Parents' Time with Children and Cultural Capital in Britain: Educational and Social Class Differences in Mothers' and Fathers' Leisure Activities with Children

Pablo Gracia (+)

p.gracia@uva.nl

University of Amsterdam

Amsterdam Centre for Inequality Studies

Department of Sociology & Anthropology

ABSTRACT

Previous research does not provide a wide picture of how parents' participation in leisure activities with children differs by parents' socioeconomic position. Using data from the '2000 British Time Use Survey' for partnered mothers (n = 851) and fathers (n = 893), this article investigates how education and social class influence parents' time with children in three leisure activities: (1) Cultural activities; (2) Watching TV; (3) Social activities. Drawing on different theoretical perspectives on how education and social class may affect parent-child interactions, I develop and test three hypotheses. Preliminary results suggest that both occupational class and education explain important variations in mothers' leisure time with children. In contrast, fathers' education, and especially fathers' occupational class, hardly predicts any relevant difference in parents' participation in leisure with children.

* This article was prepared for the Poster Sessions of the 2013 PAA (New Orleans, Louisiana). Please contact the author before quoting the paper.

Introduction

Sociologists often conceptualize the family as the key social institution in forming children's cultural practices and human capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Coleman, 1988). A large body of literature suggests that parents transmit their own cultural tastes and leisure preferences to children. There is cross-national empirical evidence showing that parents' propensity to reading is correlated with children's daily time spent in reading, while similar intergenerational relationships were found for watching TV (Cardoso et al., 2010). Yet, the intergenerational transmission of skills and practices were called to be conceptualized within the framework of parent-child interactions. Bourdieu's (1984) well-known concept of *habitus* suggests that children of different social groups acquire their parents' patterns of behavior as a result of their disposition to such lifestyles in the everyday life family environments. Thus, the transmission of daily routines with cultural and intellectual connotations may respond to parents' frequent engagement with children in specific activities that may exert an important influence in children's practices, like for example their familiarity with reading or arts (see De Graaf et al., 2000; Gershuny, 2000; Kraaykamp & Eijck, 2010; Lareau, 2003).

Children's exposure to different family activities and leisure routines in the process of socialization is associated with critical variations in cultural, human, and social capital formation (Farkas, 2003; Lareau, 2003). Children's exposure to highbrow cultural activities in everyday family life (especially to reading books) has been found to strength cultural and human capital accumulation, as well as with their future schooling performance and socioeconomic outcomes (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; De Graaf et al., 2000; DiMaggio, 1982; Farkas, 2003; Lareau, 2003). Other activities are actually expected to have totally opposed effects on the formation of cultural and human capital. Children who spend "too much" time watching TV, particularly on entertainment TV programs, were found to achieve poorer cognitive, health, and socio-emotional outcomes (Bianchi & Robinson, 1997; Graves, 1993). Because parents are expected to influence their children behaviors and skills through everyday life interactions, one may expect that children's that join parents in different types of leisure activities with different socio-cultural implications may be exposed to different types of cultural resources which may be associated with divergent life chances.

The cultural reproduction of lifestyles is intimately linked to the intergenerational transmission of inequality. Previous literature suggested that children of different social positions are embedded in different family routines and cultural contexts that explain key differences in schooling and future class positions (Bourdieu, 1984; Farkas, 2003; Lareau, 2003). In their *Reproduction*, Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argued that children from privileged social classes, because they are socialized in family environments that are closer to the hegemonic culture, achieve the most suitable skills to succeed in the schooling system. In contrast, according to Bourdieu and Passeron, disadvantaged children achieve poorer academic results as a result of their lack of cultural capital and social distance towards the schooling system. Similarly, Lareau's (2003) ethnographic study with American data implies that parents of high socioeconomic status are disproportionately engaged in scheduling leisure activities and children's daily routines that strength their cultural and human skills that are most suitable for the schooling system.

Yet, on the contrary, others questioned that family life and individuals' lifestyles respond to specific social class differences. Kingston (2000: 131) argued that, in the U.S. "in terms of actual time commitments, the broad contours of domestic life for married couples are remarkably similar across the classes." The author argues that perhaps education, but not social class, may have an effect on different types of parent-child activities that have important effects on child outcomes. Adopting a different theoretical approach, Beck (2007) puts that individuals' socioeconomic position is no longer a valid indicator of individuals' lifestyles and contemporary family life, which can be also extrapolated to parent-child shared leisure. To date, however, the important empirical question for our understanding of children's life chances of how parents' leisure routines with children vary across families with different socioeconomic resources remain largely understudied, especially outside the American context.

The present study focuses precisely on how parents of different social class and educational levels spend time with children in leisure activities that are expected to have different effects on children's cultural and human capital accumulation. In so doing, the paper contributes to the literature in two main ways. First, the present article is the first in providing quantitative evidence on how children's social background is related to parents' daily routines with different cultural capital and cognitive implications in Britain, covering a gap in the international literature on parents' time with children.

Second, the study investigates whether parental education and occupational class predict differences in mothers' and fathers' time with children in cultural-related leisure activities. These two variables are related to each other, but also capture different conceptual dimensions (Erikson & Golthorpe, 1992). Whereas occupational class presents differences in economic power, status, and group identity derived from social interactions at the workplace and social circles, education is more associated with intrinsic personality traits and cognitive skills that are achieved at the schooling system and are not *per se* transferred into a class position. The present study is the first in providing empirical evidence by using a multivariate statistical framework to the class and education debate, with some authors (Lareau, 2003) arguing that class is more important and others giving more importance to parental education (Kingston, 2000) in explaining variations in parent-child time in everyday life.

I use representative time use data based on time diaries reported by British mothers (n = 851) and fathers (n = 894. Empirical analyses focus on different leisure activities that have different potential effects on children's social, cultural, and educational capital. The study concentrates on three leisure activities where parents spend time with children in everyday life: (i) Cultural activities; (ii) Watching TV; (iii) social activities. Empirical analyses are based on representative data from the "2000 British Time Use Survey" for cohabiting and married couples with dependent children.

Parents' Time with Children and Socioeconomic Position

The quality and quantity of time that children spend with parents is considered a critical investment for children's future behavioral and cognitive skills (Waldfogel, 2006). Contemporary norms of 'good parenting' are associated with the notion that parents should actively promote children's social, cultural, and cognitive skills (Bianchi et al., 2006; Craig, 2006b). Historical research revealed macro-level changes towards a child-oriented parenting norm in Western countries since the end of the 19th century (Aries, 1961), with a particular proliferation of parenting concerns with children's cognitive development since the 1950s (Alwin, 2004; Schaub, 2010). Not only parenting values changed during this period. Consistent with this normative shift, fathers' and mothers' child care time increased significantly in the majority of industrialized countries for the period 1960-2000, even as paid work hours went up for the same period (Gauthier et al., 2004; Sayer et al., 2004). Although the gender gap in child care has been reduced in

recent decades, mothers remain the main providers of child care, especially in the most time and energy demanding activities, such as physical-related care and children's general supervision (Craig & Mullan, 2011; Craig, 2006a).

The parenting literature typically distinguishes 'direct' (i.e., face-to-face feeding, playing, and teaching) from 'indirect' care activities (child care combined with different activities, like housework or leisure) (see Bittman et al., 2004). Even if scholars have recently stressed the importance of adopting a more multidimensional concept of parent-child interactions (Folbre et al., 2005; Lareau, 2003), the literature has almost exclusively studied direct child care activities. Scholars paid little attention to study how parents include their children in everyday life leisure activities, despite previous research suggesting that parent-child and family-orchestrated leisure practices play a fundamental role in children's socio-emotional well-being and cognitive traits (Craig & Mullan, 2012; Guralnick, 2008). Parents (especially mothers) spend a significant amount of time combining child care with leisure activities, and these practices have actually increased notably between the 1970s and 2000s (Bianchi et al., 2006). There are some studies that analyzed demographic variations in parent-child leisure patterns. For example, Dew (2009) found with American time use data that couples with small children protect their leisure time with children by curtailing their own individual and spousal time without children. Craig and Mullan's (2012) study shows cross-national differences in how institutions and gender norms affect mothers' leisure time with children. However, studies on how mothers or fathers socioeconomic position explain leisure activities with children have been rare, and mostly centered in the case of the United States (see Lareau, 2003; Yeung et al., 2001, for an exception).

The study of how parents' social position is correlated with a variety of specific parent-child leisure activities is important to understand how the transmission of cultural capital operates across the society (Bourdieu, 1984; DiMaggio, 1982). Children's *cultural and human capital* is enhanced when parents participate with children in a wide range of cultural activities. There are other leisure activities that are expected to directly influence children's *social capital* (Coleman, 1988). When parents include their children in various social activities with individuals from outside the family, children may participate in social networks that stimulate their present and future interpersonal skills. In contrast, other leisure activities were identified with less engaging cultural and interpersonal skills, such as for instance watching TV. This activity is expected to

produce poor intellectual and health outcomes when too much time is involved on it (Bianchi & Robinson, 1997; Graves, 1993). Williams and colleagues (1982) concluded in their review of the literature that the overall effect of watching TV is slightly positive for up to 10 weekly hours of viewing, while beyond 10 hours effects are negative and increasingly more deleterious until viewing time reaches 35 to 40 hours. Despite the positive cognitive effects of watching certain cultural TV programs for child development, especially when such activity takes place under the active supervision of parents (Huston et al., 1999), too much time exposed to watching TV in everyday family life would discourage children's cognitive stimulation, reducing their time in important activities for their human capital accumulation and personal development, such as reading, playing music, or practicing sports.

How does parents' leisure time with children vary across the social and educational ladder? The debate on whether parents' socioeconomic is related to different parenting norms and practices with effects on child development has been in the sociological agenda at least since the 1950s. Early studies with data for the U.S. suggested that middle-class parents conform to child developmental authoritative values and self-direction, whereas working-class parents' are more identified with traditional, conservative, and rigid parental values (Kohn, 1977). In the 1970s, several European scholars suggested that the reproduction of educational inequality responds to class differences in children's family socialization with important domains in the stratification system, namely distinct linguistic codes (Bernstein, 1971), attitudes towards work and education (Willis, 1977), and cultural capital accumulation and proximity to the schooling system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2003). Lareau (2003) recently merged these previous studies into a renewed approach to class differences in family life and parent-child behaviors. In her ethnographic study, she found that American middle and upper class parents have an approach to parenting that fits with her concept of "concerted cultivation" (*cultivation*). This consists of a strong engagement in supervised parental care activities (including structured leisure activities) that foster children's 'talents' associated with the formation of cultural and social capital. In contrast, poor and working-class parents were found to conform to the parenting styles that she defines as "accomplishment of natural growth" (*natural growth*), responding to the normative assumption that family activities should not conflict with children's free time and, thereby, parents' should not systematically interfere in children's routines.

Using an influenced by Bourdieu's (1984) concept of cultural capital, previous studies found that parental socioeconomic resources are correlated with intensive parenting norms and practices that are directly connected to children's cognitive development and educational achievement (Bodovski & Farkas, 2008; De Graff et al., 2000; Hsin, 2009; Roksa & Potter, 2011; Sullivan, 2001).

The quantitative time use literature has provided important evidence on educational difference in parental care allocation. These studies found that parental education is positively correlated with parents' child care time, including both developmental and physical-related child care activities (Banchi et al., 2006; Gracia, Ghysels, & Vercammen, 2011; Kalil et al., 2012 Sayer, Gauthier, & Furstenberg, 2004; Sullivan, 2010). However, we do not know whether these differences also apply to important domain of children's socialization, like parent-child watching TV and participation in cultural and social activities. Moreover, as noted by Kingston (2000), the study of class differences in parent-child interactions was completely omitted from the quantitative literature on parenting and family routines. In fact, Kingston (2000) has himself challenged the importance of class as a predictor of meaningful differences in child-rearing practices, and argued that education might be more directly related to parenting differences that social class. This question, however, has not received any specific focus in the time use literature on parents' time with children, in part because scholars paid more attention to the similarities between class and education in explaining child care differences than to their differences (Bianchi et al., 2004; Sayer et al., 2004).

Social class and education are undoubtedly correlated. Parents at the bottom of the educational strata tend to be employed in low-skilled jobs. Parents with higher educational credentials are prone to be employed in managerial and -especially- professional occupations that demand high levels of skills[1]. However, education and social class are different concepts (Erikson & Golthorpe, 1992). Social class may capture systematic differences in economic power, status, and group identities that influence class-specific informal and formal social interactions in everyday life. Individuals' occupational class may influence their social relations derived from interactions at the workplace and derived social circles. In contrast, education would

[1] A matrix correlation of the main covariates of analysis will be included in the future. Class and education are clearly correlated. Yet, occupational class and years of education have a correlation that is always below 0.42. Thus, I can investigate the independent effect of each of these two variables within a multivariate statistical framework.

provide information on intrinsic personality traits and cognitive skills that can be transferred into human capital. Thus, highly-educated parents would be expected to have different lifestyles than lower educated parents, regardless of their social position. The extent to which these two variables explain variations in parents' time with children needs should be investigated in order to better understand the conditions under which parents' time with children diverges across the population.

Hypotheses

A review of the literature on family and stratification, which has been in part introduced in the previous section, presents three distinct hypotheses that can guide the empirical test of whether education or social class explain parents' participation in specific leisure practices with children. These three theoretical hypotheses are: the 'individualization', 'education gradational', and the 'social class categorical'.

Individualization Hypothesis

Individualization theory does not explicitly theorize about parenting styles in contemporary advanced societies. However, this theory argues that individuals' behaviors and family life have become de-standardized in contemporary advanced societies (Beck, 1992; 2007), an approach that can be directly extrapolated to parent-child daily interactions. Thus, individualization theory would argue that social class or related indicators of socioeconomic status (i.e. income, occupation, and education) do not explain individuals' behaviors within the family. On the contrary, the individualization thesis suggests that individuals' lifestyles within the family are shaped by subjective experiences and preferences independent of social contexts.

H- I: From an individualization perspective, neither parents' social class nor education would be associated to different leisure practices in the family.

Education Gradient Hypothesis

A second theoretical perspective adopts a *gradational* approach, suggesting that socioeconomic differences in family practices are better understood as a series of disparate patterns that follow a gradational pattern (Kingston, 2000). In this sense, scholars who adopt a gradational approach argue, like individualization theorists, that class cultures and identities have largely disappeared in contemporary post-industrial societies. Thus, Kingston (2000: 131) states that in the U.S., "in terms of actual time

commitments, the broad contours of domestic life for married couples are remarkably similar across the classes". He argues that a similar reality applies to parent-child relations and family routines (Kingston, 2000). The gradational approach, however, posits that individual variables, like parental education (i.e. years of education) or occupational characteristics (i.e., family-work patterns) may have a substantial independent effect on individuals' family practices (Kingston, 2000). From an education gradational perspective, individuals with more years of education would spend the highest number of minutes in leisure practices with children that enrich their social and cultural outcomes. Highly educated parents, in contrast, would reduce their total time spent with children watching TV, so as to make sure that their children do not watch TV 'too much' time, even if they are supervised. This would be expected to be the case as a result of educational, not class, differences in parents' adherence to norms and practices of intensive parenting.

H- II: From an education gradational thesis, parental education, unlike social class, has a significant effect on parents' leisure activities with children on cultural and social activities and a negative effect on watching TV with children.

Social Class Categorical Hypothesis

The third approach adopts a *class categorical* perspective. Unlike the individualization and gradational approaches, the class categorical approach argues that social class captures radically distinct and independent 'cultural logics' of family life and child-rearing behaviors (Bourdieu, 1984; Lareau, 2003). Lareau (2002: 772) argues that American parents from privileged backgrounds "do transmit advantages to their children in patterns that are sufficiently consistent and identifiable to be described as a 'cultural logic' of childrearing". Unlike the education gradational perspective, Lareau (2003) argues that differences between *cultivation* and *natural growth* (explained above) are class-driven, rather than based on educational differences. Therefore, watching TV with children (associated with natural growth) would be an activity that would be especially common among the working classes. In contrast, parents' participation in cultural and social activities with children, which are related to children's formation of social, human, and cultural capital, would be disproportionately common amongst the middle and upper classes.

H- III: The social class categorical hypothesis posits that social class, unlike education, has a significant positive effect on parents' leisure activities with children on cultural and social activities, and a negative one on watching TV with children.

Data and Methodology

Data

The literature suggests that time use data are the most reliable statistical sources to examine how individuals spend time in a random day (Robinson, 1985). The "2000 British Time Use Survey" (BTUS) is a representative survey of the British population that contains two time-diaries: one reported on a random weekday (Monday-Friday) and a second one reported on a random weekend (Saturday-Sunday). Diary respondents reported their daily activities for every 10 minutes along the 1,440 minutes of the day of observation, including information on a wide range of activities like reading, watching TV and videos, attending cultural events, listening to the radio, or participating in social activities, amongst others. Respondents reported their main activity (primary activity) and their second most important simultaneous activity (secondary activity), but also included information on whether or not children were present in each activity. The BTUS also included several individual and household level variables, allowing to study the effects of different socioeconomic and demographic variables on individuals' time use allocation.

My analytical sample includes heterosexual couples (married or unmarried) who have at least one child aged 0 to 15. All parents of my sample have an age compressed between 25 and 60 years. The general rate of response of the BTUS is high (90.5%) and the data are weighted for a representative population. Those cases with missing values in some variables were excluded from the original sample. This includes cases with missing information for the variables on social class, people who never worked, and households where the person was a student at the time of the interview (this represents 5% of the sample). The definitive samples sum 851 mothers and 893 fathers.

Measures

The *dependent variables* were based on two diaries reported by each respondent, compressing an overall time of 48 hours. Both primary and secondary activities were counted for each leisure activity (secondary activities were excluded when a related leisure activity was reported as primary activity within the same time spell). The

average time allocated to each activity resulted from the following formula to obtain the weekly average time for each activity (Y):

*[Time allocated to Y on weekday * 5] + [Time allocated to Y on weekend * 2] / 7*

To create my dependent variables, I first considered the total time spent in three leisure activities: (1) parents' time allocated to cultural activities (i.e. attending cultural events, visiting museums, reading, going to the theatre, and listening to music); (2) parents' time allocated to social life activities (i.e. receiving visitors, attending social events, volunteering, and feasts); (3) parents' time allocated to watching TV and related videos (Table Annex I). For each three levels of variables, I used three measures: (i) the total time spent in the activity (with and without the child) (continuous); (ii) the total time spent in the activity with the presence of one or more dependent children (continuous); (iii) the proportion of time in each activity with children over the total leisure time with children (0-1 ratio) (see Table 1). The three measures for each leisure category allow us to investigate social class and educational differences in parents' leisure time with children.

The two *independent variables* of the study are 'parental education' and 'occupational class' (see Table 2). 'Parental education' counts the equivalent years of formal education that each person has completed to reach her/his highest level of education. 'Occupational class' represents a reduced version of the occupational classes integrated in the Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero (EGP) class scheme (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992). This neo-Weberian EGP class scheme has been extensively used in previous research and is well-suited for a multivariate statistical framework that includes the variable parental education in the same statistical model. I merged some categories of the 7 EGP class scheme to create a 5 class categorical scheme. In fact, the 5 categories scheme produced related results, but a more robust estimator than the original EGP scheme, due to the larger number of cases for each category of class (see Table 2). These are the 5 class categories that were used in the analyses: (1) High-graded managers and professionals (Class I); (2) Lower service class (Class II); (3) Routine non-manual workers, small employers, self-employed workers (nonprofessional), and farmers (Classes IIIa, IIIb, IVa, IVb, IVc); (4) Technicians of lower grade, supervisors of manual workers, and skilled manual workers (Class V, VI); (5) Unskilled

manual/non-manual workers (Class VIIa, VIIb). It is important to stress that my independent variables were never correlated above 0.42.

The *control variables* are (see Table 2): 'father's employment ' (unemployed/inactive, standard full-time, and overworking); 'mother's employment ' (unemployed/inactive, part-time job, and full-time job); 'number of children'; 'child aged 0-4'; 'domestic work help'; "outside child care".

Analysis Plan

The empirical strategy followed two steps. I first provide descriptive evidence on the average minutes that mothers and fathers spent on three leisure activities with children (cultural, TV, and social) and report these differences by respondents' levels of education and occupational class (Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4). Secondly, I present my multivariate results based on Ordinary Least Squares' (OLS) regressions for the three types of leisure activities that are studied, running different models for mothers and fathers: (1) cultural activities (Table 3); (2) TV and related videos (Table 4); (3) social activities (Table 4). As explained above, three different measures can be found in the different empirical analyses: (i) The total time allocated to each leisure activity with or without children; this measure indicates individuals' leisure preferences; (ii) The total time spent in the activity with one or more children present. I ran two models for this dependent variable; the second model controls for the total time allocated to the activity, so as to teasing out whether or not the observed effects in the time with children reflect parents' own leisure patterns, regardless of children's presence in the activity; (iii) The ratio of time spent with children in each activity over the total leisure time with children; this indicator measures the quality of leisure time with parents that children receive over their total leisure time with parents.

Findings

Descriptive Results

Figure 1 presents the average time that fathers of different levels of education spent in specific leisure activities with children: cultural activities, social life, and watching TV. First of all, one observes that the lower is the level of education, the more time fathers spend watching TV with children. Differences in TV watching with children are clear between fathers with college education (60 minutes) and fathers with basic education

(about 80 minutes). For cultural activities with children, a remarkable education gradient is observed, ranging from 35 minutes at the bottom of the educational ladder to almost one hour (55 minutes) at the top. A certain positive relationship between father's education and social activities with children is observed, yet this relationship is residual and does not follow a linear pattern.

Figure 2 presents the relationship between mother's education and leisure time with children. Education and TV watching appear to have a less clear association for mothers than for fathers. A general increasing time is observed from mothers with the lowest levels of education (about 75 minutes) to those with 12 years of education (82 minutes). However, from the 12 years of education to the highest educational levels, mothers' average TV time is reduced by 20 minutes. In addition, mothers at the bottom of the educational ladder spent 60 minutes in cultural activities with children, while a linear increase in time is observed from the 10 to the 20 years of education, with college-educated mothers spending about 100 minutes in these practices. Finally, a positive association is also observed between mother's education and social activities with children. Whereas mothers at the bottom of the educational ladder spent close to 20 minutes to these activities, those with a university degree spent about 40 minutes in these activities with children. These associations were somewhere in between for those with intermediate levels of education (about 30 minutes).

Figures 3 and 4 present the relationship between the three leisure activities with children and occupational class for fathers and mothers. For fathers (Figure 3), the class correlates for watching TV and cultural/educational practices are comparable to the ones of education. Managers and professionals spent the lowest amount of minutes watching TV (about 65) and the largest time in cultural/educational activities with children (about 55 minutes). In contrast, manual and non-manual working-class fathers spent close to 80 minutes in watching TV with children, but only 35 minutes in cultural practices with children. Like for education, the relationship between occupational class and participation in social activities with children is marginal, with a slightly positive association between both variables.

The class associations for mothers are clearly salient (Figure 4). First, a linear relationship is observed for watching TV, with a clear positive relationship observed from higher managers and professionals (40 minutes) to mothers in intermediate and

working-class positions (80 minutes). A rather opposed pattern can be observed for mothers' participation in cultural activities. This patterns ranges from more than 90 minutes amongst mothers in higher-graded managerial and professional occupations to less than 60 minutes for the unskilled working-class. Finally, for mothers' social activities with children, a linear pattern, clearer than for education, is observed. This differential ranges from about 45 minutes amongst higher-graded professionals and managers to about 25 minutes for unskilled working-class mothers.

Multivariate Results for Cultural Activities

Table 3 shows that the level of education and occupational class are correlated with both mothers' and fathers' participation in cultural activities. This finding suggests that the individualization thesis on cultural consumption cannot be applied in Britain, at least in terms cultural consumption patterns. Now, how does education and social class predict the time that parents spend with children in activities with cultural and educational aims? For mothers, one observes a clear increase in the time spent in cultural activities with children (p-value < 0,01) and also a significant effect for occupational class. Mothers in professional and managerial occupations spent between 20 and 30 minutes more to cultural activities with children than unskilled working-class mothers (p-value < 0,05). However, these effects disappeared when the total time spent in cultural activities was included in the model. This effect implies that educational and social class differentials in mothers' time with children are due to differences in parents' cultural patterns, regardless of the presence of children. A strong education gradient in mothers' proportion of time in cultural activities with children over the total leisure time with children is observed, with an increase of 22% (p-value < 0,001). A weaker, but still significant effect, is observed for higher-graded managers and professionals, with a coefficient of 0.11 (p-value < 0,05) relative to the unskilled working-class.

For the group of fathers, in contrast, social class does not have any relevant impact on the total minutes spent with children in educational activities. This is quite surprising, especially due to the fact that fathers in a (lower) managerial and professional occupational class are disproportionately engaged in cultural activities. Fathers' years of education is correlated with father's minutes spent in cultural activities with children (p-value < 0,05), even if the effect also disappears when controlling for the total time spent

on cultural activities. Finally, neither education nor social class predicts any difference in the relative leisure time that fathers spent in cultural activities.

Multivariate Results for TV Activities

Table 4 shows that educational and social class differences for watching TV are most salient for mothers than for fathers. Mothers' occupational class has a strong negative correlation with the total time spent watching TV, with 40 minutes less amongst mothers in Class II and 58 minutes less for those in Class I, as compared to their counterparts in Class VII (p-value < 0,001). On the contrary, education does not have any significant effect on the total time watching TV. Yet, interestingly, one observes that the effects of education and social class on mothers' time with children watching TV are significant, but showing important different patterns. Occupational class, unlike education, has a strong negative effect on the time that mothers spent watching TV, with coefficients of -38 for mothers in high managerial and professional occupations (p-vale < 0,01) and -20 for those in lower graded managerial and professional occupations (p-value 0,05). In contrast, when controlling for the total time watching TV, the effect of social class disappears, whereas the impact of education becomes significantly positive (p-value 0,01). This result implies that maternal education increases the propensity to include children in watching TV, probably as a strategy to monitor the type of programs that children watch and to stimulate children's cognitive development. However, education is negatively correlated with the proportion of leisure time with children that mothers spend watching TV (p-value 0,05), one effect that is not observed for mothers' occupational class.

The multivariate results for fathers' TV activities with children do not present social class differences whatsoever. One can observe, however, that father's education decreases the time allocated to watch TV (p-value < 0,05). Yet, this effect would mainly capture the time that fathers spent watching TV without children, rather than the time together with children. Finally, as in the models for mothers, education -unlike social class- is negatively correlated with the proportion of time that fathers watched TV with children over the total leisure time with children (p-value < 0,01).

Multivariate Results for Social Activities

Table 5 presents the OLS results for social activities. In line with descriptive analyses, class and education have weaker effects on social activities than on TV and cultural time. Again, differences by parental class and education are more visible amongst mothers than amongst fathers. The only relevant effect observed for fathers is that fathers at the top of the class hierarchy are significantly more engaged in social activities than the rest of fathers (p-value 0,05). However, these differences are not observed for social activities with children.

For mothers, one observes that maternal education only has a significant positive effect on the social capital ratio over the total leisure with children (p-value < 0,05). In contrast, mothers' participation in any type of social activity is significantly correlated with Class II (p-value < 0,01) and -to a lesser extent- with Class I (p-value 0,01). In addition, mothers in managerial and professional occupations are also disproportionately engaged in social activities with children, with coefficients ranging between 16 and 19 (p-value < 0,05). These effects, however, disappear when controlling for the total time in social activities. These results suggest that class variations in mothers' social activities with children are explained by the fact that privileged mothers include children in activities in which they are engaged also without children.

Discussion

This article was motivated by contemporary sociological debates on whether parents' social class and education explain differences in individuals' lifestyles, parenting, and family life (Crompton, 2010; Kingston, 2000; Lareau, 2003). Using the "2000 British Time Use Survey", I examined the time that parents allocate to a range of leisure activities linked to children's educational, cultural, and social development: cultural activities, watching TV and related videos, and participation in social activities. Drawing on Lareau's (2003) theory and related approaches, I examined whether class and education explain differences in these parent-child leisure activities.

Some limitations have to be stressed. Only the time spent in activities with children can be studied with my data, and not the qualitative meaning of the interactions that take place at each moment of the day. Children's activities were not considered either. Quantitative (Yeung et al., 2001) and qualitative (Lareau, 2003) have paid attention to

children's daily practices. However, children's personality and practices can be highly influenced by their interaction with parents in certain activities that affect their representation of the world and skills. In any case, how children of different family backgrounds spend time in daily activities should be addressed in future research.

Still, the study of how parents include children in activities with cultural, social, and human capital implications is important to better understand socioeconomic differences in children's life chances. Preliminary results present stronger differences in mothers' socioeconomic position in terms of parent-child leisure than in fathers'. A future version of the paper will investigate more carefully the role of different cultural activities in family leisure time. In the future, I will discuss more specifically differences between education and social class, as well as gender differences, in explaining parents' leisure activities with children.

References

Alwin, D. (2004). "Parenting practices" (pp. 142-157), in J. Scott, M. Richards, and J. Treas [Eds.], *Blackwell Companion to the Sociology of Families*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Arendell, T. (1997). "A social constructionist approach to Parenting" (pp. 1-44), in Terry Arendell [ed.], *Contemporary Parenting: Challenges and Issues*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

Beck, U. (2007). 'Beyond class and nation: reframing social inequalities in a globalizing world.' *British Journal of Sociology*. 58(4): 679-705.

Bernstein, B. (1971). *Class, Codes and Control; Vol. 1: Theoretical Studies towards a Sociology of Language*. London: Routledge.

Bianchi, S, & Robinson, J. (1997) 'What did you do today? Children's use of time, family composition, and the acquisition of social capital.' *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 59 (May): 332-44.

Bianchi, S. M., Robinson, J. P., & Milkie, M. A. (2006). *Changing rhythms of American family life*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Bittman, M., Craig, L., & Folbre, N. (2004). "Packaging Time. What happen when children receive nonparental care?", in M.Bittman and N.Folbre, [Eds.] *Family time: the social organization of care*. New York: Routledge.

Bodovski, Katerina & George Farkas. (2008). 'Concerted Cultivation' and Unequal Achievement in Elementary School.'' Social Science Research 37: 903-19.

Boudon, R. (1974). *Education, opportunity and social inequality*. New York: Wiley.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction*: *A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). "The forms of capital", in J.G. Richardson [ed.], *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.C. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. London: Sage Publications.

Breen, R., & Goldthorpe, J.H. (1997). 'Explaining educational differentials: Towards a formal rational action theory.' *Rationality and Society*, 9(3), 275-305.

Brooks-Gunn, J., Han,W.-J., & Waldfogel, J. (2002). 'Maternal Employment and Child Cognitive Outcomes in the First Three Years of Life: The NICHD Study of Early Child Care', *Child Development* 73(4): 1052–72.

Cardoso, A.R., Monfardini, Ch., & Fontainha, E. (2010). 'Children's and parents' time use: Empirical evidence on investment in human capital in France, Germany and Italy.' *Review of Economics of the Household*, 2010, 8(4): 479-504.

Coleman, J. S. (1988). 'Social capital in the creation of human capital.' *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 95-120.

Coltrane, S. (2004). "Fathering: paradoxes, contradictions, and dilemmas" (pp. 224-243), in M. Coleman and L. Ganong [Eds.], *Handbook of Contemporary Families: Considering the Past, Contemplating the Future.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Craig, L. (2006b) 'Parental education, time in paid work and time with children.' *British Journal of Sociology*, 57, 553-75.

Craig, L. & Mullan, K. (2011) 'Shared parent-child leisure time in four countries.' *Leisure Studies*, Published online (DOI:10.1080/02614367.2011.573570).

Crompton, R. (2010) 'Class and employment.' *Work, Employment & Society*. 24(1): 9-26.

De Graaf, Nan Dirk, Paul M. De Graaf, & Gerbert Kraaykamp. (2000). ''Parental Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment in the Netherlands: A Refinement of the Cultural Capital Perspective.'' *Sociology of Education* 73:92-111.

Dew, J. P. (2009). 'Has the marital time cost of parenting changed over time?' *Social Forces*, 88, 519 - 541

DiMaggio, P. (1982). 'Cultural capital and school success: the impact of status culture participation on the grades of U.S. high school students.' *American Sociological Review*, 47, 189–201.

Eisenberg, M.E., Olson, R.E., Neumark-Sztainer, D., Story, M., & Bearinger, L.H. (2004) 'Correlations between family meals and psychosocial well-being among adolescents.' *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine*, 158:792-796.

Erikson, R. & Goldthorpe, J. (1992). *The constant flux*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Esping-Andersen, G. (2009). *The incomplete revolution. Adapting to women's new roles*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Farkas, G. (2003). 'Cognitive skills and noncognitive traits and behaviors in stratification processes.' *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29, 541- 562.

Folbre, N., Yoon, J., Finnof, K., & Fuligni, S.F. (2005). 'By what measure? Family time devoted to children in the United States.' *Demography*, 42(2), 373-390.

Gauthier, A. H., Smeeding, T. M., & Furstenberg, F.F.J. (2004). 'Are parents investing less time in children? Trends in selected industrialized countries.' *Population and Development Review*, 30(4), 647-671.

Gershuny, J. (2000). *Changing times: work and leisure in postindustrial society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gracia, P. (2012). "Paternal Involvement and Children's Developmental Stages in Spain." *Demosoc Working Paper - UPF*, Doc. 46.

Graves, SB. (1993). "Television, the portrayal of African Americans, and the development of children's attitudes", in Gordon L. (Ed); Asamen, Joy Keiko (Ed), *Children and television: Images in a changing sociocultural world* (pp. 179-190). Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage.

Guralnick, M. (2008). "Family influences on early development: Integrating the science of normative development, risk and disability, and intervention" (pp. 44-61), in K. McCartney and D. Phillips [eds.], *Blackwell Handbook of Early Childhood Development*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Heckman, J. (2006). 'Skill formation and the economics of investing in disadvantaged children.' *Science*, 312(5782), 1900-1902.

Hsin, A. (2009). 'Parent's time with children: Does time matter for children's cognitive achievement?.' *Social Indicators Research*, 93, 123-126.

Kalil, Ariel, Rebecca Ryan, and M. Corey. (2012). "Diverging Destinies: Maternal Education and Investments in Children." *Demography*. Forthcoming.

Kingston, P. (2000). *The classless society*. Stanford CA: Stanford Univ. Press.

Kingston, P.W., & Nock, S. (1987) "Time Together among Dual-Earner Couples," *American Sociological Review*, 52, 3 (1987): 391-400.

Kohn, M. (1977). *Class and Conformity*: *A Study in Values*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago.

Lareau, A. (2002). 'Invisible inequality: social class and childrearing in black families and white families,' *American Sociological Review*, 67, 747-776.

Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal chances: class, race and family life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Lareau, A. (2008) "Introduction: Taking stock of class" (pp. 3-24), in A.Lareau and D. Conley [ed.], *Social Class: How Does it Work?* New York: The Russell Sage Foundation.

Morgan, S. L. (2006). "Past themes and future prospects for research on social and economic mobility" (pp. 3-20), in S.L. Morgan, D.L. Grusky, and G. Fields [eds.], *Mobility and Inequality: Frontiers of Research in Sociology and Economics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Nock, S.L., & Kingston, P.W. (1988). 'Time with children: The impact of couples' work-time commitments.' *Social Forces*, 67, 59-86.

Pleck, J. (2010). 'Paternal involvement: revised conceptualization and theoretical linkages with child outcomes' (pp. 58-93), in M. Lamb [ed.] (2010) *The role of father in child development*. New York: John Willey.

Presser, H.B. (1994). 'Employment schedules among dual-earner spouses and the division of household labor by gender.' *American Sociological Review,* 59(3), 348-364.

Robinson, J. (1985). 'The validity and reliability of diaries versus alternative time use measures', in F. Thomas Juster and Frank P. Stafford [eds.], *Time, Goods, and Well-Being*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Roksa, J. & Potter, P. (2011). 'Parenting and academic achievement: Intergenerational transmission of educational advantage.' *Sociology of Education*, 84(4), 299 - 321.

Sayer, L. C., Bianchi, S. M., & Robinson, J. P. (2004a). 'Are parents investing less in children? Trends in mothers' and fathers' time with children.' *American Journal of Sociology,* 110(1), 1-43.

Sayer, L. C., Gauthier, A. H., & Furstenberg, F. F. J. (2004b). 'Educational differences in parents' time with children: cross-national variations.' *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66(5), 1152-1169.

Sullivan, A. 2001. 'Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment.' Sociology 35:893-912.

Sullivan, O. (2010). 'Changing differences by educational attainment in fathers' domestic labour and child care.' *Sociology*, 44(4), 716-733.

Willis, P. 1977. *Learning to labour: How working class kids get working class jobs.* Farnborough: Saxon House.

Yeung, W. J., Sandberg, J.F., Davis-Kean, P.S., & Hofferth, S.L. (2001). 'Children's time with fathers in intact families.' *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 63(1), 136-154.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Dependent Variables

Variables	*Mean*	*SD*
Mothers (n = 851)		
Average Minutes in Cultural Activities	145,98	109,67
Average Minutes in Cultural Activities with a Child	73,22	82,31
Ratio of Leisure with Children in Cultural Activities	0,47	0,35
Average Minutes in Watching TV	128,74	86,96
Average Minutes in TV Activities with a Child	75,12	74,99
Ratio of Leisure with Children in Watching TV	0,48	0,33
Average Minutes in Social Capital Activities	55,24	70,38
Average Minutes in Social Activities with a Child	32,62	55,25
Ratio of Leisure with Children in Social Activities	0,28	0,37
Fathers (n = 893)		
Average Minutes in Cultural Activities	116,21	104,86
Average Minutes in Cultural Activities with a Child	44,00	63,68
Ratio of Leisure with Children in Cultural Activities	0,35	0,35
Average Minutes in Watching TV	141,97	91,71
Average Minutes in TV Activities with a Child	74,46	79,26
Ratio of Leisure with Children in Watching TV	0,49	0,32
Average Minutes in Social Capital Activities	33,26	54,51
Average Minutes in Social Activities with a Child	16,56	37,62
Ratio of Leisure with Children in Social Activities	0,21	0,36

Source: "2000 British Time Use Survey"

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of Independent Variables and Controls

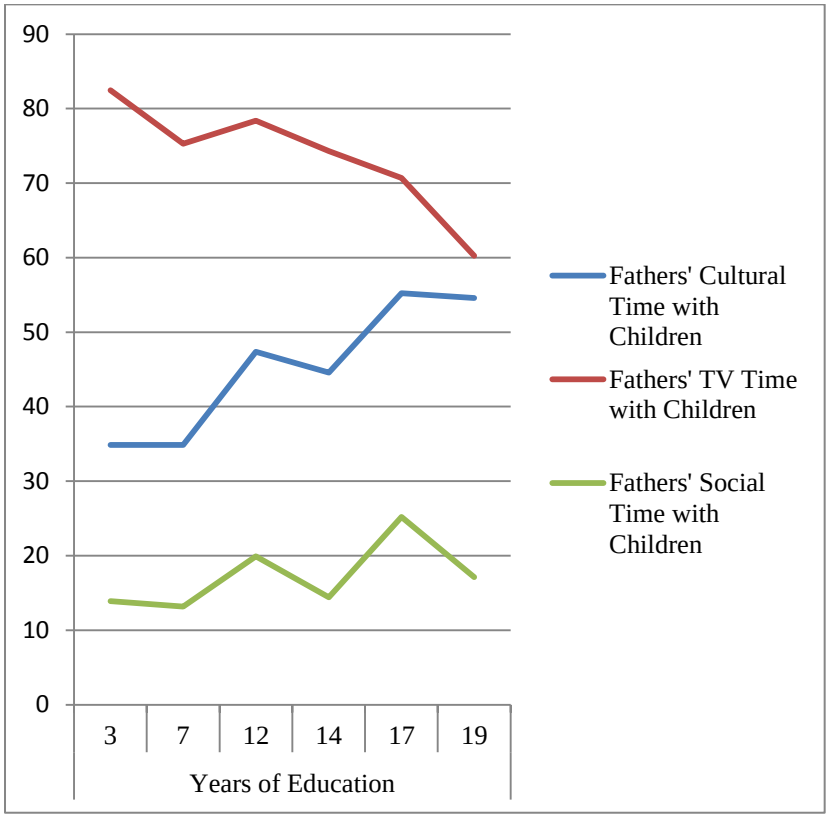
Variables	*Measure*	*Mean*	*SD*
Father's years of education	continuous	10,90	6,10
Mother's years of education	continuous	11,10	5,90
Father's EGP Class I	categorical	0,19	0,39
Father's EGP Class II	categorical	0,12	0,33
Father's EGP Class III, IVa, IVc	categorical	0,23	0,42
Father's EGP Class V, VI	categorical	0,24	0,43
Father's EGP Class VII	categorical	0,22	0,42
Mother's EGP Class I	categorical	0,06	0,23
Mother's EGP Class II	categorical	0,20	0,40
Mother's EGP Class III, IVa, IVb	categorical	0,26	0,44
Mother's EGP Class V, VI	categorical	0,26	0,44
Mother's EGP Class VII	categorical	0,22	0,42
Father Unemployed	categorical	0,11	0,31
Father Full-time Employed	categorical	0,50	0,50
Father Overworking	categorical	0,39	0,49
Mother Unemployed	categorical	0,29	0,45
Mother Part-time Employed	categorical	0,43	0,50
Mother Full-time Employed	categorical	0,28	0,45
Child aged under 6	categorical	0,44	0,50
Number of Children	continuous	1,85	0,86
External Child care help	categorical	0,33	0,47
Domestic Work Help	categorical	0,14	0,35
n = 893			

Source: "2000 British Time Use Survey"

* For mothers the N is 851. This means that 42 cases only contain information for fathers.

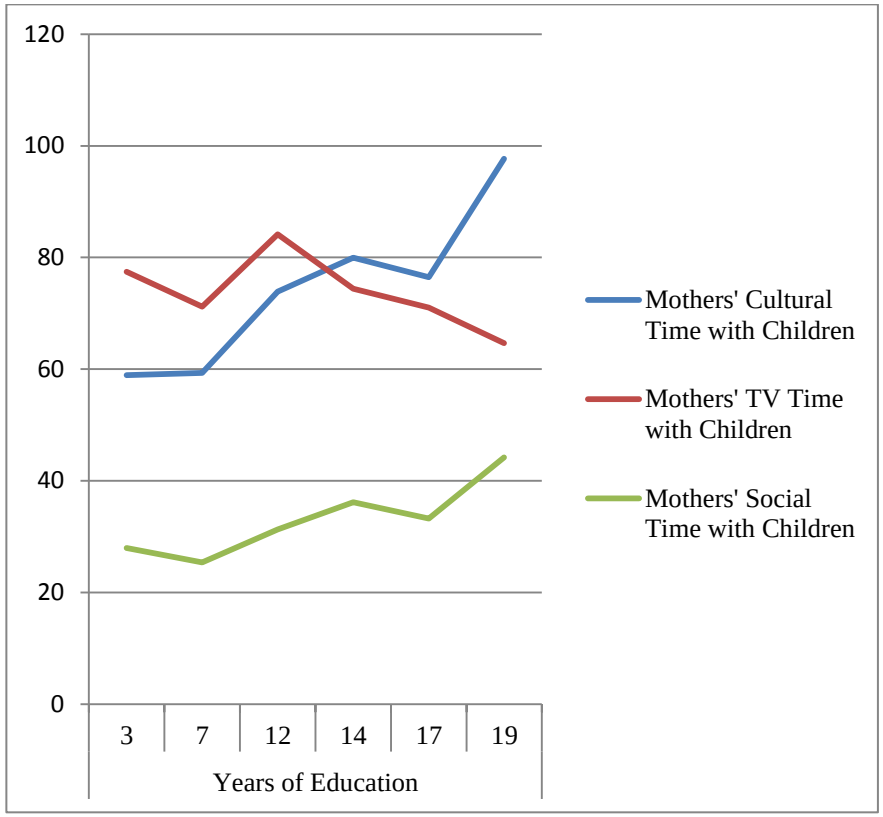
** The distributions for mothers will be presented in the future (yet, these are similar to fathers')

Figure 1 Fathers' Education and Leisure Time with Children



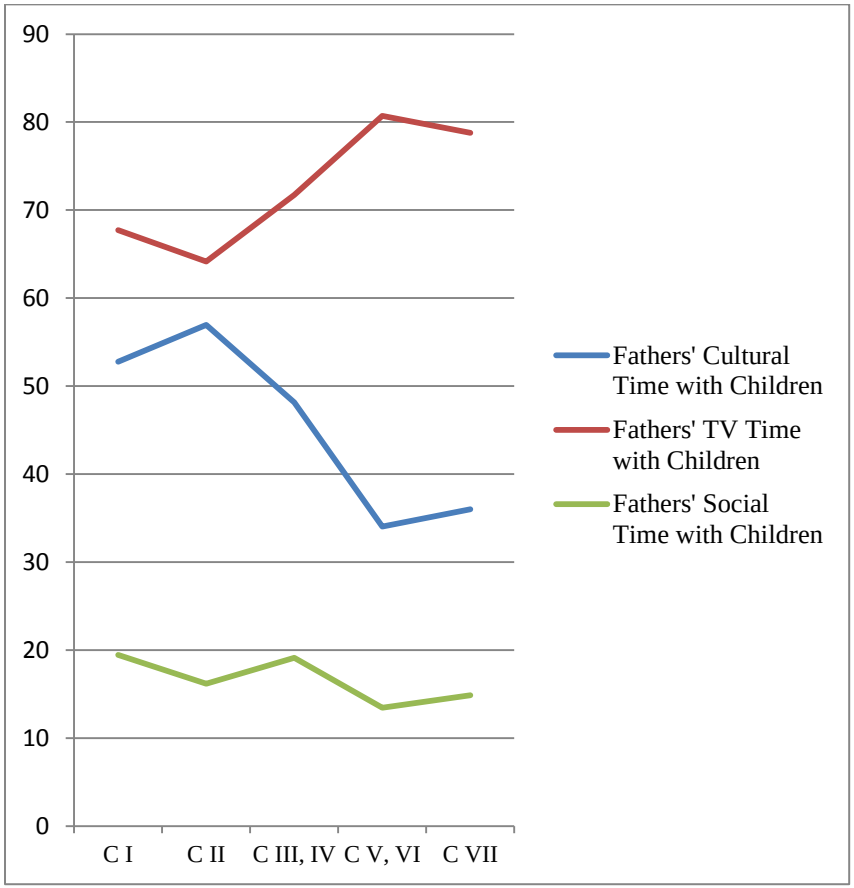
Source: "2000 British Time Use Study"

Figure 2. Mothers' Education and Leisure Time with Children



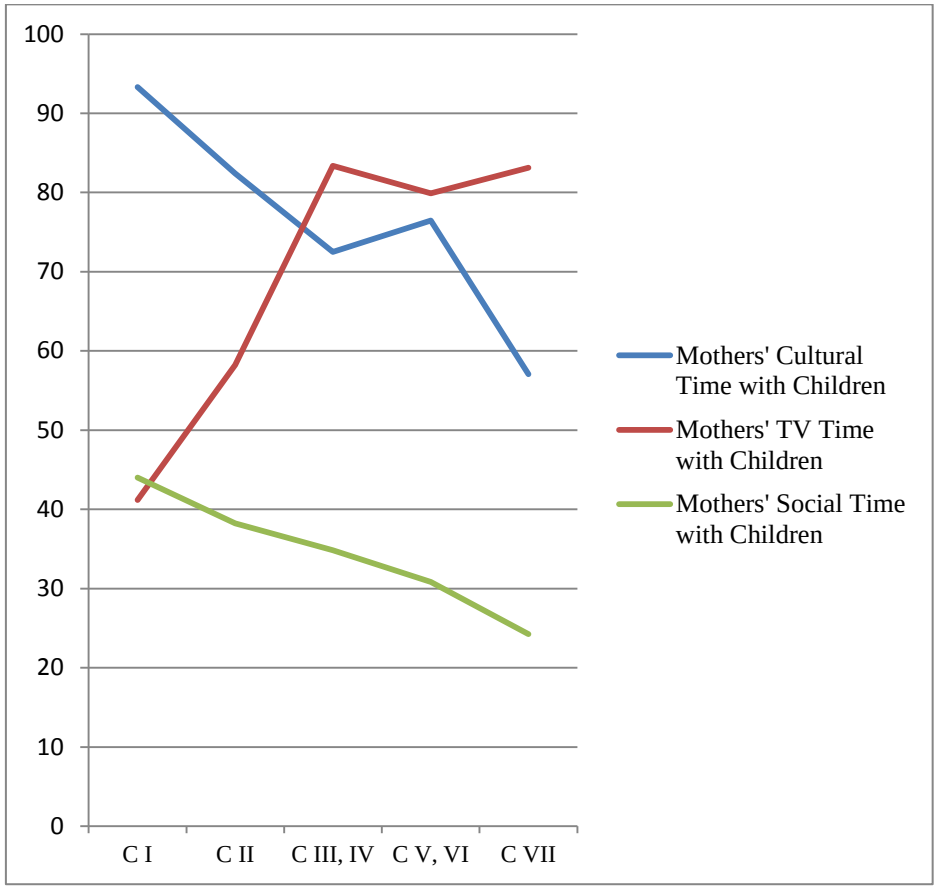
Source: "2000 British Time Use Study"

Figure 3. Fathers' Social Class and Leisure Time with Children



Source: "2000 British Time Use Study"

Figure 4. Mothers' Social Class and Leisure Time with Children



Source: "2000 British Time Use Study"

Table 3. OLS Regressions. Mothers' and Fathers' Average Minutes in Cultural Activities

	Mothers' Time in Cultural Activities												**Fathers' Time in Cultural Activities**										
	Total Cultural Time			Time with Children			Time with Children			Leisure Child Ratio			Total Culture Time			Time with Children			Time with Children			Leisure Child Ratio		
	Coeff	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*	
Total Cultural Time							0,5	0,0	***										0,4	0,0	***			
Years of Education	2,4	0,7	**	1,6	0,6	**	0,4	0,4		0,22	0,06	***	2,9	0,7	***	0,8	0,4	*	-0,2	0,3		0,00	0,00	
EGP - Class VII	ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.		
EGP - Class I	70,3	19,0	***	29,9	14,3	*	-4,5	11,0		0,11	0,04	*	18,7	11,7		9,7	7,3		2,9	5,9		0,01	0,04	
EGP - Class II	39,9	13,2	**	21,5	9,9	*	1,9	7,6		0,04	0,04		35,8	12,6	**	12,2	7,8		-0,7	6,4		0,06	0,04	
EGP - Class III, IVa, IVb	14,8	11,2		12,3	8,4		5,1	6,4		0,03	0,03		9,6	10,6		5,0	6,6		1,6	5,4		0,00	0,04	
EGP - Class V, VI	27,6	10,7	*	17,5	8,1	*	4,0	6,1		0,00	0,00		-14,3	9,9		-5,5	6,2		-0,3	5,0		0,00	0,03	
Father Standard Full-time	3,1	13,4		8,2	10,1		6,6	7,7		-0,01	0,04		-44,3	12,0	***	0,1	7,5		16,0	6,1	**	0,03	0,04	
Father Overwork	6,6	13,8		12,2	10,4		8,9	7,9		-0,03	0,04		-34,8	12,5	**	2,2	7,8		14,7	6,3	*	0,07	0,04	
Mother Part-time	-36,7	10,9	**	-30,9	8,2	***	-12,9	6,3	*	0,10	0,03	**	10,9	9,7		-0,3	6,0		-4,2	4,9		0,05	0,03	
Mother Full-time	-18,0	9,6		-14,6	7,2	*	-5,8	5,5		0,10	0,03	**	14,3	8,7		6,2	5,4		1,1	4,4		0,00	0,03	
Care Help	-16,6	8,7		-3,5	6,5		4,7	5,0		-0,11	0,03	***	-10,1	8,0		-1,5	5,0		2,1	4,1		-0,07	0,03	**
Outsourcing Domestic Work	-8,3	11,1		-9,0	8,3		-4,9	6,3		0,00	0,03		-13,8	10,3		-6,3	6,4		-1,3	5,2		0,02	0,03	
Intercept	138,9	18,5	***	39,8	13,9	**	-28,3	10,9	*	0,51	0,06	***	113,1	16,2	***	18,2	10,0		-22,5	8,4	**	0,41	0,05	***
Adj. R-Squared	0,06			0,05			0,45			0,07			0,07			0,03			0,36			0,04		
n	851			851			851			851			893			893			893			893		

Source: "2000 British Time Use Sudy"; Controlling for: 'Number of Children', 'Child aged 0-4'; 'Total Cultural Time', 'Time with Children', and 'Leisure Child Ratio' are based on weekly averages.

* p-value < 0,05 ** p-value < 0,01 *** p-value < 0,001

Table 4. OLS Regressions. Mothers' and Fathers' Average Minutes Watching TV

	Mothers' Time Watching TV												**Fathers' Time Watching TV**											
	Total TV Time			Time with Children			Time with Children			Leisure Child Ratio			Total TV Time			Time with Children			Time with Children			Leisure Child Ratio		
	Coeff	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*	
Total TV Time							0,6	0,0	***										0,6	0,0	***			
Years of Education	-1,1	0,6		0,6	0,5		1,2	0,4	**	-0,11	0,06	*	-1,4	0,6	*	-0,8	0,5		0,0	0,4		-0,01	0,00	**
EGP - Class VII	ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.		
EGP - Class I	-58,0	14,7	***	-38,2	12,9	**	-5,1	9,8		-0,08	0,04		-1,2	10,3		3,4	9,0		4,1	7,0		-0,01	0,04	
EGP - Class II	-41,3	10,2	***	-20,4	8,9	*	3,2	6,8		0,01	0,03		5,3	11,0		-4,2	9,7		-7,1	7,5		-0,01	0,04	
EGP - Class III, IVa, IVb	-16,7	8,7		3,4	7,6		12,9	5,8	*	-0,05	0,03		1,1	9,3		-1,0	8,2		-1,6	6,3		0,01	0,03	
EGP - Class V, VI	-22,1	8,3	**	-2,2	7,2		10,4	5,5		0,00	0,00		10,1	8,7		5,3	7,6		-0,3	5,9		0,07	0,03	*
Father Standard Full-time	-31,2	10,4	**	-14,5	9,1		3,3	6,9		-0,08	0,04	*	-59,6	10,6	***	-23,0	9,2	*	9,9	7,3		-0,06	0,04	
Father Overwork	-29,1	10,6	**	-11,8	9,3		4,8	7,1		-0,09	0,04	*	-65,1	11,0	***	-27,1	9,6	**	8,8	7,6		-0,02	0,04	
Mother Part-time	-34,4	8,4	***	-30,6	7,4	***	-11,0	5,6		0,10	0,03	**	7,5	8,6		-5,7	7,5		-9,9	5,8		0,04	0,03	
Mother Full-time	-38,9	7,4	***	-26,6	6,5	***	-4,4	5,0		0,03	0,03		2,7	7,7		4,4	6,7		2,9	5,2		-0,01	0,03	
Care Help	0,0	6,7		7,0	5,9		7,0	4,4		-0,05	0,03		-9,8	7,1		1,5	6,2		6,9	4,8		-0,05	0,02	*
Outsourcing Domestic Work	-1,5	8,6		-11,1	7,5		-10,2	5,7		0,00	0,03		-14,9	9,1		-7,4	7,9		0,8	6,2		0,00	0,03	
Intercept	225,1	14,3	***	89,9	12,5	***	-38,7	10,8	***	0,70	0,06	***	208,1	14,2	***	76,4	12,4	***	-38,5	10,7	***	0,66	0,05	***
Adj. R-Squared	0,10			0,08			0,47			0,06			0,07			0,04			0,42			0,05		
n	851			851			851			851			893			893			893			893		

Source: "2000 British Time Use Sudy"; Controlling for: 'Number of Children', 'Child aged 0-4' ; 'Total TV Time', 'Time with Children', and 'Leisure Child Ratio' are based on weekly averages.

* p-value < 0,05 ** p-value < 0,01 *** p-value < 0,001

Table 5. OLS Regressions. Mothers' and Fathers' Average Minutes in Social Activities

	Mothers' Time in Social Activities												**Fathers' Time in Social Activities**										
	Total Social Time			Time with Children			Time with Children			Leisure Child Ratio			Total Social Time			Time with Children			Time with Children			Leisure Child Ratio		
	Coeff	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*		*Coeff*	*SD*	
Total Social Time							0,6	0,0	***										0,5	0,0	***			
Years of Education	0,1	0,5		0,3	0,4		0,3	0,2		0,13	0,06	*	0,2	0,4		0,3	0,2		0,2	0,2		0,00	0,00	
EGP - Class VII	ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.			ref.		
EGP - Class I	31,1	12,4	*	19,6	9,7	*	0,5	5,9		0,06	0,04		13,8	6,2	*	3,1	4,3		-3,6	3,1		0,01	0,04	
EGP - Class II	24,0	8,6	**	16,5	6,7	*	1,8	4,1		0,01	0,04		-4,8	6,7		-2,0	4,6		0,4	3,3		0,01	0,04	
EGP - Class III, IVa, IVb	9,0	7,3		10,3	5,7		4,8	3,5		-0,01	0,04		2,3	5,6		1,2	3,9		0,1	2,8		-0,01	0,04	
EGP - Class V, VI	5,3	7,0		6,5	5,4		3,3	3,3		0,00	0,00		-5,8	5,3		-2,8	3,7		0,0	2,6		0,03	0,03	
Father Standard Full-time	6,3	8,8		5,2	6,8		1,3	4,2		-0,04	0,05		-27,8	6,4	***	0,6	4,4		14,1	3,2	***	0,03	0,04	
Father Overwork	8,2	9,0		9,6	7,0		4,6	4,3		-0,04	0,05		-22,4	6,6	**	4,6	4,6		15,5	3,3	***	0,08	0,04	
Mother Part-time	-22,9	7,1	**	-12,2	5,5	*	1,8	3,4		0,11	0,04	**	-0,7	5,2		1,8	3,6		2,2	2,6		0,05	0,03	
Mother Full-time	-11,1	6,3		-3,7	4,9		3,1	3,0		0,09	0,03	**	-1,4	4,6		3,0	3,2		3,7	2,3		-0,03	0,03	
Care Help	-6,4	5,7		-4,0	4,4		-0,1	2,7		-0,10	0,03	***	-0,4	4,3		-2,7	3,0		-2,5	2,1		-0,08	0,03	**
Outsourcing Domestic Work	-11,2	7,2		-3,9	5,6		3,0	3,5		0,00	0,04		-5,3	5,5		-3,2	3,8		-0,6	2,7		0,02	0,04	
Intercept	50,0	12,1	***	8,4	9,4		-22,3	5,8	***	0,39	0,06	***	46,5	8,6	***	4,4	5,9		-18,2	4,3	***	0,34	0,06	***
Adj. R-Squared	0,02			0,04			0,64			0,05			0,03			0,02			0,50			0,05		
n	851			851			851			851			893			893			893			893		

Source: "2000 British Time Use Sudy"; Controlling for: 'Number of Children', 'Child aged 0-4'; 'Total Cultural Time', 'Time with Children', and 'Leisure Child Ratio' are based on weekly averages.

* p-value < 0,05 ** p-value < 0,01 *** p-value < 0,001

ANNEXES

Annex Table I. Description of Practices in Leisure Activities (*)

	Examples of codes - MTUS (1)	Examples of activities
Cultural Activities	522, 523,524	Library, museums, cultural events, music, and theatre.
Social Activities	510, 511, 512, 513	Feasts, visiting friends, volunteering, and religious activities
Watching TV/Videos	821, 822	Watching TV and watching related videos
Total Leisure	activities 4999 to 8999	Any type of leisure activity with the child

Source: "2000 British Time Use Survey"

(1) Multinational Time Use Study database (For information on the harmonization and time use codes see: http://www.timeuse.org)

(2) Only in the OLS models I created two types of variables; in one case I looked at the total time in the activities; in the other at the total time in the activity with at least one dependent child in the home.

(*) In a future version I will provide more details on the coding procedure and the exact activities related to each category.