

# Leisure Time Satisfaction Profiles in Chile

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## Abstract

We explore patterns of leisure time satisfaction among Chilean adults using innovative methods. Through latent class analysis, we identified four different satisfaction patterns. Using multinomial logistic regression, we examined the sociodemographic factors that determine the probability of belonging to one or another of these patterns. The results showed that age was the main factor defining this probability, with those over 56 years of age as more likely to belong to the highest satisfaction class. This finding is consistent with empirical data on objective time availability. Regarding income, individuals in quintile 4 were less likely to be in the highest satisfaction group. We did not observe differences when comparing men and women. However, we observed differences when evaluating the intersection between sex and the conditions of living with a partner and having children aged 0–4 years. Our findings explore patterns of parenthood in heterosexual couples in Chile and suggest that women in such conditions are less likely to belong to the highest satisfaction class.

**Keywords:** leisure time; satisfaction; latent class; parenting

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**Resumen.** *Perfiles de satisfacción del tiempo libre en Chile*


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Utilizando métodos innovadores exploramos patrones de satisfacción con el tiempo libre en adultos chilenos. Mediante un análisis de clases latentes, identificamos cuatro patrones de satisfacción diferentes. Por medio de regresión logística multinomial, examinamos los factores sociodemográficos que determinan la probabilidad de pertenecer a uno u otro de estos patrones. Los resultados muestran que la edad es el principal factor que define esta probabilidad, siendo los mayores de 56 años los más propensos a pertenecer a la clase de mayor satisfacción. Esta conclusión es coherente con los datos empíricos sobre la disponibilidad objetiva de tiempo libre. En cuanto a los ingresos, los individuos del quintil 4 tienen menos probabilidades de pertenecer al grupo de mayor satisfacción. No observamos diferencias al comparar hombres y mujeres. Sin embargo, sí se observan al evaluar la intersección entre el sexo y las condiciones de vivir en pareja y tener hijos de 0 a 4 años. Nuestros hallazgos cuestionan los patrones de paternidad en parejas heterosexuales en Chile y sugieren que las mujeres en tales condiciones tienen menos probabilidades de pertenecer a la clase de mayor satisfacción.

**Palabras clave:** tiempo libre; satisfacción; clases latentes; parentalidad

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### Summary

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## 1. Introduction

The availability of leisure time is an important subject for analyzing modern societies (Han, 2015; Rosa, 2017), developing public policies (Harvey and Pentland, 2002), and conducting social research (Bergadaà, 2007; Gayo et al., 2009; Ramos, 1992; Zamorano, 2008). Empirical data on the objective distribution of daily time—including leisure time—contrasts with the limited findings on satisfaction with leisure time (Ramos, 1992), which is the focus of this article. These results arise from multi-thematic surveys where the aim is not to study the use of time or its meaning. These surveys contain direct questions on such satisfaction, including “How satisfied are you with the leisure time you have?” These questions presuppose a conception of leisure time as a counterpart to non-free time or work time. Thus, studying one dimension is the same as studying the other (Zamorano, 2008). The difficulty in defining the term “leisure time” is distinguishable and interchangeable with concepts such as “free time” and “spare time” (Frayne, 2015; Gorz, 1988; Ramos, 1997; Roque, 2008). This makes “leisure time” an abstract and indeterminate concept. Qualitative studies show that this semantic difficulty is also reflected

in subjective and experiential perceptions that do not always coincide with the objective and residual definition of leisure time. This is typical of surveys on the distribution of time (Flaherty, 2010; Gershuny and Sullivan, 1998; Ramos, 1992). Moreover, the increasingly blurring boundaries between work and leisure time in the modern economy (Bröckling, 2013; Gaulejac, 2009; Hildebrandt, 2006; Rau, 2002; Rosa, 2018) complicates the analysis on leisure time satisfaction. Therefore, analyses based on these direct questions have an inherent reliability problem. To address this, our study innovates in the research of leisure time satisfaction and obtains relevant findings concerning the different levels of leisure time satisfaction in different groups—particularly among men and women.

This study is innovative as it explores different questions about satisfaction with concrete times typically considered as leisure time (e.g., time with friends, with the family, or rest time, among others). Leisure time satisfaction refers not only to an abstract time but also to the set of multiple concrete times associated with leisure time. The data source is a group of questions asked in the National Time Use Survey (ENUT) conducted in Chile in 2015, which remains the only time use survey to date. Using latent class analysis (LCA), we constructed profiles of leisure time satisfaction. With this, we address the question: What satisfaction patterns associated with different aspects of leisure time can be identified in Chilean adults?

Using multinomial logistic regression (MLR) analysis, we identified the primary sociodemographic determinants of these profiles. Hence, we answer the question: Which satisfaction patterns (high, medium, or low) do age groups, sex, and socioeconomic groups typically belong to? With these results, we pose the following novel question about the relationship between objective availability of leisure time and satisfaction for each sociodemographic category. Does the distribution of leisure time hours align with that of satisfaction levels for the same groups? Do those with more (or less) objective leisure time also have more (or less) satisfaction with it? Our results broadly verify such congruence. Using the same MLR analysis, and under an intersectional logic and a sex-based approach, we investigated sex differences in leisure time satisfaction at the end of the study. We considered the conditions of whether the person lives with a partner and whether they have children between 0 and 4 years of age in their care. The results show that neither of these two conditions separately determines a lower level of satisfaction with leisure time for women, but they do when taken together. This provides evidence for questioning parenthood patterns in Chile.

## 2. Situating the question of satisfaction with leisure time

The definition of leisure time falls between two understandings: it can be a residual part of daily time or a quality of experience (Wilson, 1980). The former is considered “spare time,” (Eriksson et al., 2007) which is the time remaining after all activities considered obligatory—necessary, contracted, or

committed activities—have been performed (As, 1978; Sullivan, 2008). This classification, one of the most widely used, distinguishes between necessary (to satisfy physiological needs), contracted (paid work time and transportation time), committed (mainly unpaid and care work), and free or discretionary (remaining time) time. This differentiation clarifies the previous classification made by Robinson (1977), who only differentiated between obligatory and leisure time activities (Gershuny and Sullivan, 1998). Most quantitative studies refer to this remaining leisure time, which is associated with sociability, recreation, consumption, and hobbies. Its scarcity has been thematized in terms of a new dimension of poverty—time poverty (Damián, 2005; Vickery, 1977). Subjectively and autonomously defined activities fit into the second definition of leisure time. Leisure time can include, for example, work time (García, 2003; Walzer, 1983). Therefore, it may contradict the definitions associated with the first conception.

The first perspective leads to the quantification of the leisure time that remains for people. This quantification is conducted under an external, objective perspective. It pre-establishes, from an *etic* perspective, the difference between what leisure time is and what it is not. The second perspective allows distinguishing between what is and what is not leisure time. This is established by the people themselves according to their experiences, and, based on this, establishes differences between groups (Carrasco and Recio, 2014; Yopo-Díaz, 2016; Zamorano, 2008). While the first perspective is better suited for quantitative studies using surveys to quantify time units (Nowotny, 1992), the second is enriched by qualitative methods based on interviews and focus groups aiming to capture the meaning of daily activities and whether their experience has the quality of voluntariness and freedom inherent to subjectively defined leisure time.

Both perspectives and methods are important. However, the former has more empirical results accumulated through time use studies, which describe frequencies and hourly distributions of daily activities. This is useful for generalizations and for public policy input (Álvarez et al., 2003). The problem with this conceptual and methodological approach is that it overlooks aspects and dimensions for social analysis. The lack of information on how leisure time is conceived and experienced by individuals is supplemented with assumptions such as the idea that leisure time is always desired and work time (i.e., domestic or non-domestic) is not (Basaure et al., 2022; Cano, 2017; Carrasco, 2016; Wilson, 1980). This ignores the fact that subjective experiences may contradict these assumptions.

In this context, the subjective evaluative dimension of leisure time becomes relevant (Leccardi, 2015; Yopo-Díaz, 2016). It is no longer about definition and describing leisure time (whether external and objective or considering subjective criteria), but about how people evaluate the leisure time they have, how satisfied they are with it, or whether they would like to have more. Leisure time satisfaction is subjective and evaluative and can be approached both qualitatively and quantitatively. Data on satisfaction with leisure time is doubly

relevant because it shows levels of satisfaction of society members and different social groups. This allows for a comparison of satisfaction levels with descriptive information on the availability of leisure time for each social group.

This gives descriptive information a second function as it serves to not only describe the distribution of times but also contrasts it with evaluative or satisfaction information about those times (Goodin, 2008; Rosa, 2017; Southerton, 2003, 2006; Szollos, 2009; Ulferts et al., 2013). Descriptive and evaluative information does not always coincide. The objective growth of leisure time thanks to technology has not resulted in a decrease in the feeling of lack of time (Basare, 2021, 2022; Robinson and Godbey, 2005; Rosa, 2017). There is no rule according to which equal levels of satisfaction exist for equal time availability or according to which distributive differences between groups at the time level are replicated in differences in satisfaction (Robinson and Godbey, 2005). It is here, at the epistemological level, where (possible) differences can be found in the locus of the thesis of the moral economy of time (Basare et al., 2022). According to this, the subjective experience that conditions evaluations and assessments of daily time does not directly depend on the objective amounts of time available, as socially conditioned normative aspects intervene.

### 3. Empirical evidence on leisure time in Chile: Description and evaluation

Compared to other countries in the region, data on time use in Chile is limited and originates mainly from surveys. This shortcoming may reflect a liberal welfare regime wherein the use of time is viewed as a purely private matter, which is outside the scope of public policies (Harvey and Pentland, 2002; Del Valle, 2010). To date, only one nationally representative survey on time use has been conducted: the ENUT, prepared by the National Statistics Institute (INE) of Chile. Other data originate from multi-thematic or opinion surveys (e.g., the bicentennial survey), which investigate the satisfaction or importance given to different times as part of an exploration of satisfaction with several dimensions of daily life or from surveys of public institutions (e.g., the 2018 National Youth Institute). Here time is only one aspect of broader phenomena under study (Basare et al., 2021).

People reporting having little leisure time is a widely documented international trend associated with modern life (Rosa, 2017). Studies show that some people choose to have more leisure time instead of improving their salary (Reisch, 2001). In Chile, the survey results show that Chileans have little leisure time and excessive working hours (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo [PNUD], 2009). Based on ENUT data, Barriga and Sato (2021) concluded that 44.5% of people who engage in paid and/or unpaid work are time-poor, and 11% of people who only do unpaid work are time-poor. The former group works at least 67.5 hours per week. When transportation time—which is 50 minutes per day per trip on average in Santiago (Razmilic and Herrera, 2016)—is added to work time, the remaining free time becomes even scarcer.

On average, there are no significant differences by socioeconomic level in the amount of leisure time available. However, this may be different if we consider patterns of use of this time, quality of this time, the ability to control it and expectations about it, or differences in the meaning and relevance given to it (Beriaín, 2009). However, differences exist according to sex and age. Results of the 2015 ENUT survey show that people at the extremes of age (young and old) have more leisure time. This coincides with the life cycle and is confirmed by international studies (Robinson, 1999). For the past decade, data from the 2007 Experimental Time Use Survey (EUT) showed a notable difference between men and women (Yañez et al., 2009). This has not improved in recent years (Barriga and Sato, 2021; Yopo-Díaz, 2016).

Studies whose descriptive task is based on qualitative research coincide with the previous results. They identify a much generalized experience of being overwhelmed and a lack of leisure time (Araujo and Martuccelli, 2012; PNUD, 2009). This is a major problem in their daily lives and a central dimension in the measurement of subjective wellbeing (PNUD, 2012). Araujo and Martuccelli (2012) call work time and time dedicated to transportation the “chronophagic duo.” Excessive dedication to this duo generates tension with the desire to dedicate time to the family.

In the evaluative sphere, the Universidad Diego Portales (UDP) National survey, conducted annually between 2005 and 2009, and the bicentennial survey of 2006 and 2012, report that satisfaction with leisure time was persistently one of the lowest aspects of daily life in Chile, being only higher than satisfaction with economic situation, which is consistently the lowest. This result is compared to other aspects of daily life, such as satisfaction with paid work, relationship with a partner, or state of health. However, these surveys did not present any differences in the level of satisfaction with leisure time among people from different socioeconomic groups. This is consistent with the absence of differences in the amount of available leisure time shown by the ENUT. Regarding age, it is also consistent with objective data from the ENUT that younger and older people report greater satisfaction with their leisure time. However, for the sex variable, the results differ. Satisfaction with leisure time does not show significant differences, which contrasts with the existing differences in the objective distribution. This is widely documented at the international (Bianchi, 2011; Bittman and Wajcman, 2000; Bouffartigue, 2010; Legarreta, 2010; Mattingly and Bianchi, 2003) and national (Barriga and Sato, 2021; Basaure et al., 2018; Humphreys, 2014) levels.

Differences in the level of satisfaction with leisure time relative to sex only become clear when taking an intersectional view and introducing other socio-demographic determinants. The surveys indicate that these differences are associated with being a male or female worker and having children. In the European case, Giménez-Nadal and Sevilla-Sanz (2011) have shown that there are differences in satisfaction levels when working men and women with children are compared, rather than only comparing aggregate averages between men and women. The ENUT results show a difference of five percentage

points in satisfaction with the amount of leisure time between men (42.8%) and women (36.9%) in paid work. This difference is even higher when comparing non-employed people (men 70.7% and women 61.8%). In this research, we adopted an innovative method that uses this intersectional perspective.

#### 4. Innovating in leisure time satisfaction research in Chile

The information provided by the aforementioned multi-thematic surveys pertains to satisfaction with leisure time and is acquired through a single satisfaction question: “How satisfied are you with the leisure time you have?” However, this approach investigates a complex concept—leisure time—which, as noted above, has different meanings for different people. Thus, it is unclear as to what exactly people are satisfied with.

To address this difficulty, we innovated by constructing a more robust indicator that incorporates a set of questions regarding satisfaction with specific aspects of leisure time, such as time devoted to rest, oneself, and friends, among others. Using LCA, we identified response patterns in the set of satisfaction variables. These response patterns express the global result of a set of partial satisfaction values corresponding to each aspect, allowing for a more robust exploration of leisure time satisfaction than what could be done with a single indicator. As the response patterns comprise partial values of satisfaction, describing how they are internally configured is also possible. This dual perspective seeks to answer two questions: i) What are the profiles of satisfaction with leisure time in Chilean adults? and ii) Among individuals who show greatest overall satisfaction with their leisure time, what specific times or activities satisfies them the most?

Constructing these profiles allows us to innovate through a second analysis of their internal configuration, this time related to their sociodemographic composition. The question is as follows: Do young people, old people, women, men, and so on belong to the profiles of greater (or lesser) satisfaction? Analyzing the sociodemographic composition of the profiles allows us to address, where relevant, the question of whether objective differences in distribution of leisure time hours are reflected in levels of satisfaction with leisure time. This is according to different categories and depending on the composition of the profiles. The relevant question here is whether individuals who have less or more objective leisure time are also those who are less or more satisfied with it. Our results show that this is typically the case. However, when differences that are documented at the objective descriptive level are not expressed at the evaluative level of satisfaction, it is worth investigating whether a particular life condition (e.g., working, having children under one’s care, or living with a partner or not) may play a role in explaining this inconsistency. To address this question, we resorted to intersectional analyses before concluding that these differences do not exist or seeking alternative explanations. For the sex variable, in this study, we delved into the condition of caring for young children and living with a partner.



## 5. Methodology

### 5.1. Survey

We used the ENUT survey results for the analysis. This survey is conducted face-to-face and uses the sampling frame of the 2002 Census, which was updated to 2015. Moreover, it has a probabilistic, two-stage, stratified sampling design, geographically and by block size, with the commune and residence as the primary sampling and secondary units, respectively. The survey contains questions on participation and time spent on activities during the last week, which are presented in a closed list. This avoids under-declaration of activities that are socially undervalued or obscured (e.g., care or domestic work). This survey is relevant to our study for two reasons: first, it combines the objective description of the amount of leisure time available with the subjective evaluation of this time. This evaluative dimension is expressed in a set of questions on satisfaction. Second, it contains several questions that represent internal dimensions or subdimensions of leisure time (Table 2), which enables the analysis of response patterns conducted in this study.

### 5.2. Sample

The total sample of the survey included 34,575 people. The analyzed sample covers 5,636 people over 18 years of age who answered all the questions on satisfaction with leisure time. Compared to the total sample, the analyzed sample contains a higher proportion of people between 25 and 45 years of age living with a partner and caring for children. This is not surprising as those who did not have a partner or children did not answer the satisfaction questions related to these aspects. Table 1 describes the sample according to characterization variables and leisure time satisfaction variables incorporated in the LCA.

Nine leisure time satisfaction questions have been highlighted. In seven of them, the statement is “How satisfied are you with the time you spend on...”. We classified the aspects investigated into two types: “personal time,” which includes satisfaction with the time dedicated to oneself, hobbies, rest, and friends, and “family time,” which involves satisfaction with time spent with one’s partner, children, and parents. Although time devoted to children and parents can, in principle, be associated with care time and thus with unpaid work, we have included them here as dimensions of leisure time. The reasons for this are not to lose this important dimension of daily life, which is very significant when referring to quality time with children. Moreover, it should be noted that the questions specifically referring to care are in another part of the survey form. Reports from this survey, made by the INE itself, include such time as “personal time.” Moreover, we assume that, owing to the effect of cognitive functions, being in a series of questions clearly associated with satisfaction with dimensions of leisure time, those specific questions (about time with children and parents) were answered as part of that set and not as referring to unpaid work.



**Table 1.** Characteristics of the sample used in the LCA and MLR

		n	%	Mean	Standard deviation
Age group	18–24 years	429	7.6		
	25–34 years	1450	25.7		
	35–45 years	1866	33.1		
	46–55 years	1309	23.3		
	56 years and older	582	10.3		
Sex	Male	2461	43.7		
	Female	3175	56.3		
Per capita income quintile	1	1051	18.6		
	2	1356	24.2		
	3	1200	21.2		
	4	1129	20.1		
	5	900	15.9		
Living with partner	No	638	11.3		
	Yes	4998	88.7		
Involvement in childcare for children aged 0–4 years (type day)	No	3611	64.1		
	Yes	2025	35.9		
Total OW time, weekdays				8.69	6.72
Total OW time, weekends				6.22	6.3
Personal time: Self	Satisfied	2726	48.4		
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	931	16.5		
	Dissatisfied	1979	35.1		
Personal Time: Hobbies	Satisfied	2390	42.4		
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	1023	18.2		
	Dissatisfied	2223	39.4		
Personal time: Rest	Satisfied	2456	43.6		
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	861	15.3		
	Dissatisfied	2319	41.1		
Personal time: Friendships	Satisfied	2458	43.6		
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	1234	21.9		
	Dissatisfied	1944	34.5		
Family time: Partner	Satisfied	3025	53.7		
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	862	15.3		
	Dissatisfied	1749	31		
Family time: Children	Satisfied	3325	59		
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	645	11.4		
	Dissatisfied	1666	29.6		
Family Time: Parents	Satisfied	2138	37.9		
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	876	15.5		
	Dissatisfied	2622	46.5		
General time: Amount of free time	Satisfied	2272	40.3		
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	1009	17.9		
	Dissatisfied	2355	41.8		
General time: Quality of free time	Satisfied	2826	50.1		
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	1078	19.1		
	Dissatisfied	1732	30.7		

Source: own elaboration

Two questions in the survey investigate “how satisfied do you feel with your quantity/quality of leisure time?” Instead of considering them as global and other questions, we conceived them as being equivalent to the “personal time” and “family time” questions.

The original response categories are measured on a Likert scale with five response options: *totally dissatisfied*, *dissatisfied*, *neither satisfied nor dissatisfied*, *satisfied*, and *totally satisfied*. However, for their incorporation in the LCA, they were recoded into three categories by collapsing extreme responses. This left the following categories: *satisfied*, *neither satisfied nor dissatisfied*, and *dissatisfied*.

Except in the cases of satisfaction with time spent with parents and satisfaction with the amount of leisure time, a greater number of people are in the *satisfied* category than in the other two.

### 5.3. Analysis

The analysis is divided into two parts: LCA (a) and MLR (b).

a) The LCA allows the identification of satisfaction profiles, which are constructed based on information about the different aspects of satisfaction with leisure time and the configuration of response patterns (Joyce and Wang, 2015; Reyna and Brussino, 2011). LCA estimates categorical latent variables to explain the relationship between observed variables. It uses observed data to estimate the model parameters: the probability of each latent class and conditional response probabilities (i.e., probability of class membership). The classes are exhaustive and mutually exclusive. In contrast to other types of analysis, LCA does not rely on traditional modeling assumptions (e.g., normal distribution, linear relationships, and homogeneity of variances).

We tested models with two, three, four, and five classes. The models were compared according to three goodness-of-fit indices: the Bayesian information criterion (BIC), the Akaike information criterion (AIC), and the log-likelihood value (llik). Lower values in these indices show a better fit. The selection of the model also pondered theoretical considerations that would allow a consistent interpretation of the number of classes obtained.

b) The MLR allows us to answer the question of how the different classes of the selected model are typically configured sociodemographically. The analysis assesses the a posteriori probability that each individual has of belonging to each latent class (Agresti, 2012). The dependent variable is class membership, and the independent variables are co-variables of interest. These include age (in brackets), income quintile, overall workload (OW) on weekdays and weekends measured in hours, having or not caring for children from 0 to 4 years old, and living with a partner or not. To focus on differences in the sex variable, four interactions are added: being a woman and living with a partner; being a woman and having children; living with a partner and having children; and, finally, being a woman, living with a partner, and having children.

Notably, including the covariate will affect the latent class solution itself. Hence, the actual results of class membership and response probabilities of the corresponding item, with and without the covariate, will not be identical. This technique is called a “one-step” technique for estimating covariate effects as the covariate coefficients are estimated simultaneously as part of the latent class model. Thus, in regression models, individuals’ priors vary as a function of their observed covariates. We use the R package *poLCA* (Linzer and Lewis, 2011), which is specifically designed for estimating mixed models with polytomous variables.

The estimation model with regressions denotes the mixing proportions in the latent class regression model as to reflect the fact that these priors are now free to vary by individual. It remains true that for each individual. To accommodate this restriction, *poLCA* employs a generalized (multinomial) logit function for the effects of covariates on the probabilities (Agresti, 2012; Linzer and Lewis, 2011).

## 6. Findings

### 6.1. LCA

We tested the fit of several models differentiated according to number of classes. The analysis operates only with complete responses in all the variables analyzed. The best fitting model is the one whose number of classes best reproduces the observed data. To identify this, we compared the models according to the following relative fit indicators: AIC, BIC, and log-likelihood value (Llik). As Table 2 shows, the model with the best goodness-of-fit in all three indicators is the four-class model as it has the lowest values.

From a theoretical perspective, the four-class model presents an optimal intelligibility of the data as it expresses two opposite categories in satisfaction levels and two intermediate ones with qualitative variations between them. Conversely, the three-class model collapses the classes too much. The five-class model does not add relevant information, such as a class with a qualitatively differentiated response pattern (as with Classes 2 and 3 of the selected model).

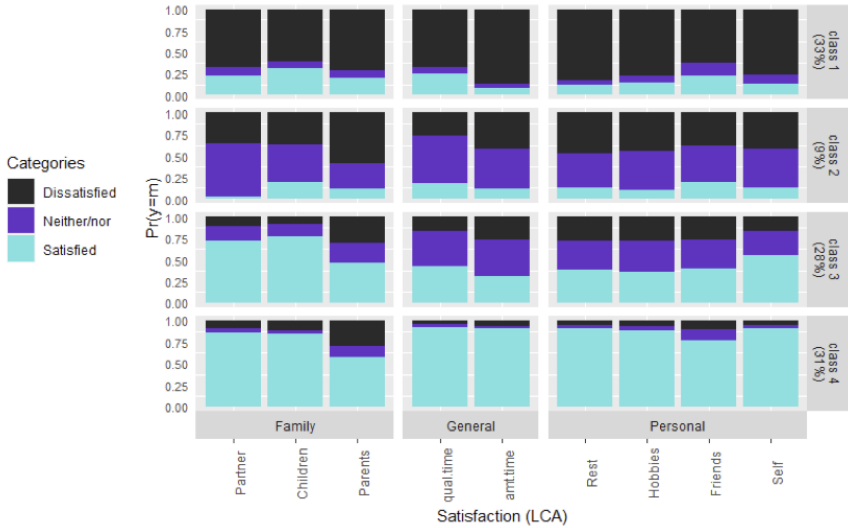
Figure 1 shows the four classes. The response probability of each of the three response categories for each class is shown with colored segments. The

**Table 2.** Comparison of fit statistics for latent class models

Models	AIC	BIC	Llik	Chi-squared	G2	N
1 latent class	102,765.45	102,884.91	-51,364.72	346,599.51	27,169.24	5,636
2 latent classes	90,280.46	90,638.85	-45,086.23	134,283.42	15,122.97	5,636
3 latent classes	87,411.85	88,009.18	-43,615.93	29,225.95	12,264.76	5,636
4 latent classes	86,983.66	87,819.91	-43,365.83	26,713.22	11,631.21	5,636
5 latent classes	88,232.46	89,307.64	-43,954.23	25,493.63	11,223.31	5,636

Source: own elaboration

Figures 1. Satisfaction response patterns with free time



Source: own elaboration

corresponding percentage can be seen on the Y-axis (a scale of 0–100 for each class). The classes and the percentage of the sample that was classified as belonging to each of them are identified on the right side of the graph. The lower part shows the dimensions internal to satisfaction with leisure time.

This figure can be interpreted by focusing either on the classes (i.e., horizontally) or on the leisure time aspect variables (i.e., vertically).

*a. Horizontal reading or from the perspective of the classes*

The horizontal reading has a double perspective. Globally, it describes the percentage of cases corresponding to each class and degree of dissatisfaction (black), indecision (purple), and satisfaction (calypso) within each class. Each class can be observed from the specific view of the variables aggregated in the categories (family, general, and personal) and of each variable by itself.

**Class 1, high dissatisfaction:** This class represents 33% of the sample and is the most populated. It indicates a strong probability of high dissatisfaction, minimal indecision, and low relative satisfaction for each of the nine variables considered. When examined in greater depth, variations can be identified. The family sphere shows the lowest degree of dissatisfaction and is associated with time spent with children (31.3% satisfaction). This sphere also shows a lower dissatisfaction level compared to the personal and general spheres. The variable with the highest dissatisfaction is amount of leisure time available, where only 8.3% of individuals are likely to indicate that they are satisfied.

**Class 2, dissatisfaction and indecision:** This class represents a scant 9% of the sample and is the least populated. It indicates high probabilities of presenting dissatisfaction and median indecision and low relative satisfaction for each of the nine variables considered. Along with these general tendencies, there is slightly lower satisfaction in the family sphere, especially in relation to satisfaction with time dedicated to the couple (where there is high indecision and very low satisfaction; 2.9%) and with time dedicated to parents (where there is higher dissatisfaction compared to the rest of the variables).

**Class 3, satisfaction and indecision:** This class represents 28% of the sample. It includes low probabilities of presenting dissatisfaction, medium and low probabilities of indecision, and medium and high probabilities of satisfaction. In the family sphere, the highest level of satisfaction is found for time dedicated to children (77.2%) and the partner. In the personal sphere, the level of satisfaction is relatively higher relative to time dedicated to oneself.

**Class 4, high satisfaction:** This class exhibits the exact opposite pattern to Class 1 and comprises 31% of the sample. It expresses high probabilities of very low dissatisfaction and median indecision and very high relative satisfaction for each of the nine variables considered. Along with these general trends, there is slightly higher dissatisfaction in the family domain regarding time spent with parents. Satisfaction with quality of leisure time has the highest probability of high satisfaction (92.7%).

Like other latent class studies using satisfaction variables (Joyce and Wang, 2015; Reyna and Brussino, 2011), the classes obtained in this study can be characterized as ordinal (from most to least satisfaction). Hence, the result is consistent with this literature. Classes 2 and 3 represent the “intermediate” level of satisfaction and present qualitative differences between them, particularly regarding satisfaction with time with a partner and children. Although some heterogeneity can be found in the levels of satisfaction patterns internal to each of the classes (especially in Class 3), the classes are relatively homogeneous in their internal composition. The satisfaction levels in the different dimensions do not present great irregularities when considering each of the classes separately. The existence of four more or less ordinarily distributed response types (people satisfied with all-time dimensions, people who are moderately satisfied, and people who are directly dissatisfied) is an interesting phenomenon, as the results could have been configured differently. In the Chilean population, extreme groups of people are satisfied and dissatisfied with leisure time, and others are in an intermediate position.

*b. Vertical reading or from the perspective of the variables*

The vertical reading of the graph focuses on each sphere of variables (i.e., family, general, and personal) and on each specific variable. The reading considers their values in a cross-sectional manner (i.e., beyond each class). This view

shows that satisfaction with the time dedicated to the family is higher than that referred to as “general” and “personal.” However, within family times, there are differences when it comes to children, partners, and parents. While in most classes, the time for children and partners represents higher proportions of satisfied people. Satisfaction with the time dedicated to parents presents lower levels in comparison. Internal differences in overall satisfaction with leisure time exist: satisfaction with the quality of time is slightly higher than satisfaction with the quantity of leisure time. Dissatisfaction operates inversely, as no perceptible variation in indefiniteness is found. Within personal time, there are no clear differences.

## 6.2. MLR results

We use the MLR model to analyze the sociodemographic composition of the latent classes, especially sex differences. The dependent variable is membership in each of the classes. Class 1 (high dissatisfaction) is used as a reference category, so it does not appear explicitly in the model. The coefficients should be read as the positive or negative probability of belonging to one class compared

**Table 3.** MLR models (dependent variable: class membership)

	Class 2 vs 1		Class 3 vs 1		Class 4 vs 1	
	coef	IS	coef	IS	coef	IS
(Intercept)	-0.79	0.43	0.59	0.28	1.57	0.24
Female <sup>a</sup>	-0.71	0.54	0.14	0.32	-0.61*	0.26
25–34 years <sup>b</sup>	-0.08	0.29	-0.23	0.16	-0.14	0.17
35–45 years	-0.55	0.30	-0.30	0.17	-0.19	0.17
46–55 years	-0.61	0.31	-0.32	0.18	0.15	0.18
56 years or older	-0.90	0.40	0.23	0.22	0.89***	0.21
Quintile 2 <sup>c</sup>	-0.14	0.23	0.11	0.12	-0.06	0.11
Quintile 3	0.35	0.21	-0.12	0.13	-0.12	0.12
Quintile 4	0.23	0.22	-0.24	0.14	-0.37***	0.12
Quintile 5	0.37	0.23	0.14	0.14	-0.24	0.13
OW (weekday)	-0.03	0.01	-0.05***	0.00	-0.06***	0.00
OW (weekend)	0.01	0.01	-0.02	0.00	-0.03***	0.00
Care for children aged 0–4 years <sup>d</sup>	-1.08***	0.31	12.24	0.17	-2.08***	0.17
Lives with a partner <sup>e</sup>	0.58	0.35	0.06	0.25	-0.61***	0.19
Focus on gender analysis						
Female living with a partner	0.01	0.56	-0.23	0.34	0.55	0.28
Female with children from 0–4 years old	1.30***	0.31	-11.87***	0.17	1.94***	0.16
Lives with a partner and has children aged 0–4 years	-14.21***	0.32	-11.90***	0.17	1.95***	0.16
Female, lives with a partner, and has children aged 0–4 years	13.93***	0.32	11.66***	0.19	-2.53***	0.18

Notes: <sup>a</sup> reference category: man; <sup>b</sup> ref. cat.: 18–24 years; <sup>c</sup> ref. cat.: quintile 1; <sup>d</sup> ref. cat.: does not provide care for children aged 0–4 years; <sup>e</sup> ref. cat.: not living with a partner. \*  $p < 0.5$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.1$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$

Source: own elaboration

to belonging to Class 1. Each variable has a reference category, so the coefficients should be interpreted in comparison to each other. Thus, the values of the coefficients are interpreted in a double relationship: in contrast with Class 1 and in contrast with the reference category of each variable.

The independent variables of the model are age, sex, income quintile, living (or not) with a partner, participation in childcare for children 0–4 years old, and total time of the overall workload (in both paid and unpaid work) on weekdays and weekends. These variables are relevant for understanding levels of satisfaction with leisure time, particularly to explore the differences between men and women.

To facilitate such an exploration, we consider extreme classes (1 and 4). Classes 2 and 3 are excluded from the analysis as they represent an intermediate level of satisfaction. However, they are still presented in the regression model table. As in the table, this exclusion is also justified since no significant values are found in the interactions with Classes 2 and 3. These values are concentrated in the interactions with Class 4. Moreover, the values do not show the intensity of the interaction.

The results show that (controlling for the independent variables at the same time), women are less likely to belong to Class 4 of high leisure time satisfaction ( $\beta = -0.61^*$ ) compared to men (reference category). Compared to people aged 18–24 (reference category), only people aged 56 and older are more likely to be in the high satisfaction class ( $\beta = 0.89^{***}$ ). Compared to those in Quintile 1 (reference category), only those in Quintile 4 are significantly less likely to be in the highest satisfaction class ( $\beta = -0.37^{***}$ ). Relative to the overall workloads for weekdays and weekends, those with higher workloads are observed to have a negative probability of belonging to the highest satisfaction class, with the relationship being stronger for weekdays ( $\beta = -0.06^{***}$ ) than for weekends ( $\beta = -0.03^{***}$ ). Likewise, those with children aged 0 to 4 years are less likely to belong to the highest satisfaction class ( $\beta = -2.08^{***}$ ) as well as to Class 2 and more likely to belong to the lowest satisfaction class (Class 1). Compared to those who do not live as a couple, those who live with a partner are less likely to belong to the highest satisfaction class ( $\beta = 0.61^{***}$ ).

The last part of the table explores the sex variable in more detail. For this purpose, interactions were made between three variables that typically profile the distribution of household work: being a woman, living with a partner, and having children aged 0 to 4 in care. The analysis compares satisfaction with leisure time among women who live with a partner and have children aged 0 to 4 years to the rest of the alternatives, whether men or women, with conditions other than these. We first analyze interactions between pairs of variables and then review the combined effect of the three variables.

Being a woman and living with a partner do not show significant differences in the probability of belonging to the highest satisfaction class. No differences were found between women and men living and not living with a partner relative to their satisfaction with leisure time. Women with children aged 0 to 4 years are more likely to belong to the highest leisure time satisfaction group

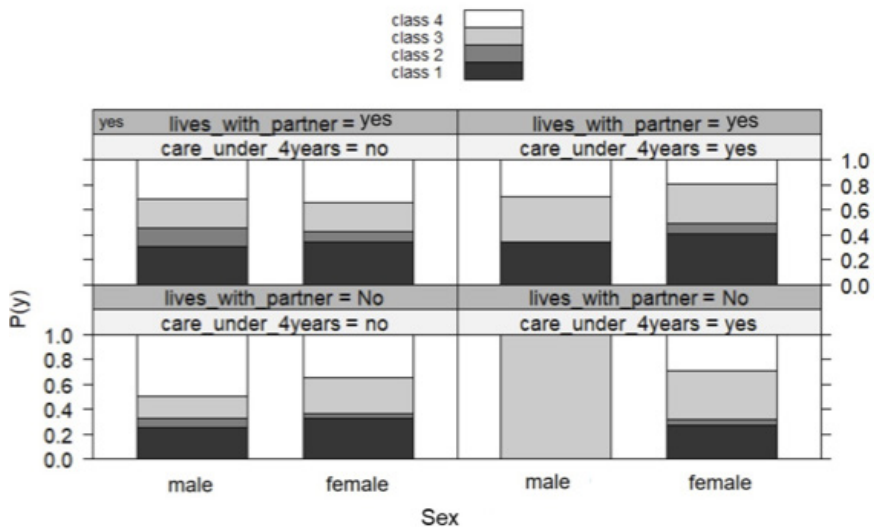


( $\beta = 1.94^{***}$ ). Similarly, those who live with a partner and have children aged 0 to 4 years are more likely to belong to the group with the highest satisfaction with leisure time ( $\beta = 1.95^{***}$ ). This value, however, hides a highly relevant difference. The intersection of the three variables shows the effect of being female: women living with a partner and with children aged 0 to 4 years are less likely to belong to the highest satisfaction class ( $\beta = -2.53^{***}$ ). These data suggest that being a woman, having children between 0 and 4 years old, and living with a partner is a decisive condition for leisure time satisfaction. More than having children or not at that age, having children and living with a partner negatively affects women’s level of satisfaction.

To visualize this, we use predictor effect plots. Unlike the coefficients of the common regression table, these effects are not affected by arbitrary choice of the reference level for the response variable. We follow the strategy of showing the effects on a probability scale, calculating standard errors and confidence intervals on the individual-level logit scale,  $\log[0_j/(1-0_j)]$ . This method, known as “delta,” is described in Fox and Andersen (2006). Figure 2 shows the probabilities of belonging to the different classes according to the interaction terms presented in the multiple regressions.

The complete table shows the interaction of all values entered as a three-term multiplicative parameter (male/female; lives with a partner or not; cares for children aged 0–4 or not). In the upper-right quadrant, the results show that the probability of belonging to Class 4 (greater satisfaction, identified by the color white) is substantially lower for women than for men. In contrast,

Figures 2. Probability of belonging to each class



Source: own elaboration

the probability of belonging to Class 1, which indicates greater dissatisfaction (identified by the darker color), is higher for women and lower in the case of men. When living with a partner and not caring for children less than 4 years old (upper left quadrant), satisfaction levels are practically identical for men and women.

## 7. Conclusions

The LCA has enabled synthesizing information on satisfaction with different aspects of leisure time into classes or profiles. Four classes have the model that best fits the data drawn from ENUT 2015. The classes are comprised of three categories: dissatisfied, undecided, and satisfied. Class 1 denotes individuals that are most dissatisfied, while Class 4 indicates individuals that are most satisfied. Class 2 is a mix of dissatisfied and undecided individuals, and Class 3 is a mix of satisfied and undecided individuals. Except for Class 2, the remaining three classes are more or less equally distributed in the percentages of representation of the sample. That there could have been a very different distribution (e.g., a much higher percentage of dissatisfied or satisfied individuals) makes this result relevant in its own right.

This description becomes more detailed by examining the internal and cross-sectional composition of these classes. The evidence shows that satisfaction with the quality of leisure time is greater than satisfaction with the quantity of leisure time in all classes except for the most satisfied class, where satisfaction is high for both dimensions. This shows that these dimensions are not directly correlated, and that people clearly differentiate between quantity and quality. The results suggest that the lack of time is more problematic than how it is used. The robustness of our research lies in the fact that, unlike what is usual in this field, we use these variables of satisfaction with the quantity and quality of time only as a reference and place greater emphasis on more concrete aspects. When comparing by aspects of leisure time, we see that personal time consistently shows less satisfaction than family time. Within the latter, the highest and lowest satisfaction is concentrated in time dedicated to children and to parents, respectively. This coincides with research that affirms the thesis of intensive parenthood (Vergara et al., 2018) and shows the relevance of the family in Chilean society (Maldonado et al., 2018). However, it also helps differentiate the latter in the sense that there is an important difference in satisfaction in a negative sense with the time dedicated to parents. The latter is a very little-studied aspect in Chile, which intersects with the issue of care for the elderly. Questions on satisfaction with time dedicated to children and parents were included as part of a set of questions on satisfaction with dimensions of leisure time and not as care time in the sense of unpaid work. Future research should delve deeper (especially in qualitative studies) into the link between both dimensions, which are difficult to separate empirically and conceptually, and which go back to the distinction between obligatory and non-obligatory time.

Regarding the sociodemographic composition of the profiles, the research shows that the probabilities of belonging to one or another class of satisfaction with leisure time are consistent with the objective availability of leisure time shown by existing empirical data. This is the case of the higher probability of belonging to the lower leisure time satisfaction classes for women, people with a higher overall workload, and those with children between 0 and 4 years of age. This is also the case of the greater probability of belonging to classes with highest satisfaction with leisure time among young people and older adults. The question remains open as to why people in quintile 4 and those who live with a partner are less likely to belong to the highest satisfaction class.

Regarding the difference in satisfaction according to sex, if we consider the conditions of those living with a partner and having children between 0 and 4 years of age, we observe that having children of these ages is related to a higher probability of women belonging to the class with the highest satisfaction with leisure time. For women, parenting is a determinant of greater rather than lesser satisfaction with leisure time. Moreover, the condition of living with a partner does not lead to differences between sexes in terms of satisfaction with leisure time. In light of these data, one could quickly conclude that couple parenting is positive for both sexes in terms of leisure time satisfaction. One could also look to alternative ideas—e.g., those of the moral economy of time and internalized prevalence of gender roles (Basaure et al., 2022)—for explanations of why objective differences in the division of domestic and care work are not expressed in terms of satisfaction with leisure time. Instead, the intersectional approach (Basaure et al., 2018) followed in this research have led us to show that both conditions (childcare and living with a partner) combined have a negative effect on women's degrees of satisfaction. When women have children between 0 and 4 years old and live with a partner, they are less likely to belong to the class with the highest satisfaction with leisure time. These data suggest it is not parenting per se, but couple parenting, that plays a critical role in satisfaction with leisure time. Based on other research (Phail, 2013; Yopo-Díaz, 2016), this finding could be interpreted to mean that parenting by heterosexual couples responds to patterns that negatively affect women's perception of satisfaction with leisure time. These patterns are increasingly strained by women's expectations of dominance and control of time. This is an interpretation that the data from this research support but do not allow us to verify. Thus, future research should incorporate qualitative data to explore this further.

This study used satisfaction classes or profiles as a point of reference. Therefore, it did not delve into the overlaps between partial satisfactions categorized in family, personal, and general domains on the one hand and sociodemographic categories on the other. Future studies could address these crossovers to investigate, for example, differences in satisfaction with leisure time between men and women, considering these domains separately. Studies could also explore possible differences when it comes to satisfaction with the quantity and quality of leisure time.

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