



Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics

**FAMILY TIME AND GENDER ARRANGEMENTS OF
COUPLES WITH CHILDREN**

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453

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Abstract.- *Family Time and Gender Arrangements of Couples with Children*

In a context of dramatic changes in the family organisation, this research aims to analyse the time shared with the family (partner and children) for couples with young children in Spain. The main purpose of the paper is to analyse the differences between dual-earner and male-breadwinner couples by gender. For that purpose, we use the information derived from the question "with whom the activity is done" included in the enumeration form of the *Spanish Time Use Survey 2009-2010*. Results of both general linear models and logistic regression models show that mothers spend more time with children than fathers do and that activity-status variables are the most determining factors. Gender-balanced couples have minor differences in the time that fathers and mothers spend on activities with their children. However, the difference is still high and mothers are still the main carers in the household.

Keywords.- Family time; Time use; Dual-earner couples; Spain.

Resum.- *Arranjament familiar de temps i gènere de parelles amb fills*

En un context de grans canvis en l'organització familiar, aquesta investigació té com a objectiu analitzar el temps compartit amb la família (parella i fills) per a parelles amb nens petits a Espanya. El propòsit principal d'aquest treball és analitzar les diferències entre les parelles de doble ingrés i el model tradicional de *breadwinner*. Per a això, utilitzem la informació derivada de la pregunta "amb qui es realitza l'activitat" inclosa en la *Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo Espanyola 2009-2010*. Els resultats d'ambdós models lineals generals i models de regressió logística mostren que les mares passen més temps amb els nens que els pares i que les variables d'activitat són els factors més determinants. En les parelles amb característiques més igualitàries la diferència en el temps que els pares i mares destinen en activitats amb els seus fills és menor. No obstant això, la diferència és encara elevada i les mares segueixen sent les principals cuidadores a la llar.

Paraules clau.- Temps familiar; Ús del temps; Parella de doble ingrés; Espanya.

Resumen.- *Acuerdos de género y tiempo familiar de parejas con hijos*

En un contexto de grandes cambios en la organización familiar, esta investigación tiene como objetivo analizar el tiempo compartido con la familia (pareja e hijos) para parejas con niños pequeños en España. El propósito principal de este trabajo es analizar las diferencias entre las parejas de doble ingreso y el modelo tradicional de *breadwinner*. Para ello, utilizamos la información derivada de la pregunta "¿con quién se realiza la actividad" incluida en la *Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo Española 2009-2010*. Los resultados de ambos modelos lineales generales y modelos de regresión logística muestran que las madres pasan más tiempo con los niños que los padres y que las variables de actividad son los factores más determinantes. En las parejas con características más igualitarias la diferencia en el tiempo que los padres y madres emplean en actividades con sus hijos es menor. Sin embargo, la diferencia es aún elevada y las madres siguen siendo las principales cuidadoras en el hogar.

Palabras clave.- Tiempo familiar; Uso del tiempo; Pareja de doble ingreso; España.

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FAMILY TIME AND GENDER ARRANGEMENTS OF COUPLES WITH CHILDREN¹

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1.- Introduction

Family organisation has changed dramatically over recent decades. The decline of the male breadwinner model and the predominance of a new model where both members are employed entail a new organisation of tasks and a different allocation of time between both members of the couple (Bianchi et al 2006; Gershuny, 2000). Although the division of time is not completely egalitarian, differences in time allocation between men and women have considerably decreased (Sayer 2005; Ajenjo and Garcia 2014). Family time is also affected by the new organisation of duties. The flexibilisation of paid hours reduces time spent with a partner as well as giving less availability to stay with children (Glorieux et al. 2011). Family time is considered an important value for the individual and its availability is considered a good indicator of well being (Hallberg and Klevmarken 2003). In addition, time pressure derived from the new organisation of the household has a negative effect on family time and, as a consequence, on individuals' well being.

It has been widely studied that couples whose members have more egalitarian values have a more symmetrical allocation of time (Meil 2005). Dual-earner couples, couples with higher educational attainment of the mother and cohabiting couples are associated with more egalitarian values (Gonzalez and Jurado 2009; Baxter 2005; Batalova and Cohen 2002; Ajenjo and Garcia 2011). Regarding family time, it seems in general that having more egalitarian values predicts a higher availability of time and, as a result, a higher participation rate of fathers with their children (including the share of time that fathers

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spend alone with children) (Pleck 2010; Gracia 2014; Garcia 2013; Gimenez Nadal et al. 2012).

Time-use surveys are the most reliable source of information for studying the allocation of time of individuals (Robinson & Godbey, 1997). By means of the diaries of activities, information about all the activities carried out during 24 hours is collected together with other sociodemographic information as well as information relating to the conditions of the activities undertaken. 'With whom?' the activity is done is a common information question in time-use diaries. Several scholars have used this information to carry out studies on family time in some societies (Kingston and Nock 1987, Lesnard 2008, Gutierrez Domench 2010, Sevilla Sanz et al. 2010, Bianchi et al. 2006).

In a context of dramatic changes in the family organisation, this research aims to analyse the time shared with the family (partner and children) for couples with young children in Spain. Spain is characterised by a later generalisation of the dual-earner family model and some norms and behaviours of the traditional model are still remaining (Sevilla Sanz et al. 2010). The main purpose of the paper is to analyse the differences between dual-earner and male-breadwinner couples by gender. The structure of the paper is as follows: first, we review the previous empirical evidence on family time in a comparative perspective and discuss the limitation of the theory on housework division. Second, we present our research hypothesis. Third, we describe the data and the methods used. In the results section, we analyse the most common activities with the spouse and children comparing the differences between dual-earner and male-breadwinner couples. We also examine the main factors that explain the amount of family time for each type of couple and the differences between fathers and mothers in dual-earner couples. These results are discussed in the final section.

2.- Family Time: Definition and Trends

In this section, we review the previous empirical evidence on family time, understanding as family time the activities where a spouse or children are present. Firstly, we review the previous literature about the importance of family time. In a second point, we analyse the different types of family time that can be considered by distinguishing time with the spouse, time of both parents with their children and time of each parent independently with

the children. At the end of the section, we present our main research questions and hypotheses.

Sharing time with close relatives is considered positive and a sign of well being in the society (Hellberg and Klevmarken 2003; Flood and Genadek 2013; Bitman and Wajcman 2000; Voorspostel et al. 2009). Time with spouse is considered a good sign of marital quality (Glorieux et al. 2011) and new parents are expected to be active in parenting and in spending as much time as possible with their children (Bianchi et al. 2006; Gonzalez et al. 2013, Gracia 2014). So in general, family time is considered a good value for the individuals concerned (Daly 2001), although at times it will be a source of some moments of conflict, discussions and tension (Hochschild 1997). The interpretation of time together differs between men and women with men declaring more time together (Gager and Sanchez 2003; Bernard 1982; Flood and Genadek 2013). In general, both would like to spend more time together, but men demand more quantity of time together while women would like a higher quality of time together (Roxburgh 2006).

The importance of family time is not only related with the current well being of the individual, but it is also related with the future development of the children. The time that parents spend with children is considered a good input for child development (Pleck 2010; Gracia 2014). Parents' involvement is not only important in terms of caring and time spent in more routine activities, it is also important for time devoted to more interactive activities with a positive relationship between higher involvement of parents and child development (Zick et al 2001). A child's developmental stage is a significant element in parents' participation – with younger ages demanding more basic activities and older ages requiring more interactivity (Waldfogel 2006; Gracia 2014, Roeters et al. 2009).

The desire to spend more time with family has increased in parallel with a higher incidence of couples where both members are in the labour market. The fact that both members are employed supposes a new organisation of the household and more difficulties to balance work and family life and as a consequence, more constraints for the amount and quality of family time (Lesnard 2008). Couples have to deal with two realities which pull in opposite directions: men and women are employed and they want to spend more time with close relatives. They have to coordinate their schedules because they want to have time for their partner and children (Sullivan 1996). The main pattern observed in dual-earner couples is that they spend more time with their children, but they have reduced time with their spouse (Flood and Genadek 2013, Glorieux et al. 2011).

Although the new organisation of the household has led to more time pressure and constraints, time with children has increased in recent decades (Bianchi et al. 2006). Mothers continue to spend an important part of their time with children while fathers are more involved in activities related with children, especially those activities that are less routine and more interactive (Gracia and Bellani 2010, Craig and Mullan 2011; Baizan et al. 2013). The amount of time fathers spend with their children is positively correlated with the mother's employment and in dual-earner couples, fathers do more childcare and other activities with their children (Gutierrez Domenech 2010). Fathers in dual-earner couples where the wife works non-standard hours are more likely to participate in childcare than other dual-earner couples (Presser 1988).

The evidence relating to time with spouse is more contradictory. Some authors have found that it has decreased over the last decades especially between dual-earner couples (Dew 2009) while others have found that time with spouse has not decreased in the last decades and may even have slightly increased (Voorspostel et al 2009). Dual-earner couples have to combine two working schedules and also the desire to spend more time with their children and it gives them less time to spend alone with their partner (Flood and Genadek 2013, Barnet-Verzat et al. 2009). The reduction is greater in weekdays and they try to compensate with a certain increment during weekends and non-working days (Flood and Genadek 2013, Glorieux et al. 2011, Dew 2009). The major difference is observed when children are present. The presence of children reduces joint leisure time for couples and even more so when the children are young (Barnet-Verzat et al. 2009). Couples have a preference to spend time together and seek to maximize this time when they try to synchronise their schedules, but they are also forced to desynchronise in order to minimise paid childcare (Hammermesh 2002). The strategy of working non-standard hours is a solution to balance the needs of work and family, but it has a negative effect on time spent with spouse (Wight et al. 2008, Kingston and Nock 1987; Presser 2003).

Differences in the amount of family time have been also observed across other sociodemographic characteristics. Traditional gender role attitudes favour separation of male and female spheres and suppose more separate lifestyles and less time together (Kalmijn and Bernasco 2001). Married couples also have less social participation (Gerstel and Sarkisina 2006; Dew 2009) while cohabiters tend to spend more time on independent activities (Glorieux et al. 2011; Kalmijn and Bernasco 2001). Couples with higher education usually work less in jobs with non-standard working hours and are more

egalitarian - two factors that are positively correlated with more family time (Hammermesh 2002; Glorieux et al. 2011).

However, the amount of time is not the only important thing, as the quality of the time is also important. Sometimes family time is carried out in conditions of time pressure. Multitasking, when more than one activity is done at the same time, is one of the strategies used to spend more time with family in a context of less availability of time. Situations of multitasking are associated with an increase in negative emotions, stress, psychological distress and work-family conflict for mothers (Offer and Schneider 2011). The consequence of multitasking is less evident for fathers. In this sense, co-presence of children during unpaid work activities are more common in mothers, a clear sign that in the majority of cases, women have to do other activities while they are taking care of children (Kingston and Nock 1987; Gershuny 2000; Sevilla-Sanz et al. 2010).

In general, the most common family-time activities are eating meals and taking part in media activities (including watching TV) (Sevilla-Sanz et al. 2010, Glorieux et al. 2011, Garcia 2013). Watching TV is the most common activity of fathers in the presence of children. In the case of mothers, their main activities in the presence of children are childcare and unpaid work (Glorieux et al. 2011). Travel, voluntary activities and leisure are also a common activity with family but the proportion of time is higher when the activity is done alone. The presence of children reduces joint leisure time, especially if the children are young.

Family-time arrangements are not independent from the division of tasks in the household. The division of domestic work is not considered a neutral field and it has often been used as an indicator of the gender equality in the household (West and Zimmermann 1987; Coltrane 2000). Three different theories try to explain the division of household tasks: time availability, relative resources, doing gender (Coltrane 2000; Bianchi et al. 2000). From the point of view of time availability, time spent on household chores will depend on the time devoted to paid work. The more time the person spends in paid work, the less they spend on domestic tasks. From the perspective of a relative resources approach, one can consider that the time spent on domestic work will depend on the opportunity cost of each member of the couple. The more human capital the person has the more difficult it is to focus on domestic work. This latter theory explains that certain social and cultural norms neutralise the other two theories and it supposes an inequality between the couples even when the availability of time and/or relative resources is favourable to the woman.

Our research is conducted in the context of Spain. The substantial incorporation of women into the labour market occurred later than in other western European countries and up to the beginning of this century, the male-breadwinner model was predominant in Spanish families (Alberdi 1999). Traditional norms were more established and, although in recent decades there has been a modernisation of the Spanish society, the gender role that puts the onus on mothers to provide care is well established (Sevilla Sanz et al. 2010; Gimenez Nadal et al. 2012; Dema 2005; Dominguez and Castro 2008, Esping-Andersen 2009).

Taking into account the previous research in family time and the context of Spain, we will formulate the following hypotheses of research:

H1: Differences between dual-earner and male-breadwinner couples. The predominance of the new model of couples where both members are in the labour market leads to a new organisation of the household that will also affect time with the spouse and children.

- a) More family time in male-breadwinner couples, concentrated in time with children rather than in time for the spouses. The fact that male-breadwinner couples don't have to deal with the constraint of two work schedules provides more availability of time.
- b) Differences are expected to be greater in less routine activities than in activities that are essential and difficult to postpone. For the same reason, differences will also be smaller during weekends when the constraints of work are usually lower.

H2: Differences by gender: Although there have been advances over recent decades, gender inequality is still the norm in Spain. The father's involvement in childcare cannot compensate for the higher participation of mothers in the labour market.

- a) Mother time is higher than father time in both types of couples. Gender differences will persist even when we control for other characteristics linked with more egalitarian values within the couple (dual earner, cohabiter, higher educated women, younger couples).
- b) Less quality of time for mothers. A mother's activities with her spouse and children will be more contaminated by other activities such as unpaid work, a sign that the quality of family time will differ between both members. We also expect differences in the activities carried out in each type of time.
- c) Higher incidence of mother's schedule than father's schedule. A father's time with his children is expected to be higher when mothers are at work. A mother's time

depends less on the work schedule of the father. The father's time with children is considered a substitution of the mother when she is at work. Mothers are still the main carers and their time with children is less dependent on the characteristics of the household and the couple.

3.- Data and methods

We use data from the Spanish Time Use Survey 2009-2010. This is the second edition of the time-use survey carried out by the National Statistical Institute and follows the guidelines of Eurostat (INE 2011). The information was collected by means of a diary of activities where the respondents report their activities during 24 hours in 10 minutes intervals. For each interval, all the members of the household 10 years old and more reported their main activity, secondary activity, location, use of Internet and persons with whom the activity was done. In addition, sociodemographic information about all the members of the household was collected. The sample is composed of 9.541 households with 25.896 individuals.

Table 1.- Sample description. Proportion of couples according to the main characteristics

Variable	Category	Dual-earner and Male-breadwinner couples	Dual-earner couples
Type of couple	Dual-earner	62.9	
	Male-breadwinner	37.1	
Type of union	Cohabitor	8.7	10.0
	Married	91.3	90.0
Educational attainment of the mother	Primary or less	11.7	8.0
	Secondary	56.0	50.7
	University	32.3	41.3
Age of the mother	15-35	39.9	37.0
	36-50	57.9	60.9
	51-65	2.2	2.1
Age of the youngest child in the household	3 or less	50.5	49.2
	4-9	49.5	50.8
Day of the week	Weekday	60.9	63.2
	Weekend	39.1	36.8
<i>n</i>		1286	809

Source: Own calculations from the Spanish Time Use Survey 2009-2010. INE

The availability of time-use diaries for all the members of the household allows the use of the couple as a unit of analysis. We select couples with children younger than 10 years old in the household where both members are between 15 and 65 years old. According to the work status of the members, the couples are classified in 4 different types: dual-earner couples where both members are at work, male-breadwinner couples, female-breadwinner couples and couples where any member is working. In this study, we only use the most representative couples: dual-earner couples, which is the main object of analysis, and male-breadwinner couples, for comparative reasons. They represent 75% of the couples. The final sample contains 1.286 couples.

Using the information on which members of the family are present during the activity, we compute 4 types of family time: spousal time (only the partner is present), parents' time (partner and children present), father time (father with children without partner) and mother time (mother with children without partner). Questions about 'with whom' the activity is done were not asked for some personal care activities and we don't take into account paid work activities because we consider that time together at work has some particularities that differ to the meaning of family time we want to study. Finally, we group family time in the following categories: unpaid work, travel, meals, leisure, media, care and odd-jobs. Although there are 2 measures of spousal and parents' times for each couple (one according to the information of the man and one according to the woman) we compute the mean of both estimates to have only one measure for each couple.

The analysis is composed of 3 different parts. The first part shows the main activities shared with the partner and children. We also compare differences between dual-earner and male-breadwinner couples and weekday and weekend. It is a descriptive analysis of the mean minutes of family time devoted to each activity considered.

In the second part, we analyse the factors to explain the amount of each family time. In this case, we apply a general linear model where the dependent variables are the four types of family time. For explanatory variables, we selected those characteristics that the previous literature on the topic considers more relevant in explaining the differences in the use of time of the couples. These variables are:

- Type of couple according to the working status of their members: dual-earner and male-breadwinner couples
- Age of the woman: 15-35, 36-50 and 51-65
- Educational attainment of the woman: primary or less, secondary, university

- Type of union: cohabitation or marriage
- Day of the week when the information was collected
- Age of the youngest child: 0-3, 4-9

Other variables, like the educational attainment of the man or income of the household have been considered but are not included in the final model because they have low significance or their effect is the same as other variables already included.

In the third part, only dual-earner couples and family-time activities between 6 am and 12 am are selected. The aim of this third part is to analyse which characteristics are more important to explain the time of fathers and mothers alone with their children. We apply two different models of logistic regression where the dependent variables are father and mother times. In every 10-minute interval where the individual is doing some family activity, the dependent variable takes the value 1 if the father/mother is alone with the children and 0 if not. In this analysis, we introduce a new variable to measure if the partner is at work or not. In the case of the father's time, the variable takes value 1 if the mother is working. In the second model, the variable takes value 1 if the father is at work.

4.- Results

Table 2 show the family-time distribution for different activities and according to the type of couple, distinguishing dual-earner (DE) and male-breadwinner (MB). We can also observe the differences between weekdays, and weekends. The figures clearly show that the total family time is higher in MB couples with the differences concentrated during the weekdays. Total time is the same in both types of couples on the weekends where time with spouse and children increases and it supposes a reduction of time of mothers alone with children. The higher amount of mothers alone with children is the main reason for the gap between DE and MB. Father time is much less than the time spent by mothers alone with children. Regarding the activities carried out, although the main activities with partner and children are similar for both types of couples, they differ in the amount of time spent on each activity. Differences between weekdays and weekends are also observed.

Table 2.- Family time in selected activities for dual-earner and male-breadwinner couples. Couples with children 0-10 years old at home (mean)

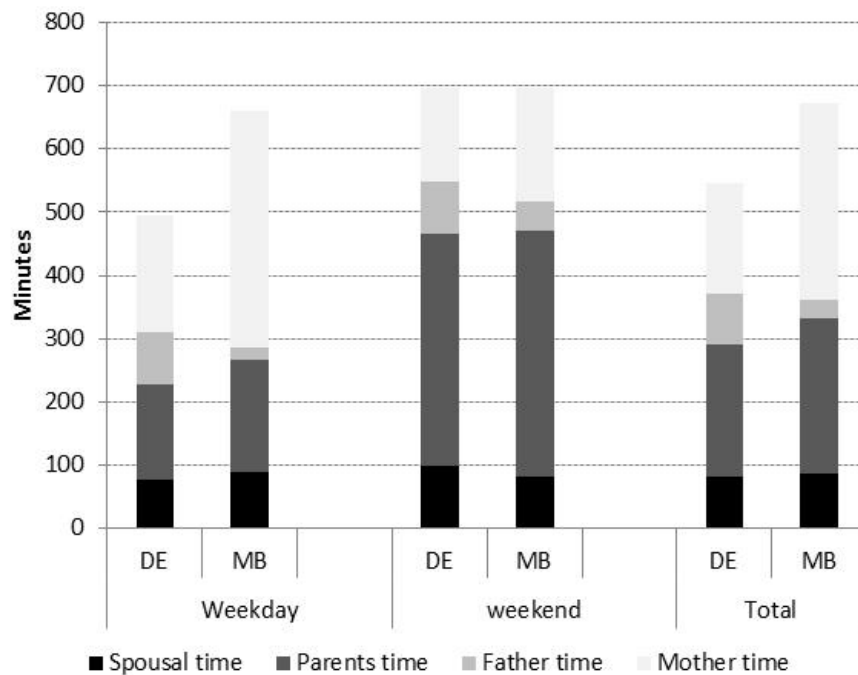
Family time	Activity	Dual-earner couples			Male-breadwinner couples		
		weekday	weekend	total	weekday	weekend	total
Spousal time	Unpaid work	10	13	11	16	12	14
	Travel	5	8	6	5	2	4
	Meals	17	21	18	17	15	16
	Leisure	7	15	9	10	8	9
	Media	31	35	32	33	41	36
	Care	3	4	3	2	2	2
	Odd-jobs	3	3	3	6	3	5
	Total	77	98	82	89	83	87
Parents' time	Unpaid work	20	43	26	22	40	27
	Travel	10	41	18	12	42	22
	Meals	38	90	52	48	95	63
	Leisure	22	76	36	25	87	45
	Media	20	47	27	31	50	37
	Care	37	58	43	36	58	43
	Odd-jobs	4	13	6	5	17	9
	Total	152	368	208	178	389	246
Father time	Unpaid work	8	5	7	1	2	1
	Travel	14	7	12	5	2	4
	Meals	8	7	7	1	4	2
	Leisure	9	14	10	1	7	3
	Media	7	14	9	2	7	4
	Care	34	31	33	9	23	13
	Odd-jobs	2	5	3	1	1	1
	Total	81	82	81	19	46	28
Mother time	Unpaid work	35	25	33	94	43	78
	Travel	28	12	24	44	8	32
	Meals	17	15	16	30	17	26
	Leisure	11	27	15	27	20	25
	Media	7	10	8	21	17	20
	Care	78	54	72	147	69	122
	Odd-jobs	7	6	7	11	5	9
	Total	184	149	175	374	179	311

Source: Own calculations from the Spanish Time Use Survey 2009-2010. INE

Meals, caring and media activities are the most important family activities. Media is the most common activity alone with the partner. With the exception of meals, couples of both types spend very few minutes in the other activities alone with their partners. Although the total spousal time is similar between DE and MB couples, it is higher during the weekend for the former one, while during the weekdays it is higher in MB. For DE couples, the spousal time is 1:38 during the weekend and it reduces to 1:17 during weekdays, while MB

couples spend together 1:23 and 1:29, respectively. DE couples can spend more time together during weekends when they don't have the constraints of work. DE couples have more spousal time in all the activities that come under the name of special leisure activities. On the other hand, members of MB couples spend less time alone with their partner during the weekend in all the activities except media.

Figure 1.- Family time by type of time, day of the week and type of couple



Source: Own calculations from the Spanish Time Use Survey 2009-2010. INE

Time spent with spouse and children is much higher than time spent alone with spouse. It is also higher during weekends than during weekdays and is more pronounced in MB couples. During weekends, MB couples spent 6:29 per day with spouse and children while DE couples spent 6:08. During weekdays, parents' time is 2:58 and 2:32, respectively. This means that it doubles during weekends in all the activities, but it is more important in those activities related with leisure and meals.

But as has been said previously, the main difference between DE and MB couples is the time that fathers and mothers spend alone with their children. For both types of couples, mother time is higher than father time. During the whole of the week, mothers in MB couples spend 5:11 alone with their children. DE couples' mothers spend 2:55 alone with

children per day. The difference, around 2:15, is mainly due to the difference observed in the weekdays. In this sense, MB couples' mothers are only 30 minutes more alone with their children during weekends than their DE couple counterparts. During weekdays, this difference increases to 3:10. Undertaking care activities are the main mother time activities followed by unpaid work. The high amount of time spent in unpaid work in the company of children is suggestive of the multitasking that mothers have to deal with when they take care of their children. They take care of the children while they are doing some other domestic work. However, we can suspect that multitasking is more important in DE couples and during the weekdays due to the lower availability of time. It is true in respect of weekdays, but women in male-breadwinner couples also do a lot of unpaid work in the presence of children. In concrete, MB couples spend 1:34 in unpaid activities with their children during weekdays (one-quarter of all the mother time). In DE couples, mother time during weekdays in unpaid activities is limited to 34 minutes, just one-fifth of all mother time.

MB fathers spend very little time alone with their children. It accounts for only 19 minutes during the weekdays and 46 minutes during the weekends. The majority of the time is spent in caring activities. In DE couples, father time is much higher although it is still much lower than mother time. The estimated time is around 1:20 and it is the same for weekdays and weekends. Caring activities are the most important activity during the whole of the week while travel activities are more significant during weekdays with leisure and media activities increasing during weekends.

Table 3 shows the more significant characteristics to explain the differences in family time. The coefficients can be interpreted as the net difference between the category and the reference category. In general, characteristics related with more egalitarian values are associated with more egalitarian behavior in family time, it is higher father time and less difference between total time spend by fathers and mothers with children.

Time alone with spouse is higher between couples where the women are more educated as well as older couples. It is also greater during weekends where generally there aren't the constraints of the work schedule. Differences are not significant between DE and MB couples and neither between cohabitants and married.

Parents' time is much higher during weekends. Net difference is estimated in 3:30 between weekdays and weekends. Differences between younger and older couples as well as according to the age of the children are lower but also significant. Couples where the

mother is between 15-34 spend 25 minutes more with spouse and children than older couples and 15 more couples where woman is 36-50. When the youngest child is under 3 parents time rises around 45 minutes. Regarding the work status of the family MB couples spend more time together with spouse and children than DE couples. Net difference is estimated in 26 minutes.

Table 3.- MANOVA Family time. Dual-earner and male-breadwinner couples with children at home

		Spousal time		Parents' time		Father time		Mother time	
		B	sig	B	sig	B	sig	B	sig
Type of couple	Dual-earner	-5.249		-26.802	**	50.295	***	-142.236	***
	Male-breadwinner	0 ^a		0 ^a		0 ^a		0 ^a	
Type of union	Cohabitor	-14.704		-17.000		22.523		13.093	
	Married	0 ^a		0 ^a		0 ^a		0 ^a	
Educational attainment of the mother	Primary or less	-24.364	**	2.999		-16.229		15.738	
	Secondary	-19.108	**	-8.972		-11.462	**	22.988	
	University	0 ^a		0 ^a		0 ^a		0 ^a	
Age of the mother	15-35	-33.722	***	25.250	***	39.163		92.816	***
	36-50	-36.552	***	10.675	**	37.671	*	109.492	***
	51-65	0 ^a		0 ^a		0 ^a		0 ^a	
Age of the youngest child in the household	3 or less	-19.081		44.653	***	3.372		76.840	***
	4-9	0 ^a		0 ^a		0 ^a		0 ^a	
Day of the week	Weekday	-9.771	***	-210.128	***	-9.613	**	99.405	***
	Weekend	0 ^a		0 ^a		0 ^a		0 ^a	
	Intercept	153.303	***	357.431	***	2.523		89.297	**

Source: Own calculations from the Spanish Time Use Survey 2009-2010. INE

***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1

Differences between mother and father time are lower in DE couples than MB couples. Two of the coefficients of the table 4 go in this sense. Firstly, fathers spend 50 minutes more alone with their children in DE couples than in MB ones. Secondly, mother time in DE couples is estimated 2:42 lower than MB couples. Something similar is observed during weekends where mothers spend less time with children (around 1:40) and fathers slightly more (around 10 minutes) than during weekdays. In both cases younger couples spend more time alone with children. Mother time differences are also significant when children are younger. Co-presence of children under 3 years old in the household increases mother time in 1:15. It confirms that mothers are still the main responsible of taking care of children and it is more evident with young children, which require more attention. The more attention required by younger children is not observed in father time.

When we take into account the rest of the variables, differences between cohabitants and married couples are not significant. Respect the educational attainment of the mother the only significant difference is for father time when the mother has secondary education. In this case, father time is 11 minutes lower when mother has university degree.

Table 4 presents the estimates of being with children and without spouse for fathers and mothers. The coefficients correspond to the odds ratio of being alone with children in a concrete 10-minute interval of time when one of the family activities considered is performed. The father time column corresponds to the odds of the fathers being alone with children and mother time corresponds to the mothers' one.

Table 4.- Logistic regression father and mother. Odds ratio for fathers and mothers of being alone with children. Dual-earner couples with children

		Father time		Mother time	
		exp(B)	sig	exp(B)	sig
Type of union	Cohabitor	1.375	***	1.059	***
	Married		ref		ref
Educational attainment of the mother	Primary or less	.551	***	.684	***
	Secondary	.773	***	.932	
	University	ref		ref	
Age of the mother	15-35	2.033	***	1.887	***
	36-50	2.112	***	1.915	***
	51-65	ref		ref	
Age of the youngest child in the household	0-3	1.097	***	1.165	***
	4-9	ref		ref	
Week	Weekday	1.061		1.148	***
	Weekend	ref		ref	
Time of the day	Morning	.801	**	1.077	
	Afternoon/evening	ref		ref	
Partner at work	At work	8.488	***	5.580	***
	Not at work	ref		ref	
	Constant	.077	***	.124	***

Source: Own calculations from the Spanish Time Use Survey 2009-2010. INE

***<0.01, **<0.05, *<0.1

For both fathers and mothers, the estimates show that the risk is higher when their partners are at work. However, the risk is higher for fathers (8.488 times) than for mothers (5.58

times). So father time seems to be more affected by the work schedule of the mothers. A higher risk of being alone with their children is observed for fathers in couples with more egalitarian characteristics. Cohabitants are 1.37 times as likely to be alone with their children than their married counterparts and couples where the mother has a university degree are also more likely to be alone with their children than less educated ones. In younger couples, fathers are approximately 2 times as likely to be alone with children than older ones. It is also observed that the risk is higher when children are younger and in the afternoon when they are not in school. Contrary to the observed patterns in the previous models, no significant difference is observed for weekdays and weekends.

Mother time presents similar results to father time. In this case, the risk for cohabitants is also higher than married couples, but in this case the estimated odds ratio is lower than father time (1.06 times). On the other hand, the risk is much higher when the youngest child is younger than 3. In this case, mothers are 1.165 times as likely to be alone with children than mothers with children between 4 and 9 years of age. The difference is not significant according to the time of the day, but it is for the day of the week. During weekdays, the risk of being alone with children increases 14%.

Regarding the level of education, the risk of being alone with children is 32% lower in less educated mothers than higher educated ones. Younger mothers are also more likely to be alone with their children.

5.- Conclusions

Family time is important for families. It is a sign of well-being in the couple that people wish to spend time with their spouse and children. However, the constraints of family organisation make it more difficult to spend time with a spouse and children. In this paper, we have explored the differences in family time between the two main models of family: male-breadwinner couples, where only the man is at work and are considered more traditional in terms of allocation of time, and dual-earner couples, where both members of the couple are employed and reflect more equality regarding the division of time. In the case of Spain, we have found similarities between both types of couples but also some characteristics that differ.

Meals and leisure are the main activities shared with spouse and children together. Primary care and media are also important. Media is by far the most important activity shared only with the spouse. The main activity of fathers alone with their children is primary childcare, the same as mothers alone. In the case of the mothers, unpaid work is also an important activity performed in the presence of children.

However, although the activities are very similar, the amount of time spent on each activity differs considerably and as a result, dual-earner couples spend much less time with family than male-breadwinner couples (H1). The differences are concentrated during the weekdays when the constraints of the work schedule are more evident. Consequently, when couples have more free time and don't have to deal with job limitations, many differences disappear and they spend time with family in a similar way independently of the type of couple (H1b).

We also found smaller differences in the time spent with the spouse for different types of couples depending on the day of the week. It reinforces the idea from previous studies that clear trends in time spent with spouse were not identified. There is no clear difference in spousal time between male-breadwinner and dual-earner couples, as it is for time with children (H1a). Dual-earner couples are supposed to be less traditional leading to increasingly separate lifestyles for males and females. Dual-earner couples also have to organise two different work schedules and this organisation issue reduces the time spent with their partner. Nevertheless, a decrease in time with spouse is not reflected for couples where both members are employed.

The time spent by mothers and fathers alone with their children is where most differences can be observed. Our hypothesis already suggested that gender differences would prevail (H2). Mothers' time alone with children is always higher than fathers' time and it means that mothers still have the main responsibility of taking care of children in the household. These differences are huge especially when we consider the worst characteristics against the equality in the relationship (specifically breadwinner couples during the weekday) where mothers are almost the only providers of care – if we take into account the substantial amount of time they spend with their children in comparison to the small amount of time their spouses spend. More egalitarian characteristics reduce the differences but they still persist and are considerably high (H2a). There is more gender equality in dual-earner couples but complete equality is far from being achieved. It is also important to take into account how mothers deal with their roles of carers because sometimes the only

solution is the multitasking and the performing of other activities while they are taking care of children (H2b). This situation can lead to a time pressure and negative consequences in the well-being of the mothers when they have to face the double dilemma of not only participating in the labour market but also taking care of the household. The presence of younger children (in our case three years old or less) who need more attention also supposes an important increase in the mothers' time with children. This effect is not observed in fathers' time.

The total amount of fathers' time with children has increased and it reflects the idea of a more active fatherhood. New fathers want to be more involved in their children's development and they want to spend more time together. We have also seen that in the increase of fathers' time with children, there is also a component of obligation to balance the participation of mothers in the labour market (H2c).

We have to take into account that the measure of family time based on the presence of the members of the family may pose some problems for evaluating the actual interaction between them. It is interesting to note that it is very difficult or nigh on impossible to find any data about actual interaction and the measure according to the presence of family members has been widely used since the 1980s (Kingston and Nock 1984; Lesnard 2008; Gutierrez Domenech 2010). Another important issue to take into account about our findings is the context of economic crises when the survey was carried out. Specific and transitory circumstances may lead to temporary arrangements in the families that will not persist in the future.

Nevertheless, the higher participation of fathers in caring for their children in dual-earner couples is insufficient to offset the decrease in mothers' time in dual-earner couples. As a result, children spend less time with some of their parents during the day. It is difficult to predict the consequences of this lack of parental time with children, especially for the youngest children, but it is clear that it will have consequences for subsequent child development (Pleck 2010).

From a practical point of view, it also begs the question of how families can arrange their schedules. In the case of Spain, the support of the extended family has always been an important factor for helping the balance between work and family. In this sense, the presence of grandparents and other close relatives is fundamental and it is the main arrangement that facilitates the participation of mothers and fathers in the labour market (Baizan et al 2013). The possibility of external help (parental leave, kindergarten, money

transfers) can be problematic but is the only solution in most cases when public support is scarce (Esping-Andersen et al 2013; Lapuerta et al 2011).

Family arrangements become more complicated in this context, as we see reflected in the Spanish case. The implication for fathers is increasingly to try a balance between family and work as well as to accommodate the desire to spend time with spouse and children.

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