ruíz, 2001).

3. Results

The main results obtained are presented below. The data is presented in a disaggregated form according to accompaniment to leisure and shared activities of an artistic/cultural and physical/sporting nature.

3.1. Parental accompaniment to artistic/cultural leisure activities

Regarding who regularly accompanies children to artistic/cultural leisure activities (cinema, theatre, concerts, etc.), the statistics show that it is mostly shared by both parents, with this circumstance occurring in more than half of the sample (54.5%). This is followed by the mother who takes on the task alone in 30.6% of cases. In contrast to the mother, the role of the father alone is highly residual (Figure 1).

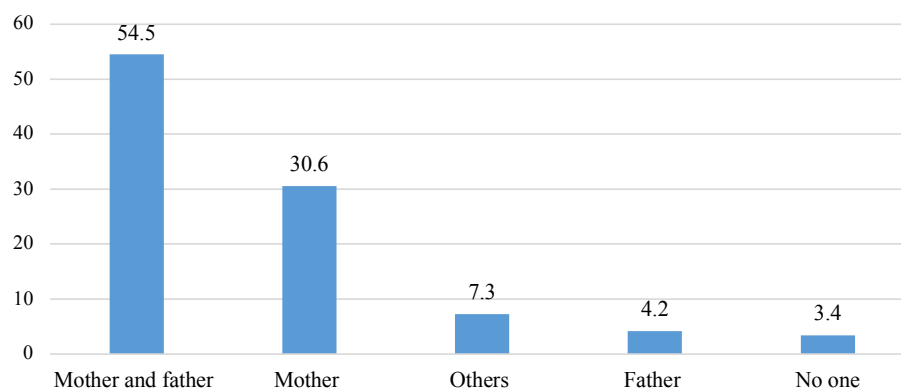


Figure 1. Person(s) accompanying the children to artistic/cultural activities (%)

a) According to the educational level of the parents

The Pearson's chi-squared test shows a highly significant relationship between the mother's accompaniment to artistic/cultural activities and her educational level ($\chi^2=138.027$; $p<0.001$). Analysis of the adjusted standardised residuals reflects that mothers with primary school studies show values of sole accompaniment that are higher than expected and that, therefore, they accompany their children more frequently to these activities alone (4.4). With this same educational level, higher

values than expected are again returned for cases in which children carry out these experiences alone (4.9), while, when the mother has more advanced studies, the standardised residuals show values that are lower than expected, that is to say, the opposite trend occurs, with it being uncommon for them to do it alone (-3.9). In addition, the data reflects an association in which the higher the educational level of the mother, the greater the co-responsibility of both parents for accompanying their children to cultural and artistic activities (9.1) (Figure 2).

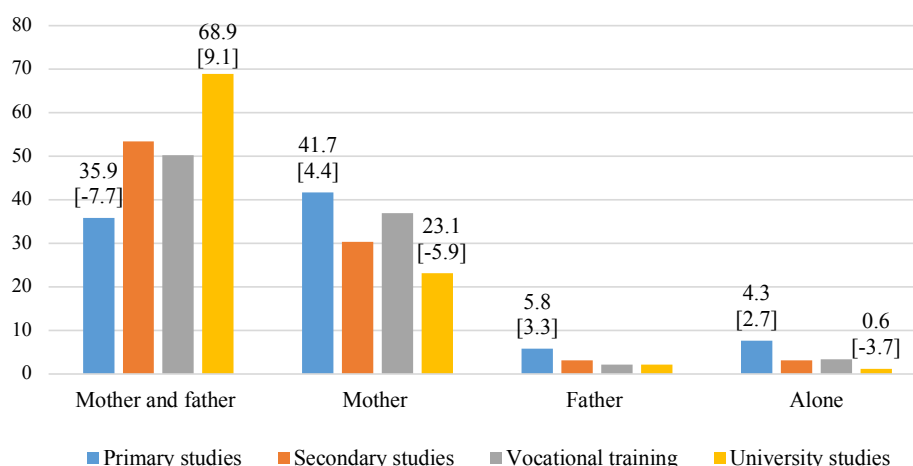


Figure 2. Accompaniment to artistic/cultural activities and mother's level of studies (%)

Note: Reference value +/- 1.96 [Adjusted standardised residuals]

When the relationship between accompaniment to artistic/cultural activities and the educational level of the father is studied, the Pearson's chi-squared test shows a highly significant association ($\chi^2=73.410$; $p<0.001$). The adjusted standardised residuals show that, when the father has primary school studies, accompaniment by the mother scores higher than expected, it being, therefore, more common for her to be the

one that accompanies her children (5.3) or they do it alone (2.8). With this same level of studies and focusing on joint accompaniment, lower levels than expected are observed (-7.1). By contrast, when the father has university studies, higher levels than expected are shown (5.3), that is to say, as in the case of the mothers, the higher the educational level of the father, the greater the degree of co-responsibility.

b) According to the level of parental income

The Pearson's chi-squared test shows a highly significant statistical relationship between parental accompaniment to artistic/cultural activities and income level ($\chi^2=162.67$; $p<0.001$). In this respect, a study of the adjusted standardised residuals shows that the lower the parental income, the more common it is for the mother to be responsible for accompanying the children to these activities. In contrast, as the income increases, greater joint participation is observed, and it is

less common for her to be the one who accompanies the children alone.

Similarly, when parental income is less than €1,000 per month, it is more common for children not to be accompanied to this type of activity (5.1), while when the income exceeds €2,000, it is less common for someone to accompany them (-3.7). Conversely, the standardised residuals show that when parental income is low, it is more usual than expected for them to attend cultural shows with other people (2.7) (Figure 3).

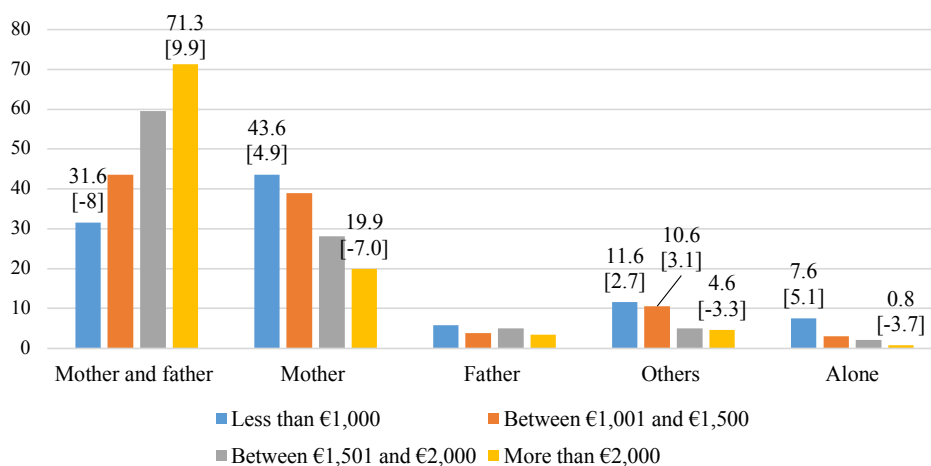


Figure 3. Accompaniment to artistic/cultural activities and income level (%)

Nota: Valor de referencia +/- 1,96 [Residuos tipificados corregidos]

3.2. Artistic/cultural leisure activities shared as a family

When observing the statistics relating to who shares artistic/cultural leisure experiences (music, painting, reading, etc.) with their children, the

same trend as in the case of accompaniment is shown. Almost half of the sample stated that both parents shared activities with their children in this area (47.5%), followed again by the mother alone (33.6%), with the father's involvement alone still being of little significance (5.5%) (Figure 4).

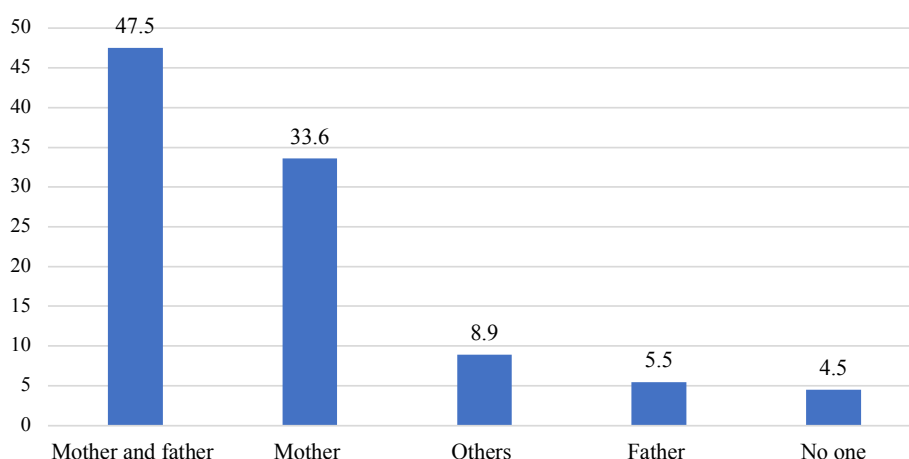


Figure 4. Person(s) sharing artistic/cultural leisure activities with the children (%)

a) According to the educational level of the parents

The Pearson's chi-squared test reflects a highly significant relationship with the educational level of the mother ($\chi^2=94.646$; $p<0.001$). In this regard, the adjusted standardised residuals indicate that, when the mother has primary school studies, she shows higher levels than expected in cases in which she takes on responsibility individually (4.7),

whereas, when she has higher education studies, the levels are lower than expected (-5.0). When the mother has primary school studies, she shows lower levels than expected in cases of joint accompaniment (-6.1), whereas, when she has university studies, she shows higher values (7.9). This means that, when the educational level of the mother is higher, co-responsibility with the father is more common in terms of carrying out artistic and cultural activities with their children (Figure 5).

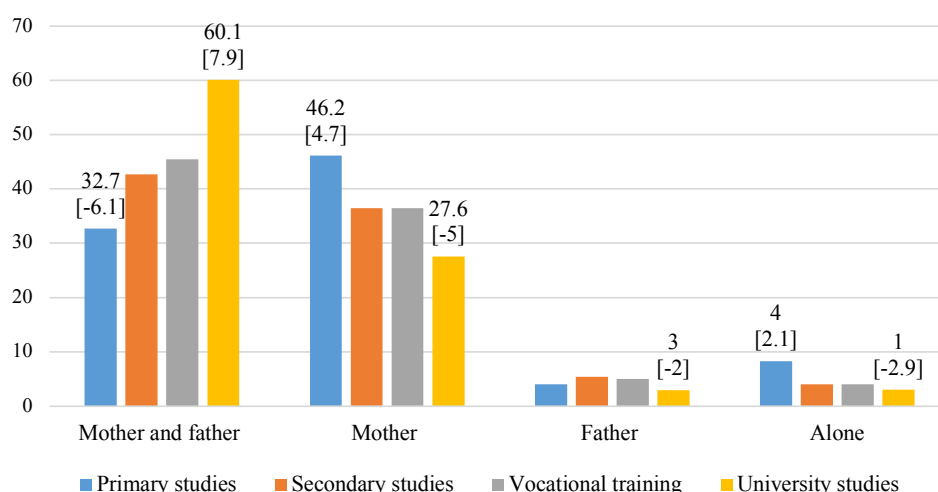


Figure 5. Person(s) sharing artistic/cultural activities according to mother's level of studies (%)

Note: Reference value +/- 1.96 [Adjusted standardised residuals]

The Pearson's chi-squared test according to the educational level of the father shows a highly significant association ($\chi^2=47.180$; $p<0.001$). The adjusted standardised residuals show that, when the father has primary school studies, the mother scores higher values than expected (2.6), it being, therefore, more common for her to share artistic/cultural leisure experiences with her children alone. With this same level of studies of the father and analysing joint accompaniment, lower levels than expected are observed (-4.1). When the father has university level studies, however, the levels are higher (3.8), in such a way that co-responsibility is more common.

than €1,000, the mother shows higher values than expected (5.5) and, therefore, it is more common for her to be the one who shares this type of experience alone with her children. Similarly, with this same level of income, joint sharing between both parents shows lower values than expected (-7.1) so co-responsibility is unusual. Conversely, when the income is higher than €2,000, the standardised residuals show higher values than expected in cases in which both parents share this responsibility (9.5), it being, therefore, common for both parents to jointly share artistic/cultural activities with their children.

b) According to the level of parental income

The chi-squared test shows a statistically significant association between sharing artistic/cultural experiences and family income level ($\chi^2=120.634$; $p<0.001$). In this regard, the adjusted standardised residuals reflect the same trend as in accompaniment to artistic/cultural shows in cases of the mother alone and cases in which both parents take on the task. When the family's income is less

3.3. Attendance at sporting events as a family

If we look at the statistics on who attends sporting events with their children, in general, we can see that most of the sample goes with their mother and father together to these events (52.6%). This is again followed by the mother alone (23%) and, in third place, by the father alone (10.9%), these last two being less far apart than in the case of accompaniment to artistic/cultural activities (Figure 6).

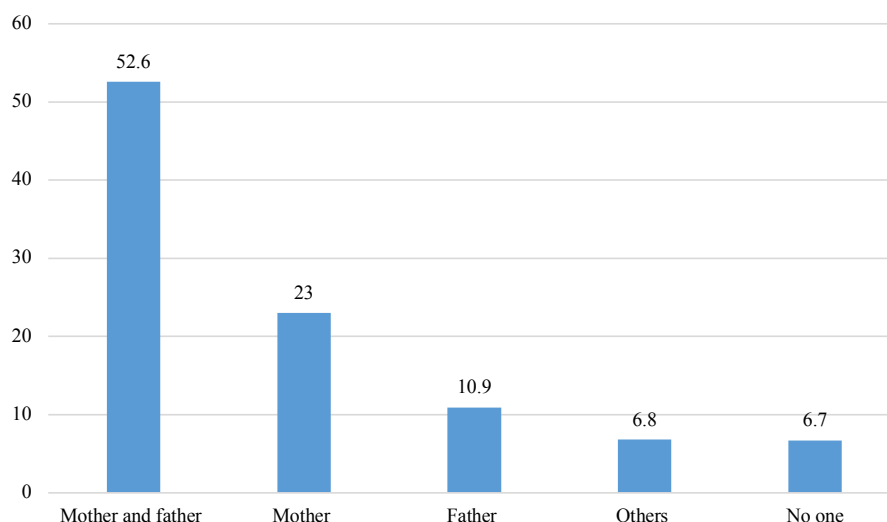


Figure 6. Person(s) accompanying the children to sporting events (%)

a) According to the educational level of the parents

The Pearson's chi-squared test shows the existence of a highly significant association between the mother's level of education and the one who attends sporting events with the children ($\chi^2=110.30$; $p<0.001$). It can be observed that mothers with primary school studies have lower levels than

expected in cases of joint accompaniment (-7.0), while those with higher education studies have higher values (6.4). When the mother has primary school studies (5.6) or vocational training (2.6), she accompanies her children alone, with higher values than expected, while those with university studies do so to a lesser extent (-5.9); this means that the higher the level of studies, the greater the co-responsibility (Figure 7).

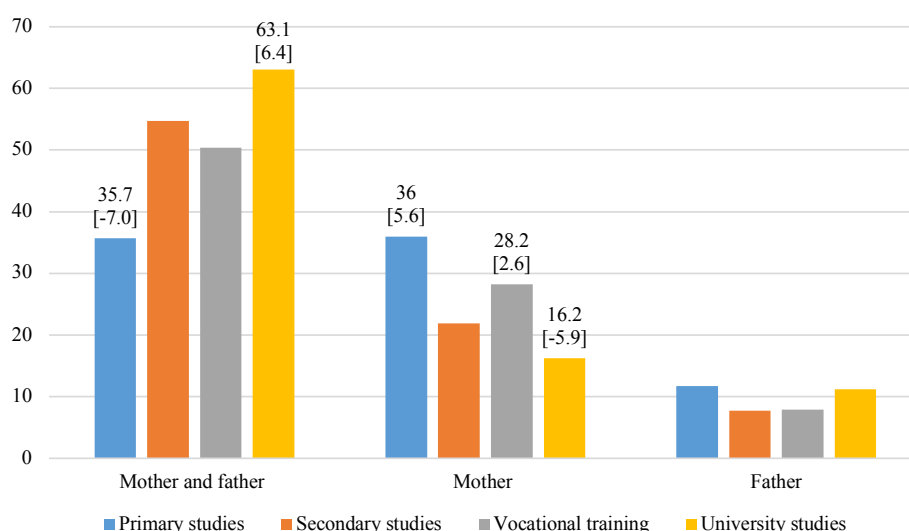


Figure 7. Accompaniment to sporting events according to mother's level of studies (%)

Note: Reference value +/- 1.96 [Adjusted standardised residuals]

Regarding the analysis of the father's level of studies, the chi-squared test shows the presence of a significant association ($\chi^2=34.692$; $p<0.05$) with the accompaniment to sporting events variable. When analysing the standardised residuals, we observe to a greater extent than expected that when parents have primary school studies, those who attend shows with their children are either mothers (2.3) or mother or father accompanied

by other people (2.2) and it is less common than expected for both parents go together (-2.7). However, if the studies of the father are higher, it is more common than expected for them to attend the shows alone (3.1). When the father has vocational training studies, the standardised residuals give higher values than expected in the mother and father together category (2.0).

b) According to the level of parental income

The attendance of the father and mother at sporting events is highly associated with the level of parental income. The Pearson's chi-squared test shows the existence of a highly significant association between both variables ($\chi^2=160.994$; $p<0.001$). Studying the adjusted standardised residuals, in families with incomes lower than €1,000, it is the mothers who attend sporting events with their children to a greater extent (8.2). In these cases of low parental income, joint accompaniment of father and mother is much lower than expected (-9.1). However, in families with a level of parental income higher than €2,000, there are values above those expected from the category of joint

attendance at sporting events (7.1), as well as paternal attendance (2.3), and values below that expected in the case of only maternal attendance (-7.1).

3.4. Physical/sporting activities shared as a family

In the analysis of who accompanies their children to sporting events, in general, we can see that most of the sample carries out these activities with their mother and father jointly (49.4%). This is followed, on this occasion, by the father (20.2%) and then, very closely, by the mother (18.2%) (Figure 8).

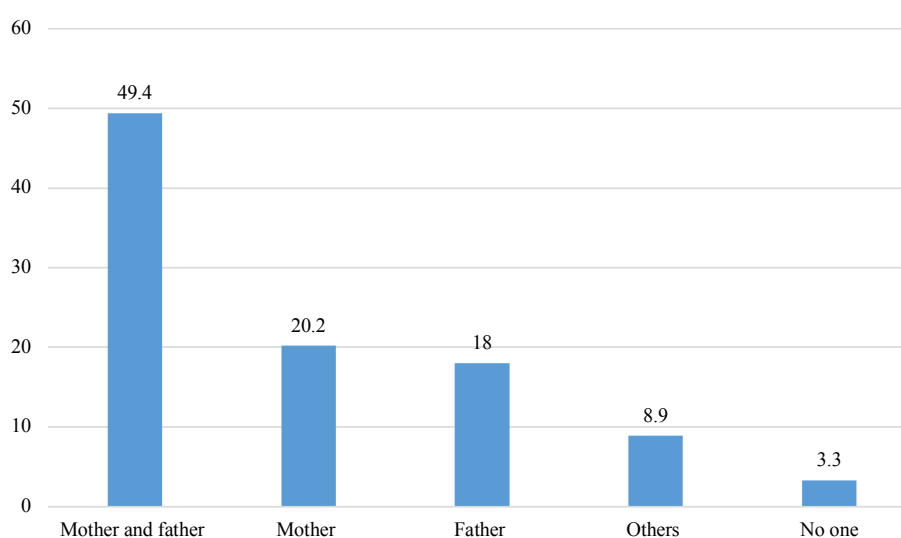


Figure 8. Person(s) sharing physical/sporting activities with the children (%)

a) According to the educational level of the parents

The chi-squared test shows the existence of a highly significant association between the mother's level of education and the one who accompanies the children to physical activities ($\chi^2=82.029$; $p<0.001$). The study of adjusted standardised residuals indicates that, in cases in which the mothers have primary school studies, the option of joint accompaniment is below the expected levels (-4.1), with the opposite occurring with mothers

who have university studies (5.3). With regard to accompaniment only by the mother, those who have primary school studies score higher than expected (4.5), while those with university studies accompany their children to a lesser extent (-5.7). For the 'no one' option, mothers with primary school studies also stand out above the expected values (3.0). In the case of those with secondary school studies, it is more common than expected for their children to go with other people (4.1) (Figure 9).

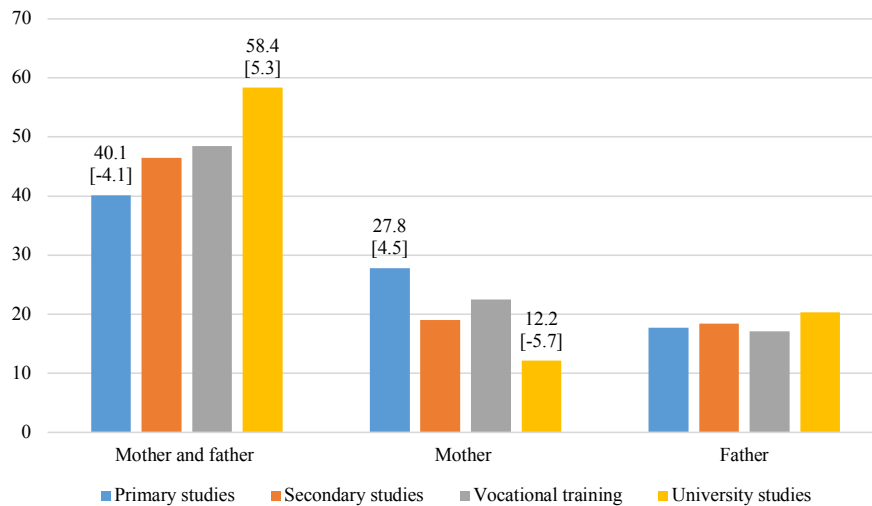


Figure 9. Person(s) sharing physical/sporting activities according to mother's level of studies (%)

Note: Reference value +/- 1.96 [Adjusted standardised residuals]

A highly significant association is observed in the analysis of the relationship between the level of studies of the father and the accompanying of children to physical activities ($\chi^2=39.284$; $p<0.01$). After analysis of the adjusted standardised residuals, we observe that, in cases in which the father has primary school studies, it is more usual than expected for mothers to accompany the children to physical activities (3.4) or for either the father or mother to accompany them separately with other people (2.5); however, paternal accompaniment in these cases shows lower values than expected (-2.8). In cases in which the parents have higher education studies, it is more common than expected for both parents together to accompany their children to sporting activities (2.0).

b) According to the level of parental income

A highly significant association is found between those who accompany their children to physical/sporting activities and their level of income ($\chi^2=146.104$; $p<0.001$). Analysis of the adjusted standardised residuals shows that the mothers are the ones who do physical and sporting activities with their children in families whose income is less than €1,000 (8.2) or between €1,000 and €1,500 (4.0). In these cases, it is uncommon for both parents to accompany their children to these kinds of activities. When parental income is between €1,000 and €1,500, it is more common than expected for either parent separately to go with another person to do physical activities with their children (3.1). However, when the level of parental income exceeds €2,000, the physical activity of the children is shared by both parents (6.8) and it is much less common than expected for the father or mother to be accompanied by other people.

4. Discussion

The results show how Galician parents with children in primary school share their leisure time with respect to artistic/cultural and physical/sporting activities. In particular, it is evident that both level of studies and income affect the leisure routines of these families.

The general trend is for both parents to accompany and share this type of experience with their children, which indicates a considerable degree of co-responsibility in relation to artistic/cultural and physical/sporting leisure activities carried out as a family. This data coincides with that gleaned from the survey entitled 'The family in the Basque Autonomous Community' (Basque Country Sociological Survey Office, 2012), which showed that both parents tend to share leisure time with their children in a harmonious and co-responsible manner, similar to the cases of the activities specific to the areas analysed in this work. When studying the roles of the mother and father alone, however, there are notable differences between those who share leisure time with their children depending on the type of recreational activity carried out.

In experiences related to the artistic/cultural field, we observe that mothers clearly take on a more predominant role both in attending cultural shows and sharing games and artistic activities. This fact coincides with various theoretical and empirical works that find a greater presence of women than men in cultural activities, and this is mainly for two reasons: firstly, the persistence of gender-specific cultural socialisation that continues to attribute aesthetic and artistic values mainly to women and, secondly, inequalities in the distribution of domestic work, which means that mothers continue to be the ones that take on the role of projecting the family's cultural image in

the public sphere and their time is often diluted among other domestic activities (Craig & Mulan, 2013, Katz-Gerro & Meier, 2015).

The same does not occur in physical/sporting activities, where the results are much more balanced between the mother and the father, with the father becoming more involved and assuming greater responsibility in the case of sport. This last point perhaps has much to do with the fact that the male gender has a greater tradition of doing physical activity and attending sports events (MEC, 2015a).

Regarding the significance of the level of studies, the data shows that when both parents have primary school studies, it is the mother who takes on the responsibility of sharing leisure experiences alone, whereas when they have higher education studies, they tend to have co-responsibility. This last point is supported by a recent survey of cultural habits and practices (MEC, 2015b) in which both degree of interest and accompaniment to museums, libraries or artistic shows increases significantly as the level of education increases. In addition, the Infestas report (2017) attributes a higher cultural level when the studies of both parents are higher and, perhaps for this reason, Galician parents attach importance to joint accompaniment to these events when this trend occurs, all of this in spite of the fact that time is a scarce resource for these families in the face of the domestic and work obligations they have (Goñi-Legaz, Ollo-López & Bayo-Moriones, 2010).

In relation to income level, a similar trend is observed. The lower the level of parental income, the greater the role of mothers on their own. In these cases, it is common for only one parent to work and for the other, most often the mother, to take care of the children and home (Fraguela, Lorenzo and Varela, 2011). When income is at its highest levels, however, the responsibility to share leisure activities with the children is, in most cases, shared jointly by both parents (Raley, Bianchi & Wang, 2012).

5. Conclusions

With reference to the aims of the study, the following conclusions stand out:

- The Galician parents studied tend to accompany their children together during their leisure time both to see events (cultural and sporting) and to participate in games and artistic, physical and sporting activities.
- There is an association between the level of studies and income of parents and their accompaniment of their children to events (cultural and sporting) and participation in games and artistic, physical or sporting activities. The higher the level of studies and income, the greater the tendency for families to share this leisure time together; however, when the level of education and income decreases, the mother is more likely to accompany the children alone to leisure activities.

This research, therefore, reveals two main realities. Firstly that, although parental co-responsibility is gradually progressing, there are still notable differences in the level of involvement of both parents; and, secondly that there is a gap between parents with different levels of education and income in terms of shared leisure time.

In this sense, education, and more specifically leisure education, has a fundamental role when it comes to promoting a more egalitarian society through the promotion of socio-educational processes that guarantee the right to leisure. Similarly, the support of specific policies adapted to different family types is fundamental, at least for the following reasons: firstly, in order to guarantee more balanced organisation of daily lives where families have resources and good quality reconciliation services close by, and, secondly, to promote shared leisure in equal conditions where gender, socio-economic factors and any other personal circumstance do not cause situations of inequality in terms of the materialisation of the right to leisure.

For these reasons, in future research, it would be pertinent to analyse good reconciliation practices focused on family leisure; replicate the study in other territorial contexts by identifying coincident and divergent elements in family leisure patterns; and, lastly, compare and contrast the views of parents and children on this subject.

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Note

- ¹ Taking into account the difficulties involved in using expressions such as “daughters and sons”, “girls and boys”, etc. the use of neutral terms has been resorted to. In those cases in which it has not been possible, the authors have decided to use the generic masculine, wishing to record that the work pretends to be inclusive and refers to both genders.

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