

RECONCILIATION IN GALICIAN URBAN AREAS (SPAIN): A LONGITUDINAL STUDY (2009-2015) OF FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

CONCILIACIÓN EN LAS ÁREAS URBANAS DE GALICIA (ESPAÑA): UN ESTUDIO LONGITUDINAL (2009-2015) DE LAS FAMILIAS CON HIJOS EN EDUCACIÓN PRIMARIA

CONCILIAÇÃO EM ÁREAS URBANAS DA GALIZA (ESPANHA): UM ESTUDO LONGITUDINAL (2009-2015) DE FAMÍLIAS COM CRIANÇAS NO ENSINO PRIMÁRIO

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ABSTRACT: Reconciliation is the possibility of harmonising work, personal, family and community life; to this effect, it is essential to promote social, economic and time policies, as well as strategies that can enable the right of presence and the balance among the mentioned spheres. This approach compels to rethink the issue of co-responsibility, since it cannot be considered as a mere review of gender roles and as a balanced distribution of family tasks and household chores. We must achieve a social pact involving work, school and family life in order to respect childhood rights and family welfare. In the studied period (2009-2015), concurrent with the financial crisis and the loss of purchasing power, families with school-age children find more difficult to manage their times; besides, an increase of inequalities regarding the distribution of daily times is observed, with a clear polarization referred to reconciliation in the seven analyzed cities in Galicia. We have worked with N=1267 in 2009 and N=2037 in 2015.

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PALABRAS CLAVE: conciliación tiempos sociales igualdad corresponsabilidad educación social	RESUMEN: La conciliación es la posibilidad de hacer compatible la vida personal, familiar, profesional y comunitaria; y para ello es necesario impulsar políticas sociales, económicas y de tiempo, así como estrategias que favorezcan el derecho de presencia y el equilibrio entre dichas esferas. Este planteamiento obliga a repensar la cuestión de la corresponsabilidad, ya que no puede limitarse a la revisión de los roles de género y a un reparto equilibrado de las tareas domésticas y familiares. Se hace necesario un pacto social que integre los mundos laborales, escolares y familiares con el objetivo de respetar los derechos de la infancia y el bienestar familiar. En el período estudiado (2009-2015), coincidiendo con la crisis económica y la pérdida de poder adquisitivo, se acusan mayores dificultades para que las familias con hijos en edad escolar organicen sus tiempos; además de constatare un incremento de la desigualdad en relación a la gestión de los tiempos cotidianos, con una clara polarización respecto a la conciliación en las siete ciudades gallegas analizadas. Se trabajó con un N=1267 en el 2009 y un N=2037 en 2015.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE: conciliação tempos sociais igualdade co-responsabilidade educação social	RESUMO: A conciliação é a possibilidade de tornar compatível a pessoal, familiar, profissional e comunitária; e para isso é necessário promover políticas sociais, econômicas e temporais, bem como estratégias que favoreçam o direito de presença e o equilíbrio entre essas esferas. Essa abordagem exige repensar a questão da corresponsabilidade, uma vez que não pode se limitar à revisão dos papéis de gênero e à distribuição equilibrada das tarefas domésticas e familiares. É necessário um pacto social que integre o mundo do trabalho, da escola e da família com o objetivo de respeitar os direitos das crianças e o bem-estar da família. No período estudado (2009-2015), coincidindo com a crise econômica e a perda de poder aquisitivo, há maiores dificuldades para as famílias com as crianças em a idade escolar organiza seus tempos; além de um aumento da desigualdade em relação à gestão dos tempos diários, com uma clara polarização em relação à conciliação nas sete cidades galegas analisadas. Trabalhou com um N = 1267 em 2009 e N = 2037 em 2015.

1. Introduction

Reconciliation is often understood as the possibility of harmonising work and family, as it is described in the Communication from the European Commission (2010) *EUROPE 2020 A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth*, which states that, in order to achieve a high level of employment delivering economical, social and territorial cohesion, “new forms of work-life balance (...) and the increase of gender equality” are required (p. 23, 24).

Implemented and forthcoming measures are considered to display a reductionist approach, given that paid job is identified as time axis for people. This is the reason why current reality requires a wider approach that can include reconciliation as a necessity linked to complete development of individuals, including family, community, and working and personal life. To accomplish this, it is essential to generate optimal conditions which can enable precise times to meet each and every dimension mentioned above.

In this respect, but regarding only family and working life, León Llorente (2016) stresses the need to move forward from conflict among different times to synergy, where acquired competences can be transferable to other areas. In other words, different roles and times should complement each other and contribute to a better development and quality of life of people.

A decade ago Borràs, Torns and Moreno (2007) underlined the need to integrate the variable *time*

in labour policies, specifying that those linked to reconciliation must highlight “the needs of individuals in the course of their lifetimes instead of the flexibility in the productive process and the benefits of business logic” (p. 92). This means that we should take into consideration not only the needs derived from the unique situation of every individual –mainly linked to caregiving tasks– but also particular needs, referring for instance to studies, training or involvement in community work.

From this standpoint, measures conventionally implemented to promote reconciliation –for example parental leaves– are clearly insufficient and reductionist, not only because they perpetuate gender roles –given that these measures are mainly taken by women– but also because they are based on leave entitlement (Real, 2016), a circumstance which increases separation from employment and deprofessionalization. This generates a situation where workers, mainly women, are forced to leave their professional careers so that they can take on other spheres of daily life requiring attention.

We understand that reconciliation must claim the right of presence in family, community and work environments, in order to take part in the social structure that we live in. Such an approach compels us to reconsider the issue of co-responsibility, given that we cannot stop at a mere review of gender roles and a balanced distribution of tasks; we should also include public administrations, trade unions, training agents, the media, associative network, etc., since co-responsibility and reconciliation are not particular or private issues.

Instead, both concepts relate to collective realms, connected with the social model where we spend our lives.

That is why we should redirect policies and reconciliation measures towards more complex and ambitious time distribution, since it is necessary to promote a social change including the perspective of time life and daily welfare. This challenge requires gender perspective capable of enabling a higher social equality and a better quality of life for everyone, as well as including needs of childhood.

Whenever we approach reconciliation in families with children, attending in primary schools in this case, actual children are often overlooked. Too often, children are forced to get adapted to timing requirements that the labor market imposes to parents. This situation leads to an overload of activities enlarging the list of tasks on the agenda and reducing time shared at home (Caballo, 2009). In this respect, social times need to be tackled urgently, making bold proposals reasonably integrating labor market and family and school life into less fragmented times that respect the rights of childhood.

Regarding this issue, the research by Consuelo Llorente (2016: 225) on occupational stress of women and equality and flexibility policies in Spain defends the urge of achieving “a social pact harmonising family, working, school and business hours” in order to root out the worst evil of our work culture, our way of working: schedule.

We mention schedules and reconciliation considering that the challenge is to promote processes of democratization destined to time and family welfare, so the goal cannot just reconcile different times, creating services to assist children while adults are covering activities such as work and family or personal issues; it should also “transform certain social, cultural and work structures, enabling the equal appreciation of caregiving and work responsibilities in order to foster a better quality of life of every member of different family units as adults, children and older people” (Caballo, Gradaile & Merelas, 2012: 200).

The present paper focuses on Galicia, an autonomous region who adopted as legal reference the 16th of July Act 7/2004 on gender equality and the 28th of March Act 2/2007 on work in equality for women in Galicia. The former establishes as standard for action the reconciliation of jobs and family life for women and men and the promotion of individualisation of rights which defend this reconciliation. In this respect, it concerns the development of rights for reconciliation (Art. 38) and the guaranteed exercise of rights (Art. 41).

On the other hand, the latest focuses on the achievement of labor integration of women as an essential pillar for gender equality, given that inequality is more visible in this group of population. Title IV incorporates reconciliation measures as tools to achieve this target; Title VI is of particular significance for the accomplishment of reconciliation since it regulates municipal time banks and the city time management plan. The 31th of July decree 182/2008 develops both measures, acknowledging the responsibility of public authorities –at the municipal level mainly- for social reorganization of times for the pursuit of a better quality of life. Based on the principle of co-responsibility at family and societal levels, it recognises that “for a great part of society (...) working time is only one of the many aspects of identity of people, along with domestic time, caregiving and leisure”, which is the reason why we should generate possibilities to fully live each of these times.

Two years after its approval, the 15th of October Act 7/2010 suppresses the autonomous body of Galician Service of Promotion of Equality for Men and Women and modifies certain articles in the 28th of March Act 2/2007, a situation that limits the perspective, given that it reduces the potential of municipal time banks, city time management plans or local reconciliation plans, strategies that were originally considered as “municipal measures for reconciliation of autonomous promotion”.

This fluctuation leads us to refer to the analysis by Martínez, Varela and De Valenzuela (2016), which considers all these measures as a step forward to discourses and actions oriented to the achievement of equality of opportunities for men and women; however, it is insufficient since they only tackle work sphere and disregard many realities which complicate the enjoyment of full and decent quality of life regarding time distribution” (p. 115).

In an effort to update and integrate the exposed regional law, the 12th of February Legislative Decree 2/2015 is approved, recasting the legal provisions regarding equality in Galicia. We highlight Title IV, whose title reads “support to reconciliation and co-responsibility”, since it specifies that co-responsibility –considered as “distribution of family obligations, household chores and care for dependent people between men and women”– is the key element of the exercise of rights about reconciliation of family, personal and work life. It is an undeniable progress, although it circumscribes co-responsibility once again to a private matter.

From a wider perspective, and in line with the foregoing paragraphs, “autonomous promotion of municipal measures for reconciliation” is again incorporated, considering the implementation of

municipal time banks, municipal networks for support to reconciliation and city time management plans.

Despite everything, without denying the efforts and goals achieved, we believe we are still in a need for a more complex analyses which lead to comprehensive policies to tackle in an holistic way the different times inherent to life cycle of people.

2. Method

This article takes as a reference two research projects, Concilia and Concilia_d@s¹; its target is to analyse from a longitudinal perspective reconciliation of families with children in primary schools in urban areas in Galicia, focusing specifically on seven cities (A Coruña, Lugo, Ourense, Pontevedra, Santiago de Compostela, Ferrol and Vigo) within the boundaries of this autonomous region. Moreover, it studies the evolution occurred regarding the organization of leisure and family times, levels of reconciliation and satisfaction with time distribution from 2009 to 2015, period of time when fieldwork activities were conducted.

1.1. Description of the sample

The configuration of sample designs started in both cases in a simple random sampling method meeting proportionality and representativity criteria. The reference units for the configuration of the sample and for the subsequent implementation of questionnaires were educational centers, where principals and teachers agreed to collaborate.

In this regard, the configuration of the sample of educational centers of Primary Education was organized around the following segmentation variables: province (A Coruña, Lugo, Ourense, Pontevedra); ownership (public or private) and age / course of schooling. The reference population was the student body attending primary school in Galicia, which exceeded 52.000 students in the school years 2008/2009 and 2014/2015. Nonetheless, enrolment rate is slightly higher nowadays than it was six years ago. Consequently, more than 3.000 questionnaires were implemented in each process of data collection, resulting in the following samples for the seven cities:

- Concilia. A total of 1.267 valid questionnaires were compiled, which ensured representativeness and extrapolation of results, with a level of error of 2,773% and a level of confidence of 95,5% ($p=q=0,5$).
- Concilia_d@s. Likewise, representativeness of results is guaranteed, extrapolated to urban families with children in primary schools in

Galicia. This way, the level of error was 2,2% and the level of confidence 95,5% ($p=q=0,5$) in a sample gathering 2.037 valid questionnaires.

1.2. Description of the questionnaire

The main instrument used for data collection in every project was an ad hoc questionnaire for families with children in primary schools in Galicia. The original design conducted in 2008 demonstrated that it fulfilled validity and reliability conditions, so many of the items were reused six years later in Concilia_d@s. In this analysis we will use those variables which remained unchanged for the sake of comparison.

This instrument was conformed in three stages: bibliographic review to contextualize the state of the issue of reconciliation, expert assessment, given that the initial construction was conducted by members of the research project SEPA-interea, and validation through a pilot study ($n=180$). Once the process was performed, members of the research project distributed the questionnaires among schoolchildren so that kids could pass them out to their parents. Afterwards, the members of the project collect them all in the educational centers to start with the processing and analysis of information.

Then, we describe the items used for this article, consistent with both research projects and whose results are compiled in a comparative way in this proposal:

- *Reconciliation index*: it shows the capacity of people to harmonise work, personal and family times. We applied the “Scale for Reconciliation of Work, Family and Personal Life” (Fraguela et al., 2011), and index configured by 9 items grouped in three dimensions referring to high, medium or low level of reconciliation. Moreover, in order to deepen in the aspects that specifically modified the studied interval, we will perform a detailed analysis of every item in the scale while comparing the evolution during the described period. Regarding each item, families describe their situation by choosing the following answers: strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), undecided (3), agree (4), strongly agree (5).

1. I have enough time to properly attend to my family.
2. I have enough time for myself.
3. I am capable of achieving my careers, personal and family goals satisfactorily.
4. I am satisfied with the distribution of my work, personal and family times.
5. I find difficult to harmonise work, family life and personal leisure.

6. Work makes it more difficult to take care of my family.
 7. I have to give up free time to meet the demands of my job.
 8. I always have to give up something; I never have enough time for work, family and personal interests.
 9. Taking care of my family limits the time I have for myself.
- *Perception of reconciliation in the described period:* people point whether their level of reconciliation was altered, worsened or improved during the years of financial crisis.
 - *Personal data:* this paragraph defines the socio-economic context (home city, monthly income, ownership of the educational center, school year) and who answers the questionnaire, variable crosses which are essential to progress in the understanding and data analysis.
 - *Factors hindering reconciliation:* we explore the incidence of the main problems found by the studied family profile in harmonising their times. It is conformed by 13 aspects rated from 1 (at all) to 4 (a lot).

1.3. Evolution or reconciliation in urban families with children in Primary Education (2009-2015). Presentation and discussion of results.

Data obtained showed the variation of the scale between 2009 and 2015. We observe a certain polarization concerning the balance of work schedule and family agenda in family units with children in primary schools living in urban areas. In order to generally describe the variable "reconciliation" we grouped the values of the reconciliation index in three categories: low, medium and high (table 1). In this regard, it is necessary to indicate that most people in the sample declared to be in a

medium level of reconciliation in the studied periods, although there was evidence of a percentage increase in the extreme categories (high and low). This way, being aware of the central tendency spotted in the answers, we can point out a rise of inequalities regarding the management of daily times, given that the number of families whose situation has worsened has grown 4,4% while -in parallel- the number of families whose situation has improved grew 4,5%.

Table 1. Family distribution according the level of reconciliation (2009-2015)

	Concilia 2009 (%)	Concilia_d@s 2015 (%)
Low (1,00-2,00)	25,7	30,1
Medium (2,01-3,00)	58,7	49,9
High (3,01-4,00)	15,5	20
Total	100	100

From a descriptive approach and considering the most populous seven cities in Galicia, the total of the sample enables the appreciation of a general tendency to the polarization of perceptions. This way, some fluctuations occurred during the studied period, especially in Ourense and Santiago de Compostela, where the lowest level of reconciliation was almost doubled. However, we attribute these changes to differences in the profiles of the educational centers participating in the sample, rather than to interpretations linked to specific models for reconciliation performed through territorially focused implementations.

Table 2. Distribution (%) of the level of reconciliation according to the reference city (2009-2015)

		A Coruña	Ferrol	Lugo	Ourense	Pontevedra	Santiago de Compostela	Vigo
Low level of reconciliation	2009	27.4	25.7	26.9	12.5	23.6	27.0	27.9
	2015	28.6	31.3	33.3	28.6	25.3	46.2	27.2
Medium level of reconciliation	2009	60.1	58.6	54.3	65.0	62.3	59.8	56.1
	2015	57.1	45.8	46.3	46.2	51.5	46.2	49.6
High level of reconciliation	2009	12.6	15.7	18.9	22.5	14.1	13.1	15.9
	2015	14.3	22.9	20.3	25.3	23.2	7.7	23.2

Taking as a reference the person answering to the questionnaire (mother, father, both, tutors or other relatives) we do not find significant differences in the levels of reconciliation. In any case, we highlight that the representation of mothers answering the questionnaire reached 76% of valid answers, which leads to think that women are the ones who, to a greater extent, deal with daily issues of the schooling of their kids. All in all, and even when we are talking about a residual percentage, it is interesting to point out that the number of families where both parents concurrently answer the questionnaire has multiplied sixfold, reaching from 0,3% in 2009 to 1,9% in 2015. Although fathers are still far away from the achievement of co-responsibility in the care and education children, the information gathered evidences an increase of fathers collaborating with these issues (4,7% more), as reflected in Time Use Survey (INE, 2018) and a share of 31,6% of cases in parental leaves (Work and Family-Life Balance Barometer).

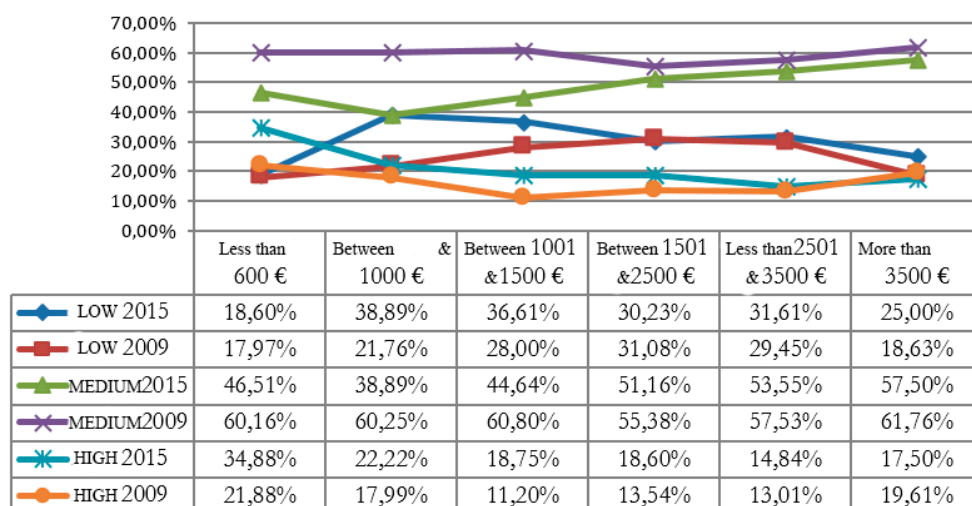
In line with this, we note a research by Ajenjo and García (2014) focused in the analysis of the evolution of gender inequalities through surveys on use of time conducted by INE during 2002-2003 and 2009-2010. During this period, despite women being the ones who deal with household chores to a larger extent, men have slightly increased their collaboration, resulting in a situation where the difference of time spent in this daily activities between men and women has been reduced to two or three hours a day, regardless of working days or weekends. These numbers mean a slight tendency nowadays but can give an important turning point for future generations.

It is necessary to indicate that we do not observe tendencies leading to interpretations on the incidence of the type of educational center or the age of the student body when referring to

family reconciliation, given that the distribution remains similar in the variables linked to schooling. Regarding the choice of educational centers, other variables become important, since the zoning of the school map has been transformed in the studied period. This way, the 31th of December decree 254/2012, whereby student admissions in educational centers financed by public funds and offering the second cycle of pre-primary education, primary education, compulsory secondary education and baccalaureate regulated in the 3rd of May Organic Act 2/2006, establishes that family reconciliation is a priority regarding admissions in educational centers, ahead of proximity of residence and/or the distinctive character of the center. This is why parents often choose schools near their workplaces, even when they are in different districts from their homes.

Furthermore, another element to consider the degree of reconciliation is monthly income of the family units. In the studied period, concurrent with the economic downturn, the level of reconciliation has been appreciably modified. This way, according to Gálvez and Rodríguez (2011), the economic impact can generate opportunities or obstacles; in the case of women, the latter are more frequent, given that women are the ones who more frequently present precarious jobs, reduce workdays or lose their jobs in favor of the care of their children or relatives. For this reason, lower expenditure for investment in social services means an increase of unpaid domestic work for women, causing a gap in reconciliation in this period, since the current economic situation tends to present low levels of reconciliation (referring to families whose incomes are between 601 and 1500 euros) and high levels of reconciliation (which increases all categories, highlighting families with lower incomes).

Table 3. Distribution of the level or reconciliation according to household income (2009-2015)



The observed polarization in the studied period, located within a global frame of economic recession particularly glaring in southern Europe regions, enables the appreciation of an increase of inequalities regarding the ability of families with children in school for managing their times. These difficulties may also be attributed to other factors, as the lack of facilities and/or community services and the lack of family support or social networks, as well as the low salaries in family units (Varela, Varela and Lorenzo, 2016). Even so, and despite 4,3% of participants in 2009 and 18% in 2015 refused to provide personal economic information even when anonymity was guaranteed, we can

observe that family units with lower income present the highest levels of reconciliation.

In order to get more acquainted with this issue and gathering the valorations of the group of people that is the object of our study in the crisis period, there is a clear perception of a change for the worse (chi-squared test; 2015: $\chi^2(12, 90)=50,562$; $p=0,000$) according to the data compiled in 2015, when this question was approached. This perception has been endorsed by the loss of purchase power and the devaluation of benefits for families during the analysed period, tendency which is indicated in the Work and Family-Life Balance Barometer Index (2017).

Table 4. Perception of reconciliation during the crisis according to household income

	< 1000	1000-1500	1501- 2000	2001-3000	3001-4000	> 4000	Total
It got better	11.1%	8.1%	14.3%	5.6%	5.9%	3.0%	8.3%
No changes	37.4%	39.2%	45.9%	62.0%	65.7%	68.2%	52.9%
It got worse	51.5%	52.7%	39.8%	32.4%	28.4%	28.8%	38.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Hereafter, considering the different items included in the “Scale for Reconciliation of Work, Family and Personal Life” (Fraguela *et al.*, 2011), we observe the main areas where financial instability incided during the period from 2009 and 2015 (table 5). This way, while items from 1 to 4 were formulated in positive, the five following items refer to time in terms of renunciation; this is way they present negative correlation. In the end, every case display satisfying statistical significance.

Between 2009 and 2015 satisfaction regarding free time availability (item 4 and 9 -reverse correlation-) and family care (item 3 -reverse correlation- and item 7) have slightly increased, while difficulties deriving from work environments remain the first factor affecting reconciliation. However, these difficulties showed greater weight

in 2009 (items 1 and 9), since new measures for reconciliation have been implemented the past few years thanks to a culture of the corporate social responsibility, which mitigated the impact of the crisis over reconciliation, as shown in Family Responsible Employer Index (2011) by the International Center for Work and Family (IESE Business School). Other generic formulations, as the ability to achieve proposed goals and the necessity of making complaints (items 2, 6 -reverse correlation-) remain similar. Regarding managing and harmonising of work, personal and family times (items 5 and 8 -reverse correlation-), we observe the increase of difficulties in 2015 compared to 2009. These variables provide global perspective of reconciliation.

Table 5. Comparative of correlations between reconciliation index and corresponding items (2015-2009)

	2009				2015			
	Pearson's r	Sig. (bilateral)	Media	DT	Pearson's r	Sig. (bilateral)	Media	DT
Work makes it more difficult to take care of my family	-.745**	,000	2,61	0,91	-.698**	,000	2,52	0,94
I am capable of achieving my careers, personal and family goals satisfactorily	.620**	,000	2,44	0,78	.700**	,000	2,45	1,01
Taking care of my family limits the time I have for myself	-.636**	,000	2,30	0,92	-.698**	,000	2,40	0,87
I have enough time for myself	.691**	,000	2,12	0,86	.772**	,000	2,39	1,00
I am satisfied with the distribution of my work, personal and family times	.679**	,000	2,52	0,78	.799**	,000	2,36	1,01
I always have to give up something; I never have enough time for work, family and personal interests	-.821**	,000	2,31	0,94	-.652**	,000	2,34	0,86
I have enough time to properly attend to my family	.693**	,000	2,69	0,85	.797**	,000	2,23	1,04
I find difficult to harmonise work, family life and personal leisure	-.674**	,000	2,50	0,91	-.664**	,000	2,19	0,98
I have to give up free time to meet the demands of my job	-.680**	,000	2,56	0,94	-.732**	,000	2,18	0,90
**. The correlation is significant at the level 0,01 (bilateral).								

In order to deepen in the causes complicating reconciliation, we compare the incidence of some limiting factors about the index (table 6). In this respect, the study presents significant and reverse correlation in every case considered, in such a way that urban families with children in primary school in Galicia assert that the higher is the level of reconciliation the less they suffer the noted factors, and vice versa. After all, limitations deriving from the work sphere are the main difficulties for family reconciliation, being work schedule the first factor affecting the organization of family times, domestic work the second factor-in both years- and labor responsibility the third one. Nonetheless, these difficulties present an important aspect related to gender which has barely changed over the years, since 3 out of 4 participants answering the questionnaire were women. This leads to think that domestic work still lies

mainly on women and their personal times, causing a constant interaction between presence and absence which complicates reconciliation in every dimension (Gradaílle and Merelas, 2011). This situation highlights the need to move forward a real and effective co-responsibility.

Additionally, as noted in table 6, school hours, extra school hours and school holidays are also highly represented, bringing to light the fact that families with children in primary schools conform a group with added difficulties for organizing their family agendas. At the opposite end, we can find attention to dependent people (which has a major impact in family context but do not present a significant proportion in global terms), self-health care (that can respond to cultural, economic causes, etc.) or business hours (its breadth or criteria of rationality could be further discussed).

Table 6. Comparative of correlations between reconciliation index and factors which complicate it

	2009				2015			
	Pearson's r	Sig. (bilateral)	Media	DT	Pearson's r	Sig. (bilateral)	Media	DT
Work schedules	-.533**	,000	2,45	0,99	-.590**	0,000	2,54	1,05
Household chores	-.387**	,000	2,31	0,88	-.411**	0,000	2,40	0,90
Job responsibilities	-.428**	,000	2,23	0,96	-.482**	0,000	2,37	1,03
School holidays	-.277**	,000	2,11	1,05	-.377**	0,000	2,22	1,07
Extra school hours	-.321**	,000	2,04	0,88	-.356**	0,000	2,19	0,94
Personal time	-.159**	,000	1,95	0,97	-.221**	0,000	1,91	0,98
School timetables	-.266**	,000	1,92	0,85	-.358**	0,000	1,97	0,91
Administrative formalities	-.277**	,000	1,89	0,80	-.279**	0,000	1,91	0,83
Work commutes	-.245**	,000	1,87	0,88	-.303**	0,000	1,89	0,93
Other movements	-.231**	,000	1,73	0,85	-.240**	0,000	1,79	0,89
Business hours	-.261**	,000	1,76	0,87	-.273**	0,000	1,79	0,91
Health care	-.104**	,000	1,61	0,80	-.218**	0,000	1,73	0,89
Dependent care	-.138**	,000	1,44	0,77	-.141**	0,000	1,48	0,82

3. Conclusions

The outcome results revealed the difficulties that families with children in primary schools in Galicia present in order to harmonise work, personal and family times. These limitations have been worsening in the analysed period as a consequence of the economic downturn suffered in Spain since 2008.

This way, this period has proven the growth of inequalities regarding reconciliation, given that we observe an appreciable increase both in families which assert to be satisfied with reconciliation times (from 15,5% to 20%) and in families whose difficulties have increased (from 25,7% to 30,1%).

Several factors complicate family reconciliation, being financial income determinant to a better harmony between schedules and family times. This way, during the analysed years tendencies have become polarized, since the medium level of reconciliation detected in 2009 has turned into situations of high or low levels in 2015. This

circumstance, in the interpretative framework of financial information, arises from two specific situations. On the one hand, a better level of reconciliation in families with low income may be the result of a higher availability of time due to the lack of paid work, as referred by 1 out of 3 families with an income lower than 600 euros. On the other hand, it becomes evident that families with a higher income hire other people to take charge of their household chores and the care of their children.

In this sense, working time and responsibilities, as well as domestic and daily chores related to childhood (care, schooling, etc.) represent, during the analysis period, the bottleneck for harmonising different social spheres. Hence, a real reconciliation policy for different times of daily life requires global solutions. For this reason we must approach public administrations, trade unions and corporations in order to promote active collaboration of men and women in household chores, contributing to a redistribution of time and a

removal of social stereotypes regarding gender. In this sense, reconciliation should not be understood as an ordinary issue that can be omitted; it is a necessity for sustainability and personal and

social development, a necessity to be analysed and relocated through an assessment of social organization of work and family time in our societies.

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Note

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