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Fathers' time with children at the crossroads of the gender revolution: a comparative analysis in France, Italy, Sweden and the UK

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Abstract

BACKGROUND

According to recent literature the increasing women's labour market participation is only the first part of the so called gender revolution, while a second part is now unfolding, with an increased participation of men in family life with special attention to childcare.

OBJECTIVE

The aim of this paper is to explore fathers' involvement in parenting tasks within different contexts in terms of gender regimes, family policies, and workplace culture. The idea is to evidence individual factors that may enable/challenge the capability of fathers to stay with children and care for them, and to suggest opportune father-friendly policies.

METHODS

Time with children is compared among a sample of fathers in Time Use survey in France (2009-2010), Italy (2008-09), Sweden (2000-2001) and the UK (2000). Three different measures of father involvement are examined: the total time father spend with their children, the time they spend alone with them, and their engagement in childcare activities.

RESULTS

Results show that distinct micro-level factors contribute in determining the three levels of father's commitment analysed. Few cross-countries differences emerge. Fathers' involvement is mainly determined by their work-related features, by their

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children characteristics, and by their partner's working schedules. Weekday and weekend differences are observed. The quantum of father engagement strongly depends on the countries' institutional context: it is the highest in Sweden and the lowest in Italy.

CONTRIBUTION

This comparative study shows the methodological importance of considering different measures of father involvement to understand how micro-level factors influence the time fathers spend with their children in different institutional context.

Keywords: father, father involvement, childcare, time use, time with children, time alone with children, Italy, France; Sweden, UK

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1. Introduction

In modern societies, rearing children is a time-intensive activity, but parents' time is typically scarcer and scarcer, especially when they both are full-time workers. Nevertheless, and perhaps surprisingly, seminal studies show that both mothers and fathers spend more time with their children today than they did in the previous decades, in spite of the fact that the number of children in families has reduced (Bianchi 2000; Sayer, Bianchi, and Robinson 2004, for the US; Gauthier, Smeeding, and Furstenberg 2004, for selected industrialised countries). This may be linked to the fact that the social expectations on what constitute adequate parenting have burgeoned (Coltrane 2007; Craig and Mullan 2010) and parents are more and more aware that the parental time investment is related to children development and wellbeing. In addition, in a context of prevailing voluntary paternity and maternity, parents love spending more time in company of their children for their own pleasure and fulfilment (Connelly and Kimmel 2015).

As maternal employment increased over the past half-century, scholars expected that mothers and fathers would have more equally shared childcare responsibilities (Bergmann 2005), but if the revolution is no more stalled as in the Eighties (Hochschild and Machung 1990) it seems still "incomplete", as stated more recently by Esping-Andersen (2009). The increasing prevalence of the "dual-earner" couples across Europe, have only slightly changed the gender system in many countries, especially in the South of Europe where men's full involvement can be challenged by social norms, by the lack of policies and by a non-favourable culture at the workplace. The result is a consequent increase of working women's burden, the so called "second shift" (Hochschild and Machung 1990).

More optimistically, in an inspiring recent theoretical paper Goldscheider, Bernard, and Lappegård (2015) consider that the increasing women's labour market participation is only the first part of the so called *gender revolution* and that a second part is now unfolding, with

an increased participation of men in family life with special attention to childcare. Once again the pioneer countries are the US and Northern European countries where women's employment is given for granted and men's involvement in family life is considered more and more as a norm, rather than an exception. Following this line of thought, men are now at a crossroads and the time they devote to their children is usually the first important sign of their major involvement in family life.

If previous research underlines that mothers are still responsible for the majority of childcare (Bianchi and Milkie 2010; Sayer and Gornick 2011), it is undeniable that in recent decades fathers are caring more than ever before in most developed countries (Bianchi et al. 2000; Craig, Mullan, and Blaxland 2010). Fathers care activities and work-family reconciliation have thus – although only recently – moved to the centre of comparative research on the intersection of gendered families, labour market and welfare state (Adler and Lenz 2015). The literature agrees that fathers' practices (fathering) are shaped by how fatherhood is configured in different institutional contexts (Hobson and Morgan 2002).

Fatherhood is in transition in Europe: from the traditional father having mere legal and economic obligations we are moving to a "new father", the so called "nurturing father" (Dowd 2000), the "involved fathers" (Ranson 2012), or even the "Superdads" who are only care-givers and not providers (Kaufman 2013). All definitions – with some nuances – agree to refer to a *present*, more *involved* and *caring* father, still expected to be provider but also nurturing. Although not yet far advanced, the process is underway in several countries, where men's housework-related roles have begun to intensify (Goldsheider, Bernhardt, and Lappegård 2015; Aassve, Fuochi and Mencarini 2014). More progress has been made more in terms of father involvement in child-related activities than in mundane household tasks (Pailhé, Solaz, and Tanturri, forthcoming).

This change is partly a response to feminist requests of gender equality both within and outside the family, in order to alleviate the “dual burden” of a large number of women overloaded by the struggle to reconsolidate working activities and family life. However, this is only a part of the story as it seems that fathers are willing to care more and more, with the most educated pioneering the phenomenon: up-date research on men and fathers suggests a change in men’s priorities regarding work and family relationships, and a high importance given to the ability to combine work and family life (Fahlén 2013; Hobson and Fahlén 2011). The aim of this paper is to explore how fathers’ involvement with children occurs within different contexts in terms of gender regimes (gendered normative expectations, also in terms of fatherhood and masculinity), family policies (statutory paid paternity leave, paternal leave payment, public childcare) and workplace culture (entitlements, work time regime, work-family reconciliation) (Adler and Lenz 2015). The four countries included in the study are interesting examples of four European welfare regimes: liberal in the UK, socio-democratic in Sweden, conservative/familistic in Italy, family-orientated in France.

Our purpose is to measure father involvement across countries using different and original indicators, and to evidence possible individual factors that may enable or challenge the capability of fathers to stay with children and care for them, and to suggest opportune father-friendly policies. Data from the most recent Time Use survey constitute a precious source to measure father involvement in term of time devoted to children in a comparative way.

The paper is structured as follows. The next section will describe the background of the analysed countries and the research hypothesis on the individual factors associated to fathers involvement; it will be followed by a discussion of data and methods used to measure fathers participation. Descriptive and model results will be presented in the fourth paragraph, while a final discussion of the results concludes the article.

2. Background

2.1. Institutional context and gender norms regarding work and family

The Countries we selected for our study not only vary in the way that work-care nexus is institutionalized in terms of policies and legislations (e.g. Korpi 2000; Lewis 1992; Orloff 1993), but also in regard to gender norms, which often shape and are shaped by the policy framework (Anttonen and Sipilä 1996; Gregory and Milner 2009). Moreover path dependency has also a role. There are countries – as Sweden – where father’s entitlement to take parental leave has been recognised since 1974 and therefore it is normal for father to take it, while in other countries – as Italy and France – the entitlement has been shyly recognised only in the 2000’s. In Italy, public policies are less strongly oriented to gender equality, and fathers are more reluctant to take it up, because they do not find a social environment supporting their choice.

Table 1 summarises contextual features linked to work-family reconciliation policies and practices, which influence both the couple’s division of childcare and the father’s involvement. A comparative measure of leave systems is the full-rate equivalent (FRE) of paid leave, the duration of paid leave if it were paid in 100 percent of previous earnings. All countries have paid *maternity leave*, but the duration ranges from 8 weeks of FTE of paid maternity leave in Sweden (followed by a parental leave) to 18 weeks in France and Italy.

Paternity leave is implemented in all countries, but only Sweden has FRE of paid paternity leave for two months, which is part of the parental leave system. In France, a statutory paternity leave is open on demand to any father on the occasion of the birth of a child, since first January 2002. This paternity leave offers a maximum of 11 consecutive days (Saturdays, Sundays and bank holidays included) for the birth of a child – 18 consecutive days in case of multiple births – in addition to the three days of absence after any child birth authorized by the French Labor Code. The duration can be shorter but cannot be split. Most of the fathers

take advantage of the full 11 days leave. Italian employed fathers have only been entitled to paternity leave (one day with 100 % salary compensation) since 2012 (Law 92/2012). The measure has not been implemented in the public sector and has not been monitored in the private sector, so there are no data on take-up rates. It is evident that the introduction of paternity leave was purely symbolic in response to the EU Parliament request. In addition, fathers can take two additional days if the mother agrees to transfer these days from her maternity leave allocation. These leave days should be used within five months after the child's birth (Addabbo and Giovannini 2013). There is no specific *paternity leave* in UK and Sweden but a *parental leave* system exists. However, whereas the duration of FTE paid leave is 64.3 weeks in Sweden, there is no FTE paid leave in UK.

The enrolment rates in formal childcare for children under three years are the lowest in Italy (24.2 percent) and the highest in France (48 percent). Over 90 percent of the children aged 3-5 years are enrolled in formal childcare in all the analysed countries.

Social support from the state has an impact on women's labour market participation (see Allen et al. 2013; Keck and Saraceno 2013; Misra, Budig, and Boeckman 2011). Highest female labour force participation is found in Sweden, where the work-family reconciliation policies encourage a more equally shared division of caring and earning responsibilities, reflected also in the high maternal employment rates among mothers with small children (Table 1). Lowest female labour force participation and maternal employment rates is found in Italy, a country with limited public support and greater reliance in other family members to provide social support (Anxo et al. 2011). The limited public support and the rigid labour market system, with strong protection for those in permanent employment and very little protection for those in temporary employment and limited part-time options, discourage maternal labour force participation (Mills et al. 2008). The female labour market participation is relatively high also in France, with social policies enabling women to enter and remain in

the labour force (Gornick and Meyers 2003). Nevertheless, motherhood is still associated with withdrawal from the labour market when they have young children (Anxo et al. 2007), reflected in relatively low maternal employment rates (Table 1). The social support for working mothers and work-family reconciliation is relatively modest in the UK (Gornick and Meyers 2003), reflected in short maternity leave, unpaid parental leave, and low enrolment rates for the youngest children (Table 1). However, it is in the UK that one finds the highest proportion of part-time working women.

Table 1: Description of the institutional contexts in the UK, France Italy and Sweden

	UK	France	Italy	Sweden
Paid maternity leave 2011/12				
Weeks of FRE leave	12.7	16.0	16.0	8.0
Percentage rate of benefit	24.4	100.0	80.0	80.0
Paid paternity leave 2011/12				
Weeks of FRE leave	0.4	2.0	1day+2	8.0
Percentage rate of benefit	20.0	100.0	100	80.0
Paid parental leave 2011/12				
Weeks of FRE leave	-	29.5	7.2	38.6
Percentage rate of benefit	-	18.9	30.0	64.3
Enrolment rates in formal childcare/early education 2010				
Children 0 to 2 years	42.0	48.0	24.2	46.7
Children 3 to 5 years	93.3	100.0	95.7	92.9
Female labour force participation (25-59 years) 2011	77.8	80.8	62.1	86.8
Maternal employment rates 2011 ^a				
Youngest child under 3 years	56.9	58.1	53.4	71.9
Youngest child 3-5 years	61.2	69.5	50.6	81.3
Female part-time employment 2011	40.1	29.3	29	35.2
Total Fertility Rates 2011	1.91	2.00	1.39	1.90

Source: OECD Family data base (2013; 2014a; 2014b) and Eurostat (2014).

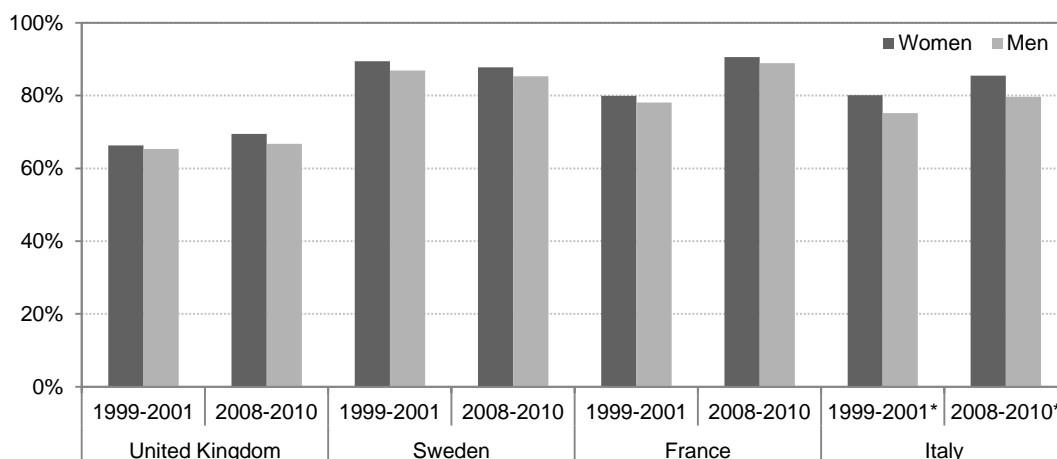
Note: a) 2006 for Sweden. FRE=Full-rate equivalent of the proportion of the duration of paid leave if it were paid at 100 percent of the earnings.

Considering fathers, Hobson and Morgan (2002) distinguish *fatherhood* and *fathering*. *Fatherhood* is linked to the laws – their rights, duties and responsibilities – and norms – what is considered as a good or a bad father. *Fathering* is more linked to what men do as fathers and what they claim as fathers in order to exercise their rights to care, such as claims for parental leaves and flexible work arrangements. Hobson and Morgan (2002) argue that fathers' practices are shaped by how fatherhood is configured in different institutional contexts. This is salient in terms of the take-up of parental leave by fathers. Where the

parental leave is an individual entitlement, and is relatively well paid, fathers' use is quite high, while where the leave is a family entitlement, father's use of the parental leave is low (Moss 2012). Norms, especially those related to gender roles, domestic standard, and good parenting strongly influence the time devoted by men (but also women) to children and housework (South and Spitze 1994).

Using longitudinal data (1990-2010) from the European Values Study (EVS), we show people's attitudes regarding work and care in the European countries under focus. Across the four countries we find a growing acceptance of female labour force participation, reflected in relatively high, and the slightly increased, proportion of individuals who thinks that both men and women should contribute to the household income (Figure 1), yet less so in the UK. The gender differences regarding the notion about the economic contribution to the household are modest.

Figure 1: Both husband and wife should contribute to household income. Proportions agree/strongly agree with the statement.



Source: Calculated from European Values Survey – Longitudinal data file.

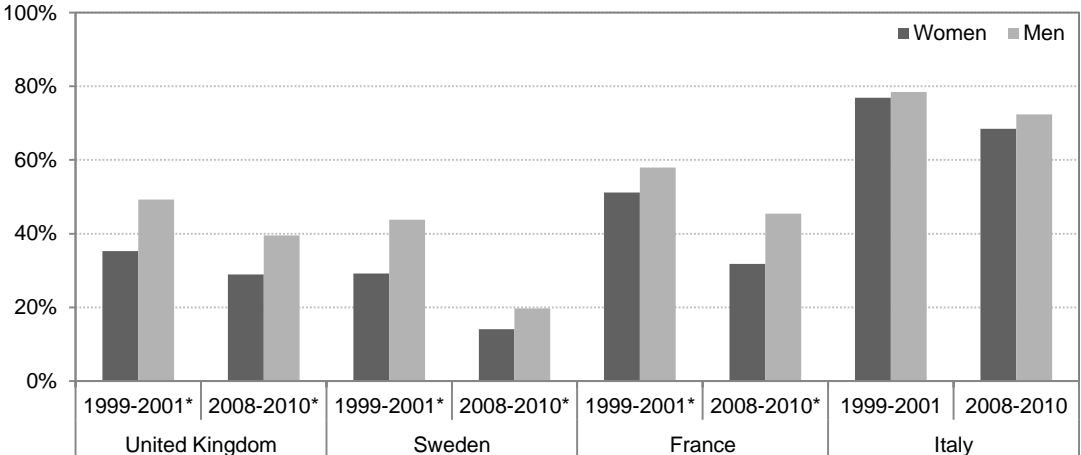
Note: Men and women aged 18-90 years (weighted). Significant gender difference at 95 percent level indicated with a star.

We can also see a decrease, over time, of the proportion who thinks that a pre-school child is likely to suffer if the mother works (Figure 2). The largest proportion who believes that having a working mother will have a negative consequence for the children development is

found in Italy, and the smallest proportion is found in Sweden. The gender gap is rather evident; men seem to hold this view to a higher extent than women, except in Italy.

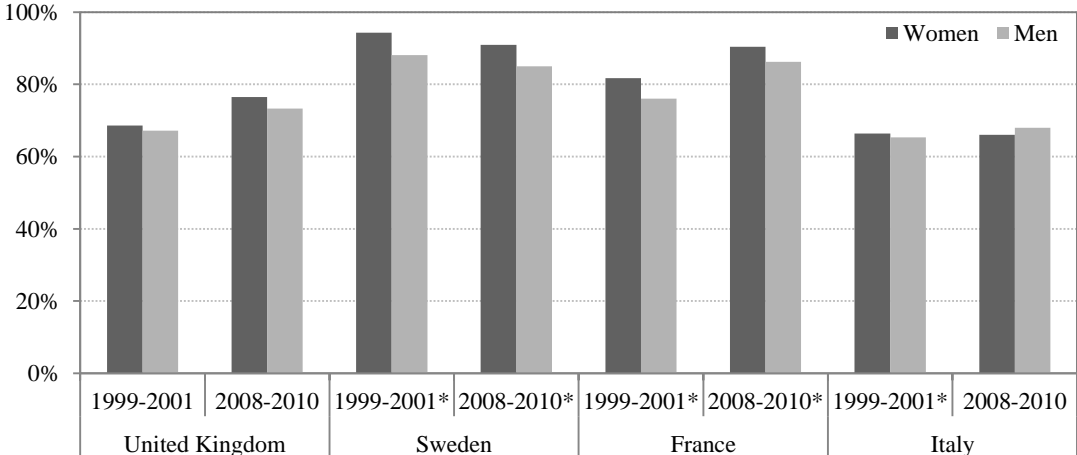
Turning to attitudes towards fathers, the vast majority across all four countries, think that fathers and mothers are equally well suited looking after their children (Figure 3). The smallest proportion who agrees to this statement is found in Italy, and the largest proportion is found in Sweden and France. The gender difference is only modest, yet men seem to have slightly less confidence in the fathers care abilities than women, except in Italy.

Figure 2: A pre-school child is likely to suffer if the mother works. Proportions agree/strongly agree with the statement, by gender and year.



Source: Calculated from European Values Survey – Longitudinal data file.
 Note: Men and women aged 18-90 years (weighted). Significant gender difference at 95 percent level indicated with a star.

Figure 3: In general, fathers are as well suited to looking after their children as mothers. Proportions agree/strongly agree with the statement.



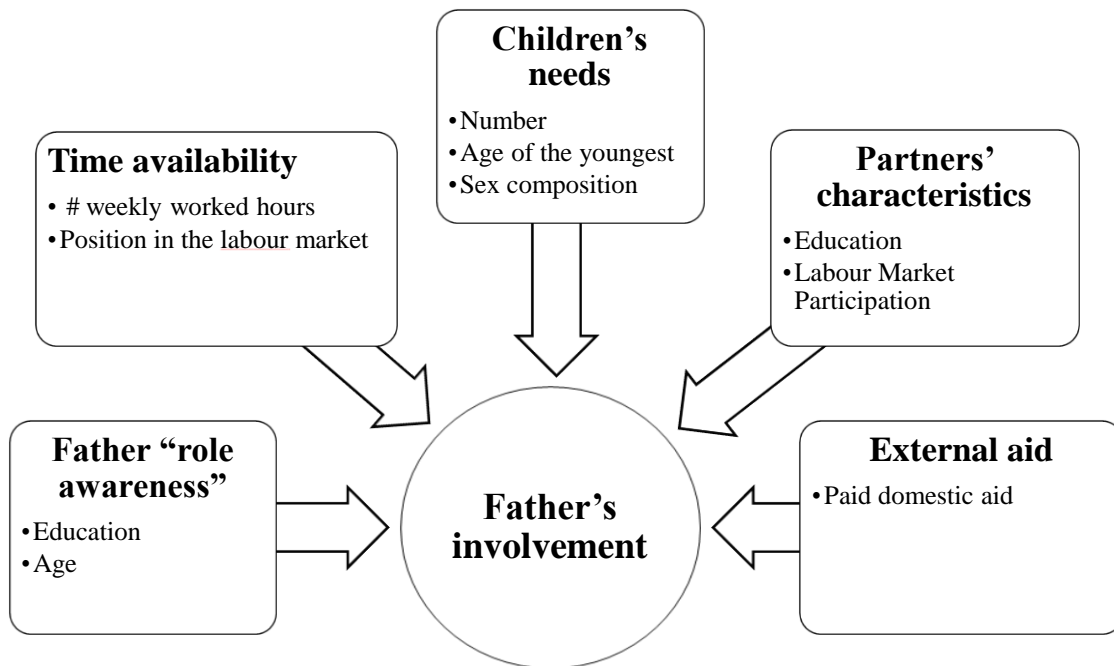
Source: Calculated from European Values Survey – Longitudinal data file.

Note: Men and women aged 18-90 years (weighted). Question not asked in 1990-1993. Significant gender difference at 95 percent level indicated with a star.

2.2. The individual level determinants of fathers' involvement

What are the individual or family level factors that allow fathers to be involved? In Figure 4, the theoretical model including possible factors affecting father's commitment is illustrated.

Figure 4: Micro-level determinants of father involvement, available in Time Use surveys in all the countries under focus



Literature evidences that a first determinant of the fathers involvement is related to *their awareness of their role*. Many studies in several countries evidence that more educated fathers are more concerned about investing time on childrearing to increase children wellbeing; consequently, they are found to be more committed, especially in terms of childcare. Previous literature shows that the time spent by father on childcare is usually higher for those with higher level of education (e.g. Presser 1994; Craig and Mullan 2010; Hooke and Wolfe 2012; Gauthier, Smeeding, and Furstenberg 2004; Gracia 2014; Sullivan 2010). It is possible that the level of education captures also an attitudinal effect since both men and women with higher level of education usually support the gender equality ideology (Brines 1994).

Similarly, it is possible that younger fathers who have been socialised in a period where the concept of masculinity and fatherhood were in evolution towards new models are more convinced to assume their role as involved fathers (Di Giulio and Carrozza 2003).

A second important determinant of the fathers involvement is related to their *time availability*. In this perspective, men's domestic time depends on the time they spend in paid work and on their working schedules (Bianchi et al. 2000). Working long hours or with non-standard working schedules can be detrimental for the time spent with children, reducing the possibility to stay with them. There are mixed findings on the extent to which fathers' employment schedules are associated with their time with children, although more hours of employment generally reduce the time they spend with their babies (see studies cited in Sayer, Bianchi, and Robinson 2004; Pailhé and Solaz 2008; Romano and Bruzzese 2007). Conversely, in a recent comparative study Craig and Mullan (2011) find that parent's work arrangements and education relate only modestly to shares of childcare, but this relationships depends on the context. Many authors have underlined also the importance of the job position of fathers. White-collar fathers, working in the public sector, part-time, or in a large company are more likely to dedicate substantial time to their children, probably because of a favourable time schedules (Smith Koslowski 2008).

A third determinant of the fathers involvement is related to *children needs*. Having younger children can be associated to a more comprehensive involvement especially in childcare-activities as babies and toddlers usually require more physical care and are more parental time-consuming. Having more children and boys can be also associated to a greater involvement.

A fourth factor is related to *partners characteristics*. According to the "relative resources and bargaining theory" (Lundberg and Pollak 1996) or "power rule" (Thomson 1990), the higher the job position and professional success of an individual, the greater is her/his bargaining

power within the household with regard to domestic work. According to this theory, roles are not predetermined by gender, but they are defined in relation to the relative earning power of each partner. Therefore, father characteristics must be taken into account, in combination with those of their spouse.

There is inconclusive empirical evidence of how mothers' employment is associated with fathers' time with children (Craig and Bittman 2008; Pailhé and Solaz 2008). The spouse who has more available free time (not working or working on a part-time basis) will spend more time doing housework and childcare (Presser 1994; Ross 1987; Geist 2005; Craig and Mullan 2011). However, the partner's time adjustment is not clear, especially in terms of childcare. If a mother works, father's participation to childcare can become a necessity. But empirical evidence shows that employed mothers do not trade-off time in paid work against childcare on a one-for-one basis (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004; Hofferth 2001). Unlike housework, which goes down as paid work hours go up, mothers maintain their childcare time by cutting back on their own leisure, personal care, and sleep (Craig 2007). This suggests that employed mothers are unwilling or unable to delegate their childcare duties, even as they commit more time to work, therefore availability effects on maternal childcare are reduced. Women who are in favor of equality in market work and housework time may not wish to make equivalent claims about childcare and may even prevent fathers from doing more with children (Allen and Hawkins 1999). Mothers might do this because they wish to retain control of a domain they feel expert in, or they do not trust fathers to deliver as high standards of care as they themselves provide (Bianchi and Milkie 2010; Craig and Mullan 2011). It would be interesting to see whether and how different welfare regimes can shape the mechanism described above.

The *external aid* could be considered as an additional fifth factor of father involvement. Presser (1994) shows indeed that when both spouses have higher incomes the total amount of

housework is decreasing, thanks to outsourcing. Other factors related to father's involvement depend on the provision of childcare, the organization of family time schedule, the availability of family informal help, the availability of facilities to purchase on the market in order to outsource childcare or domestic chore, and finally by family-friendly policies.

In this paper we try to answer the following research questions. Does the socio-economic and institutional context in which families live and grow influences the involvement of fathers in parenting activities? Do fathers allocate time in childrearing differently in the weekdays and in the weekend days? Does the amount of time father spend with their children, and the way they allocate this time, depends on individual, couple and children features?

In Sweden, both the gender role attitudes and the institutional context lead us to expect a consistently high involvement of fathers that is relatively little affected by the particular circumstances of the men. Italian families seem to be located at the opposite end of the attitude scales, as they are only weakly supported by institutional arrangements. In this situation one would not only expect relatively low levels of involvement but also that personal circumstances might be more important for differences in father's behavior. France and the UK seem to be in between, in intermediate positions.

2.3. Hypotheses

Studying the *time father spend with their children* means to cope with definitional/measurement issues. Efforts to construct a pragmatic yet valid and reliable measure of fathering have had to face the challenge of capturing the complex dimensions of father involvement (Hawkins et al. 2002; Schoppe-Sullivan et al. 2004; Day and Lamb 2004).

Gray (2006) emphasizes the multi-dimensional nature of responsibility for children; it is not just about the time spent looking after children but also about responsibility and decision-marking. In this paper we use the Lamb's conceptualization (Lamb 1987) of father

involvement, based on three main conceptual categories: a) *Accessibility/Availability*: the fathers must be in proximity with children, even not necessarily directly engaged with them; b) *Responsibility*: ability to take care of children needs autonomously; c) *Engagement*: Direct interaction with children in terms of undivided attention.

Following this line of thought, we identify three measures of fathers involvement: a) *Total time with children*; b) *Total time alone with children*; c) *Time in childcare activities*.

Total time with children can be considered as a measure of the *accessibility and availability* of the father. It includes all kind of activities, carried out with or without the partner, implying or not a direct, personal involvement of the father in childrearing activities, or mutual and reciprocal father-children interactions. We expect that this measure is mainly influenced by the fathers' working time schedules and by their children's needs (HP1a). Workplace barriers such as longer work hours or non-standard schedules are expected to be the most important elements explaining low levels of overall paternal involvement. Fathers who work long hours or following non-standard working schedules are essentially less available, they are also more likely to feel overloaded, and to show less effective parenting behaviors. Also the children characteristics are hypothesized to determine the overall time that fathers spend with them (HP1b): having very young children requires both extended period of child-minding and a greater involvement above all in those activities implying participated childrearing practices; moreover, children in pre-school ages spend a great amount of time at home (above all in those countries, like Italy, where scarce public childcare support is offered to families), thus increasing the father's likelihood to share domestic spaces with them, even if without being directly engaged in their care. Moreover, having more children requires men to be more available and to share the childrearing burdens with mothers, thus increasing the time they spend with children.

The total time fathers spend *alone* with their children is a measure of the degree of fathers *responsibility* according to the Lamb's definition: when fathers are alone indeed are the only ones in charge for responding to children's needs, and they have to do it in total autonomy. The total time fathers spend alone with children is assumed to depend on fathers availability (and so by their working schedules) and on their children's needs, but in this case we expect that also mother's labour market participation and working schedules play an important role. When mothers are employed, fathers are more likely to be involved alone with their children (HP2a). Two different mechanisms could bring to this result: fathers have to cope with the partner absence by taking her place in childrearing activities, thus being almost 'forced' to carry out parenting activities; or, in a gender perspective, having a working partner encourage men to choose and promote a more egalitarian division of domestic/parenting work.

Having more than one children requires a well arranged parenting management, so that it is plausible to think that fathers and mothers divide their time with children, both for having the chance to be not completely absorbed by parenting duties, and for trying to guarantee to all children a well-balanced individual attention. These mechanisms could increase the likelihood that fathers spend time alone with children (HP2b).

Fathers' time in childcare activities, carried out alone or with the partner, is used for measuring the level of direct engagement of fathers with their children (according to the Lamb's definition). Those activities require a high level of emotional commitment, and imply a warmer, closer, and more supportive relation with children, that has a more direct and strong impact on the children's development path.

According to the existing literature we assume that father's engagement is determined by a more complex series of factors. We expect it to be influenced by father's occupation, that explain the father's availability and degree of commitment, but also by his educational attainment: we hypothesize – according to the prevailing literature – that more educated

fathers are more aware of the importance of their role in the cognitive development of their children, so they are more likely to perform interactive activities. At the same time they are more eager to adopt more egalitarian gender roles, especially in care activities. High educated fathers are thus expected to spend more time in childcare activities than the low educated ones (HP3a).

The children characteristics can also influence the level of father's engagement. We specifically refer to children's sex and age, as youngest children require a greater level of active parenting with respect to children closer to their teen ages. The nature of father involvement changes over time as a function of their children's stages of development, with fathers themselves undergoing various developmental challenges over time (Parke 2000).

We also hypothesize that partner's characteristics influence the amount of time spent by fathers in childcare activities. Having a working partner could require to fathers a greater engagement in more active role in mundane childcare tasks. Moreover, more educated working women, can bargain a more equalitarian management of domestic/parenting issues, also driven by the awareness of the importance of the father's engagement for the development of children abilities. The extent of mothers' child care and the type of couple relation may contribute in accounting for variability in father's childcare participation.

From a cross country comparative perspective, we expect father's total time with children to be less affected by institutional context once time availability measures are controlled for, whereas time alone and time in childcare activities to be more country-specific because they are more likely to be related to gender norms and fatherhood context.

We then first expect quite similar effects of individual determinants for father's time with children. The effective availability of fathers strongly depend on the time they spend at work; cross-countries differences in the effect of such variables are not excluded, as when analyzing

work-related aspect linked to fathering, it is fundamental to consider the work and labor market rules the workers are subjected to.

Secondly, considering the responsibility and the direct engagement of fathers, we expect the individual determinants to be less fundamental in countries where – due both to rooted ungendering processes and to family-friendly work organization policies – fathers are accustomed to an egalitarian division of parenting tasks. A lower number of factors is thus hypothesized to influence the time alone with children and the time devoted to childcare activities above all in Sweden where fathers ‘naturally’ and constantly contribute in childrearing activities, independently of their own or of their family characteristics.

As far as the fathers’ responsibility and engagement measure are concerned, we expect that the characteristics of children and the working schedule of the partner will result fundamental in determining the variability in the amount of time fathers spend with their children above in all those countries (like Italy) where a traditional division of parenting roles is still strongly spread. Better explaining, in such countries fathers are generally expected to fulfill the role of breadwinner, whereas mothers are expected to be the primary caregiver for children. Therefore, working fathers, economically and financially fulfilling their fathering tasks, are not always interested in other forms of responsible interactions. They are thus expected to take on the responsibility of active, direct, and not mediated childrearing only when it is strictly necessary, that is, when their partner works and is less available, or when the high number of children requires a greater involvement to reluctant fathers.

Education could be also a dividing line between involved and not engaged fathers in those countries where a traditional female-based management of domestic/parenting task is still strongly spread, and where new forms of family organization (with more engaged fathers) generally arise among more educated individuals. High educated fathers indeed are more

opened to the idea that their engagement in care activities may contribute in fostering children's development.

However, even if the micro-level determinants of the time father spend with their children could act in different way, depending on the institutional context characterizing the countries fathers live in, our main hypothesis is that the institutional context mainly contribute in determining quantum differences among countries.

3. Data

3.1. The Time Use surveys

Time use survey data represents a unique source for measuring fathers involvement in terms of time in a cross-country perspective. The diary technique (whereby individuals report their time use during a period of 24 hours) provides extremely detailed information on the activities performed throughout a certain day (or over several days). The diary days are randomly distributed across days of the week, and throughout the year. The diary data are based on a grid of 10 minute-intervals of time, with a description of: the main activity carried out by the respondent, the second (or concurrent) activity, their location and the presence of other persons. Aside from the diary, all the data sets contain rich sets of information on the background and socio-economic situation of individuals and households.

The data used in this paper are the most recent available Italian, French, Swedish and British time-use surveys. The French Time-Use Survey was conducted in 2009-2010 by the French National Institute of Statistics (INSEE); 17,383 respondents described their time-use organization during one or two days (one weekday and/or one weekend day). A maximum of two people aged 11 or more chosen randomly in France, are interviewed either in a weekday or in a weekend day. Since some respondents in the French survey have filled out two diaries

(one on the weekend and one on a weekday), for the purpose of comparison we selected randomly one of these two diaries, with a probability of 5/7 for a weekday.

In Italy, the Time Use Survey was carried out within the Multipurpose Surveys Project conducted by the National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) in 2008-2009 on a sample of 44,606 individuals. One daily diary was filled out on either a weekday or a weekend day. The diary was filled by all the people over three years old within the same household allowing to observe both partners within couple.

Data from the Swedish Time Use Survey 2010 (SWETUS) is used in the Swedish analysis. The SWETUS employed a stratified simple random two-sample design; one sample refers to the individuals and the second sample refers to household, a total of 3,264 respondents. Both the individual and the household samples are stratified by gender and age. The respondents are asked to fill in a time diary for one randomly selected weekday and one weekend.

For UK, we decide not to use the most recent survey as the ONS Time-Use 2005 survey relies mostly on pre-coded variables, which reduces its adaptability to the cross-national comparisons. For example, child's age categories were not compatible with the other surveys and the survey did not record any information about who was present during an activity nor did it record any information about the partner, i.e. the mother. The 2000 UK Time Use Survey (UKTUS) was instead more suitable for our scope. It used a stratified sample of private households in the United Kingdom with the aim of interviewing all household members aged 8 and over. A total of 11,667 individuals in 6,414 households were interviewed and most individuals completed one weekday and one weekend diary. For each entry in a diary, the respondents were asked to report whether other persons were present with categories 'alone or with people you don't know', 'Children up to 9 living in your household', 'Children aged 10 to 14 living in your household', 'Other household members' and 'Other persons that you know'. Because both partners and children aged 15 and older are reported

under the same category of ‘Other household members’, we excluded fathers with children aged 15 and older in the household from our sample, which allows us to unanimously identify the time that the father has spent together with a child.

3.2. The sample

The analysis in this paper includes a sub-sample of men (2,306 in France, 2,481 in Italy, 257 in Sweden, 1,518 in UK), who self-identified as a biological, adoptive, step or foster parent or guardian of at least one co-resident child aged 0-14 years. When more children are present we select only fathers having all the children in this age range and exclude the others, on the one hand for seek of comparability with the British data, which otherwise could not allow to distinguish the time father spend with the children alone or with their partner. On the other hand the choice is linked to the fact that time use surveys hardly count time devoted to adolescents.

The sample fathers are married or cohabiting, living with a female partner, either working or not. Households with adults other than the marital or de facto couples are excluded by the sub-sample, as well as complex families. This is done in order to avoid the confounding effect of other adults who are able to provide childcare or domestic tasks, but who also might require additional care. Table 2 describes the main characteristics of the fathers in the sample according to children composition, the fathers’ characteristics, and their partners’ labour market participation.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of fathers in couples with children 0-14 years

	Sweden		France		UK		Italy	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
<i>Age of the youngest child</i>								
Younger than 3	98	38.1	888	38.5	262	34.8	835	33.7
3-5 years	73	28.4	671	29.1	171	22.7	680	27.4
6-14 years	86	33.5	747	32.4	321	42.6	966	38.9
<i>Number of children</i>								
One child	91	35.4	888	38.5	283	37.5	1129	45.5
Two children	121	47.1	1045	45.3	329	43.6	1156	46.6
Three or more children	45	17.5	373	16.2	142	18.8	196	7.9
<i>Sex of children</i>								
Only boys	78	30.4	740	32.1	247	32.8	938	37.8
Only girls	79	30.7	769	33.3	235	31.2	807	32.5
Both boys and girls	100	38.9	797	34.6	272	36.1	736	29.7
<i>Father's age</i>								
<35 years	34	13.2	702	30.4	285	37.8	407	16.4
35-44 years	175	68.1	1208	52.4	350	46.4	1559	62.8
>44 years	48	18.7	396	17.2	119	15.8	515	20.8
<i>Partnership status</i>								
Married	152	59.1	1534	66.5	662	87.8	2295	92.5
Cohabiting	104	40.5	772	33.5	91	12.1	186	7.5
Status unknown	152	59.1	-	-	1	0.1	-	-
<i>Father's education</i>								
Low education	15	5.8	1109	48.1	432	57.3	1021	41.2
Middle education	134	52.1	189	8.2	202	26.8	1100	44.3
High education	106	41.2	1008	43.7	120	15.9	360	14.5
<i>Father's occupational position</i>								
High	151	58.8	792	34.3	333	44.2	825	33.3
Middle	22	8.6	229	9.9	86	11.4	487	19.6
Low	67	26.1	1249	54.2	330	43.8	952	38.4
Never worked	17	6.6	36	1.6	5	0.7	56	2.3
<i>Father's working hours</i>								
<35 hours/week	12	4.7	619	26.8	37	4.9	542	21.9
35-44 hours/week	147	57.2	350	15.2	244	32.4	808	32.6
45+ hours/week	77	30	1082	46.9	326	43.2	970	39.1
Not in paid work	15	5.8	255	11.1	61	8.1	161	6.5
No information	6	2.3	-	-	86	11.4	-	-
<i>Paid domestic help</i>								
No paid domestic help	233	90.7	2048	88.8	705	93.5	2250	90.7
Paid domestic help	24	9.3	258	11.2	49	6.5	231	9.3
N	257		2306		754		2481	

3.3. Fathers and household characteristics in the analysis

By starting from our theoretical model we want to analyse the time fathers spend with their children by trying to understand which micro-level factors mainly contribute in determining it. We thus take into account, respectively, the fathers' characteristics (professional position, weekly worked hours, education, age), their children characteristics (age, number, sex), the partner/couple features (couple status, partner working schedule, partner education), as well as the availability of external domestic help.

As said in the previous sections of the paper, the work-related characteristics of fathers are important in determining their availability for fathering activities. Therefore we take into account both the occupational position of fathers (that can also be considered a 'social status' indicator), and the number of weekly working hours.

The categorisation of fathers' occupational position is based on the International Standard Classification of Occupations, ISCO-88. The variable is divided into four categories; high (includes the groups 10-39: legislators, professionals, managers, associate professionals), middle (includes the groups 40-59: clerks, service workers, low (includes groups 60-94: craft, trades, industry, elementary occupations). The fourth category includes those fathers who have never worked; they should be expected to have more time availability for their children, but it is possible that those individuals experience some impediments (of different nature) that prevent them from taking care of their children. Moreover, we expect fathers in high and low working position to have less time to invest in fathering with respect to white collars.

The classification of the number of weekly worked hours has been made by trying to overcome, as much as possible, differences and peculiarities characterizing the definition of part and full time work in the four countries under analysis, thus obtaining an harmonized measure. We specifically use four categories: light full time, for fathers working less than 35 h/w, regular full time, for fathers working from 35 to 45 h/w, and over full time for those

involved in work for more than 45 h/w. We expect the availability of fathers to decrease as their working schedule becomes more and more time demanding.

We also want to investigate if the time fathers spend with their children is linked to the father's education level. We use the ISCED classification in order to create three categories: low (ISCED 0-2), medium (ISCED 3-4), high (ISCED 5-6).

Father's education can affect both the quantity and the quality of time spent with children for a twofold order of reason: high educated fathers are more likely to develop less conservative and less traditional view of family related issues, that also mirror on their openness toward a non-gendered management of childrearing tasks. Moreover, they are more interested in having a direct and active role in taking care of the cognitive development of their children, thus investing more time in interactive activities, carried out in total autonomy and independency with respect to the partner. High educated fathers are thus expected to spend more time in childcare activities than the low educated ones.

Father's age has been divided in three categories: <35, 35-45, >45.

Under the hypothesis that the children characteristics are an important determinants of the time fathers spend with them, we take into account the number, the sex and the age of children in the family. We specifically take into account the age of the youngest child (categorized as follows: less than 3 years, 3-5 years, 6-14 years). Our hypothesis is that the presence of infant and very young children in the family requires a great involvement of fathers, above all in childcare activities.

Moreover, we put together, in a unique combined variable, the number of children and their sex, thus obtaining the following categories: 1 male; 1 female; more than 1 - all females; more than 1 - all males; more than 1 - both sexes.

In this way we simultaneously test the existence of both size and gender effect on the time father spend with their children. We expect fathers with more than one children to spend a

greater amount of time in childrearing practices. Not clear and unique hypotheses are formulated with respect to sex; different effects could play a role: fathers could spend more time with their sons, because of a mechanism of highly shared interests, but also 'Freudian' mechanisms could be expected, bringing to warmer relations between fathers and their daughters.

The mother's (here considered in the role of father's partner) characteristics are expected to influence the time fathers spend with their children too.

We consider both the mothers' education, measured through a dummy variable indicating whether or not they have tertiary education, and the mothers' working schedule, categorized in part time, full time, not in paid work. Fathers married/cohabiting with high educated women are expected to spend more time with children, because their partner are expected to be oriented toward an ungendered division of childrearing tasks. Moreover we hypothesize that, when the partner is employed and therefore less available for parenting activities, fathers have to guarantee a more engaged presence and a more active role both in childcare and non-childcare tasks, thus spending more time with their children. Specifically, men with a full-time working partner are expected to spend the greatest amount of time in fathering.

The partnership status (a two categories variable indicating if the father is in a married or in a cohabiting couple) is also considered in the analyses. Cohabiting fathers, generally expected to be oriented toward less-traditional family formation and family management behaviors, are hypothesized to spend more time with their children than married fathers.

The role of paid domestic help (including cooking, cleaning, washing, childminding) is also taken into account. Unfortunately we do not have any information of unpaid informal aid received by the household, that for instance in some contexts, as Italy might be important.

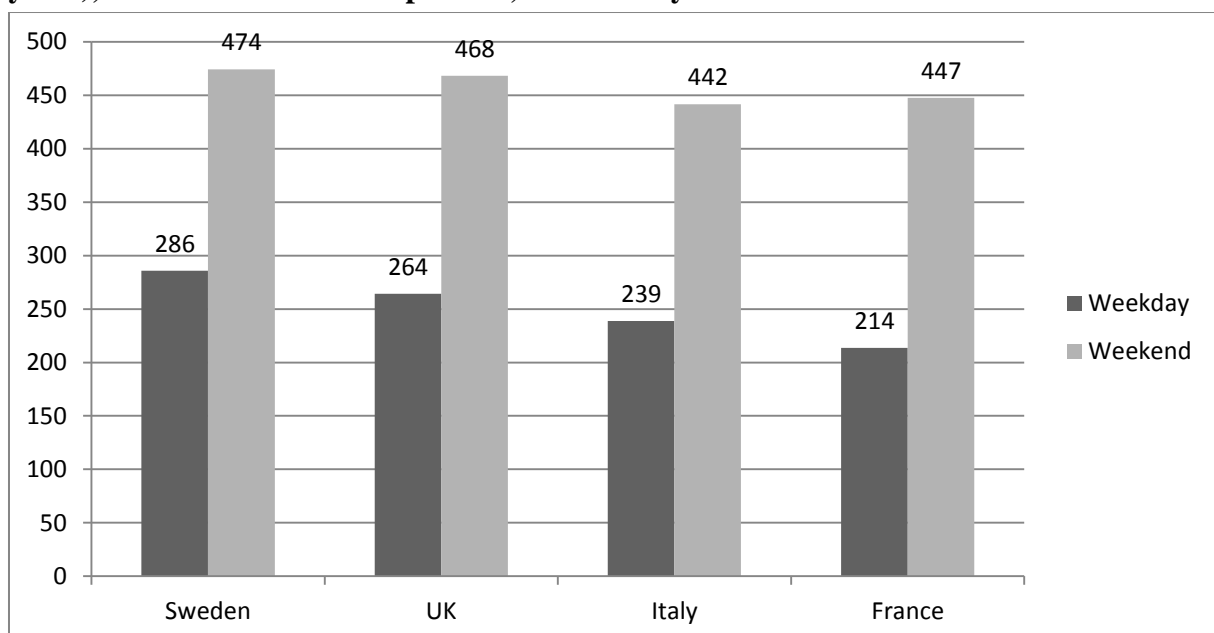
4. Descriptive results

In the first three sub-paragraph we show the descriptive findings on fathers time, separately for the three dimension analysed: total time with children, total time alone with children, time devoted to childcare. We dedicate the last paragraph to an overall picture of these times on the whole.

4.1. Time with children

The time when fathers are available to children is important for developing a mutual relationship and knowledge with their offspring. Fathers spend with their children (no matter the activity they are doing) between 214 minutes a day in France (around 3.5 hours) to 286 minutes a day in Sweden (around 4.7 hours) in the week day (Fig. 5).

Figure 5: Fathers' total daily minutes spent together with their children (aged 0-14 years), either alone and with partner, on weekday and weekend.



Source: Authors' calculation on Time Use surveys.

During the weekend – when fathers' time is plausibly less constrained – their total time with children averages between 442 minutes a day in Italy (about 7.3 hours) and 474 minutes in Sweden (7.9 hours) (Fig. 5). As expected, the cross-country variability in this indicator is not

so large because less connected to gender norms and institutional context than the two other indicators. It is wider during weekdays than weekends probably due to different work schedules constraints.

4.2. Time alone with children

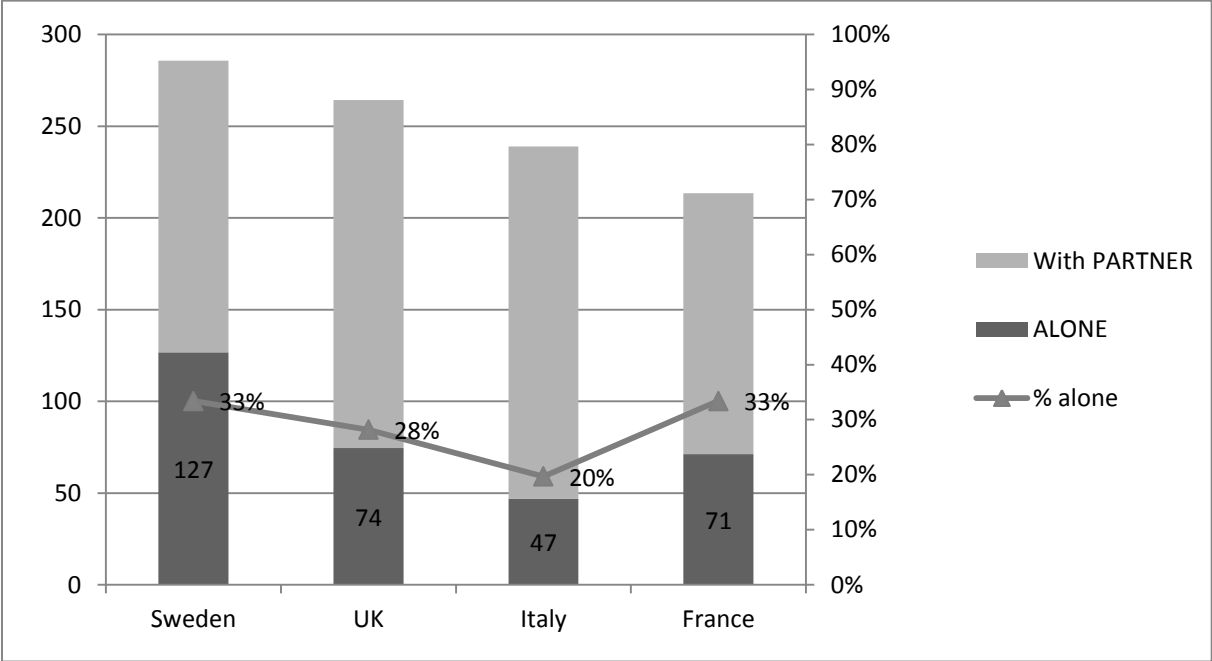
The cross-country variability is remarkably higher when we consider the time fathers spend *alone* with their children.

The time that fathers spend alone with their children is important because in those circumstances they are the only ones in charge for responding to children's needs.

In a week day, Swedish fathers use one third of the total time spent with their children, without the partner or any other adult present, equal to 127 minutes a day (Fig. 6). In all the other country the time that father spent alone is remarkably lower (in absolute terms): ranging from 47 minutes spent by the Italian father to 71 and 74, spent respectively by the French and by the British peers. However the proportion of time spent alone on total time is equal or very close to one third (and to the Swedish case) in France and UK, while in Italy is equal to one fifth (Fig. 6).

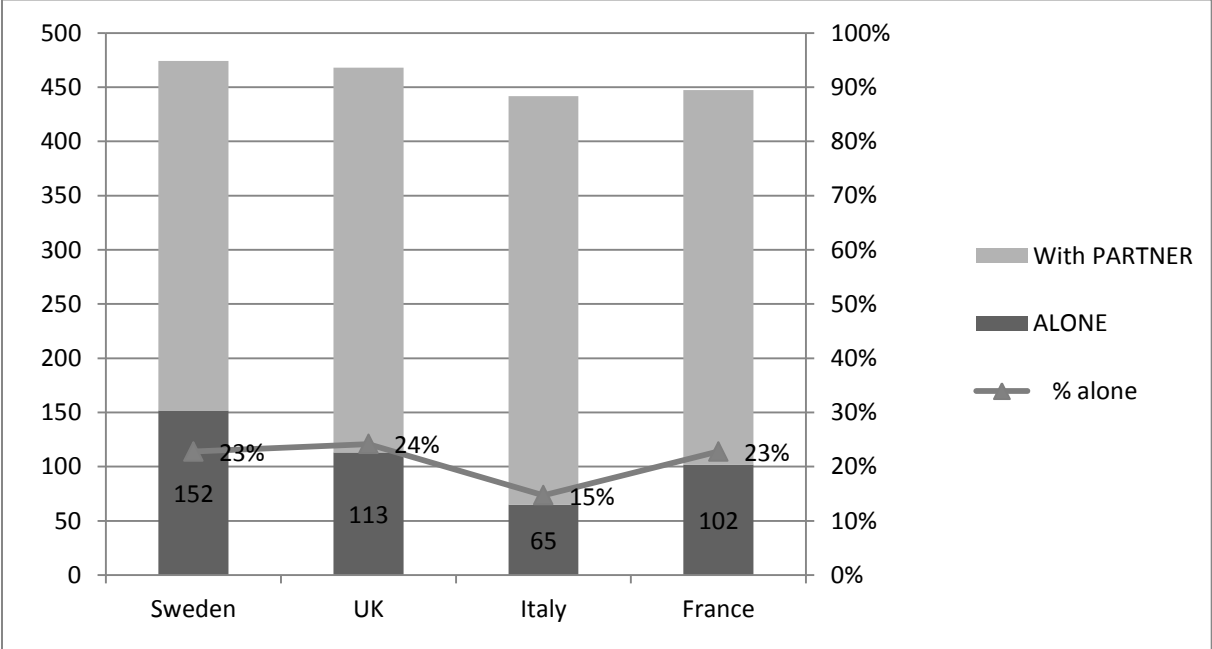
If during the weekend the total time that fathers use with their offspring is sensibly higher than in weekday, the same cannot be said for the proportion of time that father spend alone, which is everywhere remarkably lower, averaging between 15% of Italy to 23% or 24% in the other three countries (Fig. 7). Weekends seem on the one hand the privileged time that father share with their children, but on the other hand this is rather a sort of *family time* as most of father spend it with the mother also present. Surely this time is important for the family on the whole, but we are not certain whether during the weekend fathers really empower in their fathering ability.

Figure 6: Fathers' daily minutes spent together with their children (aged 0-14 years) in total and alone (without any other adult present), on weekday.



Source: Authors' calculation on Time Use surveys.

Figure 7: Fathers' daily minutes spent together with their children (aged 0-14 years) in total and alone (without any other adult present), on weekend.



Source: Authors calculation on Time Use surveys

4.3. Childcare

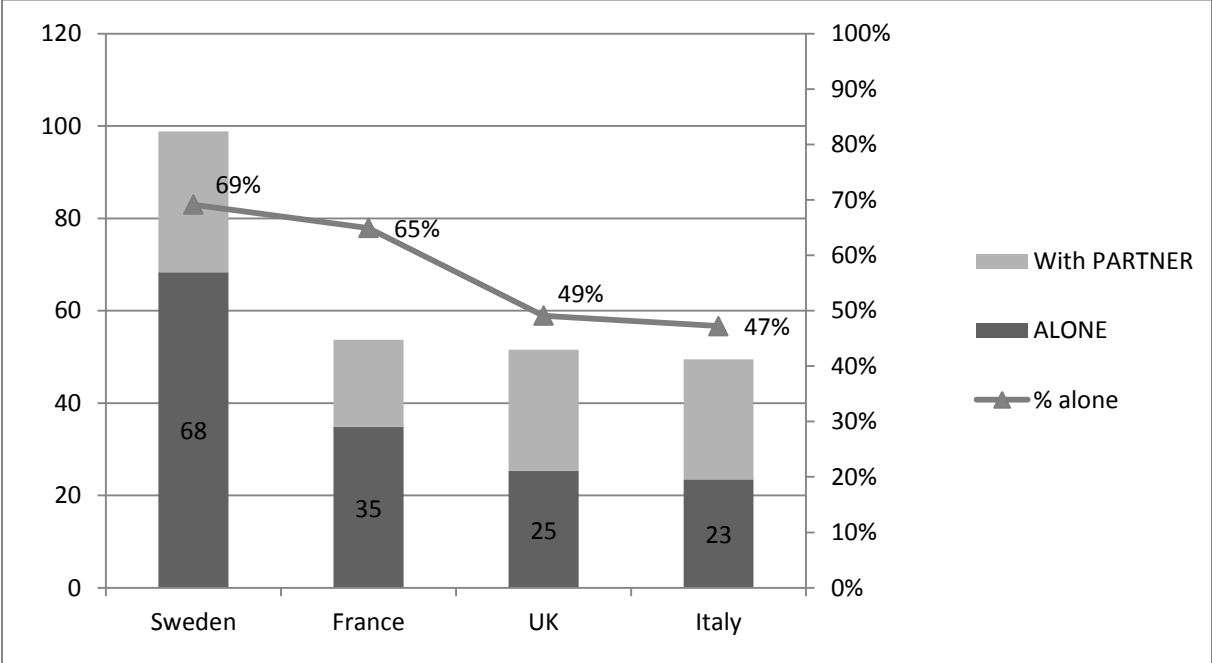
Time devoted to childcare⁵ distinguishes univocally those fathers who are directly engaged in the fundamental activity of childbearing. The cross-country comparison shows a substantial diversity between Sweden and the other three countries that are more homogeneous among them, on the whole.

Swedish fathers perform childcare activities for around 100 minutes a day both in the weekend and weekday, and mostly (around 70%) alone (fig. 8 and 9). In the other three countries time dedicated to childcare waves around 49-54 minutes a day in the weekday and 65-70 in the weekend. The proportion of these activities performed without their partner are lower in Italy and UK (less than a half in the weekday) and around 40% in the weekend (Fig. 8 and 9). In all the countries, but Sweden, the proportion of childcare performed alone decreases sensibly on the weekend, due probably to the co-presence of their partner.

Therefore we must argue that the Swedish fathers are outstanding in terms of the engagement in childcare activities as they are at the same time the most involved and the most autonomous in performing them, no matter if on the weekend or weekday.

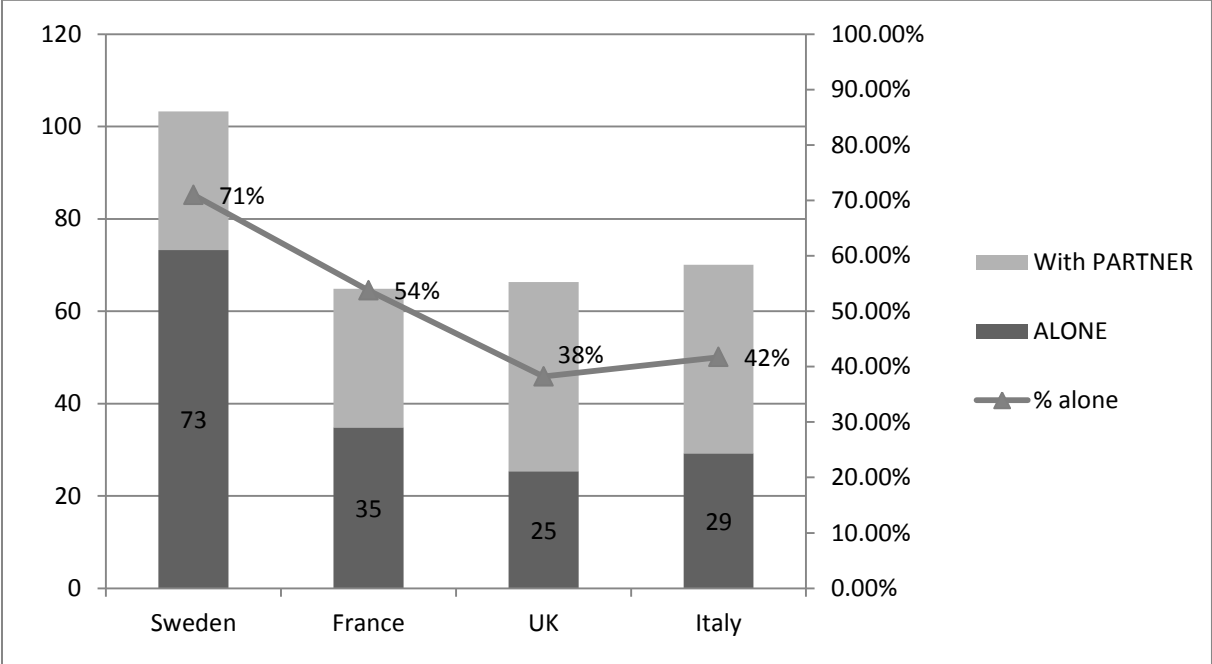
⁵ Childcare activities in our definition include: basic care, play, teaching, and accompanying. Basic care implies feeding, bathing, medical care, play implies recreational activities, teaching implies help with homework, etc., and accompanying implies transport activities.

Figure 8: Fathers' total daily minutes spent in childcare (with and without any other adult present), on weekday.



Source: Authors' calculation on Time Use surveys.

Figure 9: Fathers' total daily minutes spent in childcare (with and without any other adult present), on weekend.



Source: Authors' calculation on Time Use surveys.

4.4 An overall picture

In order to give a total picture of fathers' commitment across the analysed countries, we present the *total time with children spent by father*, in each country, split in different categories: the amount of time devoted to active child care activities, and in non-childcare-related activities. Those categories are further split in order to distinguish fathers' time alone with children (solo time) and time with children and the mother together (shared time). These distinctions allow to better investigate the amount of time when fathers are actively and directly engaged in caregiving activities (thus being the only subject responsible in meeting children's needs), and when children are the main focus of father's activities.

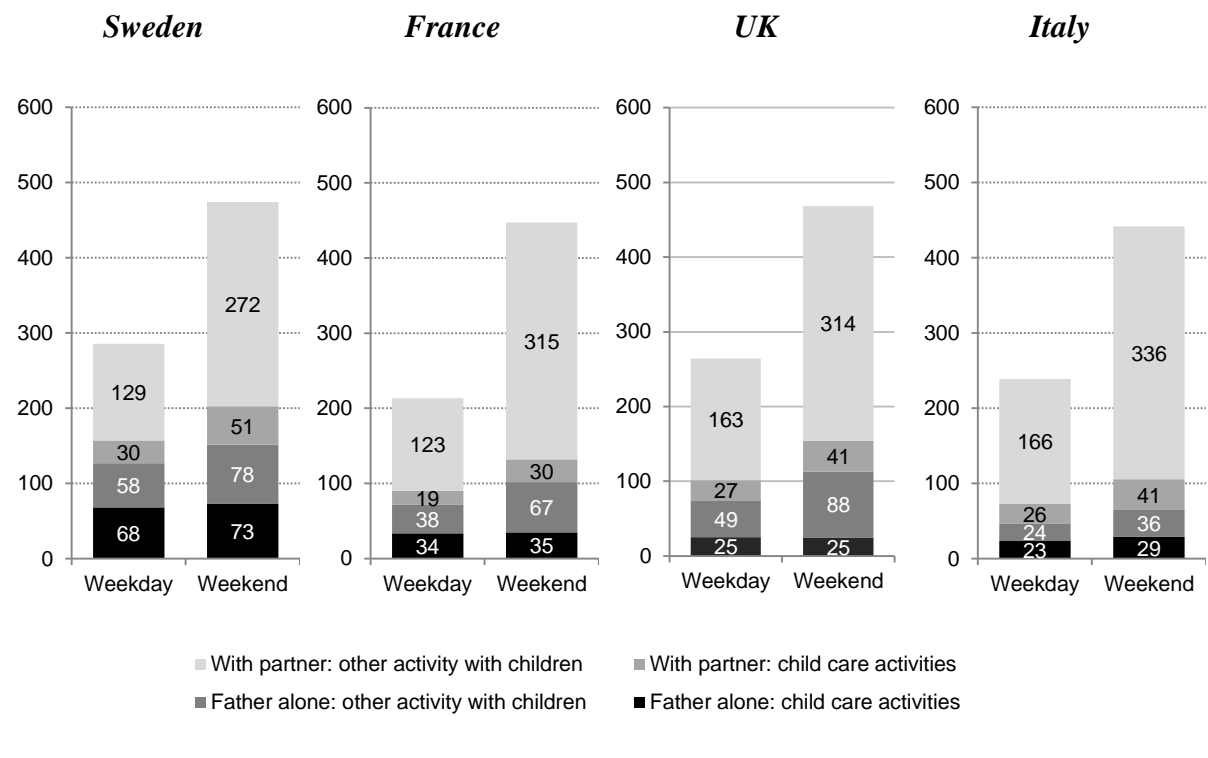
Figure 10 presents the total time father spend with their children and its fourth components: a) Childcare activities alone with children; b) Other (non-childcare related) activities alone with children; c) Childcare activities with children and the partner; d) Other (non-childcare related) activities with children and the partner.

Wide cross-countries differences are observed when focusing on the total time father spend with their children during the weekdays, with Swedish fathers investing the greater amount of time, and French fathers being those who spend the lowest number of minutes with their children. Those differences tend to smooth during the weekends.

It is interesting to note that the time allocation scheme across the different activities is strictly country dependent: in Sweden a more balanced management of time is observed, with fathers spending the greatest amount of time in childcare activities alone and, in general, the greatest amount of time alone with children, with respect to the other countries. In Italy childcare activities and activities carried out with children, in autonomy, are a marginal component of the overall time, which is mostly devoted to less demanding activities (non-childcare activities carried out with the children in the presence of the mother). In UK and in France the time spent in childcare activities represents a low proportion of the overall time with children too,

but, differently from Italy, fathers show a greater commitment into non-childcare activities carried out alone with children.

Figure 10. Fathers’ total minutes together with their children (aged 0-14 years), alone and with partner, on weekday and weekend day.



In all the analysed countries, differences in the time father spend with their children between weekday and weekend are mostly due to a greater involvement in non-childcare activities (above all those performed together with the partner) during the weekends. This means that, even if during the weekends fathers are more “available”, they spend their “additional” time in those activities who do not necessarily imply a direct commitment in childrearing. The phenomenon is less pronounced in Sweden, where father assume the role of “real carer” of their children, by devoting a great amount of time in those activities requiring direct, autonomous, more committed and emotional relations with their children.

In the following paragraph we verify whether the cross-country differences are connected more to father’s, mother’s or children’s characteristics and whether they do persist once we

control for those characteristics, in a OLS regression model, separately for the weekend and weekday.

5. Regression results

We present the results of the OLS analysis in two ways. In the text we insert two simplified tables (Table 3 for the weekday and Table 4 for weekend) including only the sign of the significant coefficients and the intercept summarising the results for all the three dependent variables under focus (total time, total time alone, time in childcare) in each country. In the appendix (Table A1- A4) we report the final models with all the coefficients. We discuss the variables according to our groups of determinants introduced above and compare the three indicators as well as weekdays and weekend days.

5.1. Work-related characteristics

Regression results show that in the weekday the *total amount of time that fathers spend with their children* (a proxy of fathers' availability) is mainly influenced by fathers' work-related characteristics, in all the countries analyzed (Table 3). Being not in paid work strongly increases fathers' availability in all countries, with the exception of Sweden. Both Italian and French fathers working less than 35 hours/week are more available than those working from 35-45 hours/week. The occupational position (that can also be considered a social class indicator) plays a role in Sweden and Italy: during the weekdays fathers with a medium position are significantly more available than fathers in low and high working positions. French fathers who have never been in paid work show lower availability levels compared to those holding a middle-level professional position. It is likely that this rather small group experiences other impediments such as health problems that prevent them from both spending time with their children and working.

When the allocation of the total time that fathers spend with their children during the weekend is analyzed (Table 4) it emerges that the fathers' *work-related characteristics* are less important in determining the fathers availability than on weekdays. However, the total amount of time spent with children is still significantly determined by the *professional position* of fathers. In Italy and Sweden it can be observed that fathers in high and low professional positions – who display a lower time availability on weekdays – during the weekend show significantly higher levels of availability, possibly due to an attempt to compensate for their greater absence on weekdays.

Turning to the level of father's responsibility (*time with children alone*) and the time that fathers allocate to *childcare activities* on weekdays, fathers' hours of paid work stand out as highly significant: fathers with shorter hours and fathers who are not in paid work spend more time in these activities on weekdays than fathers who work for longer hours. There are few differences in fathers' time with children alone and fathers' time in childcare between fathers with a low, medium or high occupational position but fathers who have never worked tend to spend less time in these activities on weekdays than fathers who have been in paid work. On weekend days, there is no consistent pattern of association between fathers' work-related characteristics and their time with children alone nor with their time in childcare activities.

5.2 Father's awareness characteristics

Differently from previous studies and from our initial hypothesis, the variables used to test the importance of 'fathers' awareness' in determining the time fathers spend with their children showed only few significant effects. Specifically, *father's level of education* does not seem to be an influential determinant of any of the three types of father involvement in models that also control for fathers' occupational positions. This applies both to weekdays and weekend days.

Similar findings hold for *fathers' age* that displays very few significant effects on weekdays. However, on weekend days the age of fathers does influence the time availability of fathers in all countries with the exception of Sweden. Both in Italy and France younger fathers are less involved during the weekend than older fathers. An interpretation could be that young fathers spend their time in leisure activities without getting their children involved. The opposite is true in UK: fathers older than 44 years are less available in the weekend than younger fathers, a pattern that is also repeated for the time alone with children and time in childcare in the UK. Overall, father's 'awareness' does not affect father involvement in a systematic way on weekdays nor on weekend days in the models that control for fathers' work characteristics.

Table 3: OLS regression intercept and sign of the coefficient estimates on total time with children, time alone with children and in childcare in UK, France Italy and Sweden, weekdays (only significant results shown)

			TOTAL TIME				TIME ALONE				CHILDCARE			
			IT	FR	UK	SE	IT	FR	UK	SE	IT	FR	UK	SE
Intercept			252.6	156.6	259.9	226.8	57.9	53.7	100.3	210.9	28	38.6	55.2	150.9
Father	Professional position (Ref. Medium)	High	-								-			
		Low	-								-			
		Never work	--				-				--			
	Education (Ref. Medium)	Low	+				-				+			
		High												
	Working h/w (Ref. Regular full time)	Light ft	+				+				+			
		Over ft	-				-				-			
Not in work		++	++	++		+	+		++	+	+	+	++	
Age	<35													
	>44					+								
Children	Sex*Number (Ref. Both sexes)	One male	-				-				-			
		One female	-				-				-			
		>1 all male					-							
		>1 all female	-				-				-			
Age (Ref. 3-5)	<3	+	+							+	+	+	+	
	6-14					-				-				
Partner/couple	Working h/w (Ref. Not in work)	Full time					+	+	+		+	+	+	+
		Part time					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Couple status (Ref. Married)	Cohabiting				+				-				
	Education (Ref. No tertiary)	Tertiary								+				
	Domestic Help (Ref. No)	Yes				+				-				

Table 4: OLS regression intercept and sign of the coefficient estimates on total time with children, time alone with children and in childcare in UK, France Italy and Sweden, weekend days (only significant results shown)

			TOTAL TIME				TIME ALONE				CHILDCARE				
			IT	FR	UK	SE	IT	FR	UK	SE	IT	FR	UK	SE	
Intercept			359.8	444.9	576	185.3	69.84	118.2	161.5	206.8	46.15	40.87	74.48	150.8	
Father	Professional position (Ref. Medium)	High	+			+					+				
		Low	+	+	-	+	+						-		
		Never work							-	++					
	Education (Ref. Medium)	Low												-	
		High													+
	Working h/w (Ref. Regular full time)	Light ft	-												
		Over ft	-				-	-							
Not in work						+				+		+	++		
Age	<35	-	-												
	>44				-								-		
Children	Sex*Number (Ref. Both sexes)	One male		-				-	-						
		One female	-	-	-		-	-	-	-				-	
		>1 all male		-								+			
		>1 all female													
Age (Ref. 3-5)	<3	+								+	+	+	+		
	6-14	-	-	-					-	-	-	-	-		
Partner/couple	Working h/w (Ref. Not in work)	Full time					+	+	+				+		
		Part time	+		+		+		+				+		
	Couple status (Ref. Married)	Cohabiting									+	+			
	Education (Ref. No tertiary)	Tertiary		-											
	Domestic Help (Ref. No)	Yes		+				+				+	+		

5.3 Children's needs

Children's needs exert a strong influence on fathers' involvement. In particular the *age of the youngest child* influences the *total time that fathers spend with their children* in France, Italy and UK on weekdays and, more strongly, on weekends. In those countries, fathers of children aged less than 3 years are more available and fathers with only children older than 6 years are less involved than fathers whose youngest child is between 3 and 5 years old (the reference category). The effect of the age of the youngest child is stronger for *fathers' time in childcare*. In all countries and on both weekdays and weekend days, fathers of children under age 3 spend significantly more time in childcare and fathers with only children older than 6 years spend less time in childcare than fathers whose youngest child is between 3 and 6 years old. The age of children seems to be less important in determining the fathers' responsibility levels (*time spent alone with children*).

Looking at the variable combining the *number of children with their sex*, country specificities emerge, rather than consistent common elements. Generally, a tendency of fathers who only have one child to be less involved, with a particularly low involvement on weekends if the single child is a girl rather than a boy is registered when analyzing both the total time and the time spent alone with children.

The time father spend in childcare activities is not significantly determined by the sex and the number of children, in most of the analyzed countries, both in the weekdays and in the weekend.

5.4 Partner's characteristics and domestic help

No commonalities emerge with respect to the influence of the *partner/couple characteristics* on the total time that fathers spend with their children neither on weekdays, nor on weekends. The partner's working hours are, however, affecting both the *time that the father spends alone* with the children on weekdays and weekend days, and his *time in childcare* on weekdays. If their partners are in paid work, fathers are more likely to take more responsibility for the child on weekdays and weekend days. In Sweden, the difference only emerges if the partner works part-time whereas there

in no difference in father's time with children between fathers with full-time working partners and fathers whose partner is not in paid work. There is no consistent pattern of association between father's time in childcare on weekends and his partner's hours of paid work. We observe no consistent patterns of benefitting from domestic help. Interestingly, all significant effects on weekend days are positive, suggesting that fathers are more involved and take more responsibility for their children if they have domestic help. Having domestic help could capture an income or wealth effect. In France and the United Kingdom, well-off couples might outsource some domestic work to free their time for engaging with their children.

5.5 Comparative perspective: commonalities across countries

Finally, in a comparative perspective, as expected, a smaller number of variables resulted to be significant in influencing the father's availability in Sweden than in the other countries. This can be taken as a confirmation of our hypothesis that in Sweden, rooted de-gendering processes and family-friendly work organization policies enhance fathers to be accustomed to an egalitarian division of parenting tasks and to 'naturally' and constantly contribute in childrearing activities, independently of their own or of their family characteristics. In the other countries analyzed, different factors influence the fathers' availability (*total time with children*); most of them are linked to the fathers work-related characteristics, influencing the 'potential' amount of time they can spend with children, and to the children's needs, that determine the demand of engagement in childrearing activities. However, the small number of significant effects in the Swedish analyses can also result from the smaller size of the Swedish data set. The comparative analysis reveals many commonalities in the patterns of father involvement. With regard to the variables associated with the level of father's responsibility (*time with children alone*) during week days, *father's working hours* are highly important in determining the amount of time they can spend with their children (with the exception of the UK where the variable has no significant effects). Father's education has a significant effect only among Italian and also in UK fathers, but with opposite sign in that case.

As far as the *children characteristics* are concerned, the age of the youngest child seems not to influence the amount of time that fathers spend alone with their children, while the number of children, their sex or both of these have significant effects in all the analyzed countries with the exception of Sweden.

Moreover, a clear, common result emerges: the amount of time fathers spend alone with their children is strongly influenced by the *working conditions of their partner*. Having a working partner is associated with fathers assuming more responsibility, which translates into a greater amount of time spent alone with children.

When examining the time *fathers spend alone* with their children during the weekend, it emerges that *father's characteristics* no more (systematically) explain their responsibility levels variability; while the variables that better explain the phenomenon are linked to the *children's* as well as to the *partner's characteristics* in the week end too.

Like in the week days, during the week end the availability of the partner contribute in determining the time fathers spend alone with their children. In all the countries with the exception of Sweden, fathers with a working partner are more involved in parenting activities carried out autonomously, without the presence of other adults. It is possible that this is related to their partners' working schedules requiring them to work during the weekend days, but it is also possible that when women are in paid work a less gendered division of the domestic/parenting work becomes the rule in the management of family issues.

When considering the analysis of the time fathers allocate in *childcare activities*, three elements seem to be fundamental in explaining the variability in the fathers' engagement levels, on weekdays, in all the analyzed countries: fathers hours of paid work, the *age of children* and the *partner's availability*.

Some of our initial hypotheses were not confirmed. The educational level of fathers had no significant effects on the engagement levels in any country, in contrast to our expectations. These results suggest that during weekdays fathers' working conditions are more important for their

engagement than their awareness. The hypothesis that individual determinants of active fatherhood would be less important in countries (such as Sweden) where fatherhood is more encouraged by policy and norms, and socioeconomic gradient reduced, is not confirmed at all. However, we found quite similar and convergent effects of factors influencing father involvement.

In contrast to weekdays, the analysis of the fathers' levels of engagement during the weekend show instead that few common element exist in the factors explaining the way fathers allocate their time in *childcare activities*. The father's characteristics seem to weakly account for the variation of time in childcare activities. The educational level of fathers is significant only in the UK and in Sweden, with high educated fathers showing a greater level of commitment, and the low educated fathers, showing lower engagement levels, than the medium educated ones. The hypothesis that high educated fathers are more involved in direct, interactive and warm relations with their children, as driven by the awareness of the importance of childcare activities in the process of development of the child, is thus confirmed in those countries where the process of un-gendering of the parenting organization is more spread and developed.

The only common factor determining the fathers' engagement levels during the weekend is the age of the youngest child.

5.6 Household employment analysis results

The regression analyses above reveal that during the weekday, father's and mother's working hours were strongly associated with father's time in childrearing activities. To better understand these results we ran alternative regression models where we combined the information about both parent's working hours into a single variable called 'household employment'. These more parsimonious models could help our understanding of how the different fathering measures are influenced by the overall parents' availability on weekdays.

Table 5. Regression results: significant coefficients' signs for household employment variable. Weekdays.

		TOTAL TIME				TIME ALONE				CHILDCARE			
		IT	FR	UK	SE	IT	FR	UK	SE	IT	FR	UK	SE
HH EMPLOYMENT	No working	++	++	++						+	+	+	
	Male breadwinner					-	-	-		-	-	-	
	Male 1.5 earner			+									
	Female breadwinner	++	++		++	+	+			+	+		++

The results in Table 5 confirm that the total time that fathers spend with their children strongly increases when fathers are not in work, independently of whether or not the partner is in paid work, both in Italy and France (reference category is a dual full-time earner couple). In the UK fathers in couples where neither spouse is in paid work are significantly more available than fathers in dual earner couples, while in Sweden only men not in paid work, living with a working partner show a greater fathering availability.

As far as the amount of time spent alone with children is concerned, household employment does not significantly influence the fathers responsibility levels in Sweden. In contrast, French, Italian, and UK breadwinner fathers spend less time alone with their children than fathers in dual earners couples, following a traditional model of marital specialization. Symmetrically, both in Italy and France men in a female breadwinner couple spend more time alone with their children. In those countries fathers' time responsibility seems to be strongly influenced by the partner availability whereas it is not the case in Sweden or UK. This result might suggest that father's responsibility is less linked to constraints and more considered as normal in Sweden and the UK.

The time fathers spend in childcare activities also depends on the household employment pattern. Specifically, Italy and France show similar patterns that seem to depend mainly on the father's characteristics: if the father is not in paid work, independently of the working condition of the partner, he is significantly more engaged than fathers in a dual earner couple, while breadwinner fathers spend less time in childcare activities. This may be due not only to the father's time

availability, but also to the fact that working fathers often think that financially providing for their children relieves them from the childcare ‘burden’, whereas not working fathers try to contribute to parenting tasks and to have an active – not economic – role in the children growth process, even when the partner is fully available for childcare.

6. Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to explore how fathers’ involvement with children occurs within different contexts in terms of gender regimes, family policies and workplace culture. The four countries included in the study are interesting examples of diversity in this respect: differences in terms of family friendly policies and of gender equality norms, sketch also different fatherhood regimes.

Our purpose is to measure father involvement across countries and to evidence possible individual factors that may enable or challenge the capability of fathers to stay with children and care for them, and to suggest opportune father-friendly policies. Data from the most recent Time Use Surveys constitute a precious source for measuring father involvement in term of time devoted to children in a comparative way. Three different measures of father involvement are examined: the total time fathers spend with their children, the time they spend alone with them and the engagement in childcare.

Regression results showed interesting commonalities in the micro-level factors influencing the three father-involvement measures used in the analysis. It clearly emerged that, during the weekdays, fathers who do not work and those who work less than 35 hours/week are the most involved in all the considered activities with their children, because of their greater availability.

Therefore if policies would offer fathers the opportunity to reduce their working hours for instance by encouraging them to take part-time parental leave when they have young children, they could facilitate fathers’ role-reconciliation and increase their involvement.

When the time spent carrying out direct, engaged and care-demanding activities is analyzed, other factors – beyond the fathers' work features – come into play, strictly related both to their children and partner characteristics. Having very young children requires a greater involvement above all in those activities implying participated childrearing practices; moreover, having more than one child increases the demand of fathers' time, as they are required to be more available and to share with mothers the burden of parenting activities (both in the week end and in the week days).

A common, important element is that having a working partner increases the father's engagement levels in almost all the countries analyzed (Sweden shows a different country-specific behavior). In countries like Italy, where the gender revolution is still in its early stages, this effect may be mostly due to the fact that fathers are forced to carry out parenting tasks because of their partner absence; they take part in childrearing activities without 'internalizing' the importance of their active presence for their children development. But we also expect this induced participation in domestic life to evolve into the natural norm of fathering in the future.

According to the analyses, the time that fathers spend with their children is not substantially associated with the father's level of education (and age) during the weekdays, contradicting the role of high educated fathers as pioneers of change. However, we do observe some educational gradient in Sweden and United Kingdom during the weekend, that confirm that fatherhood norms are evolving in some countries but have to be diffused within all educational groups.

Overall, few cross-country differences have emerged in the individual factors that influence the time fathers spend with their children; only Sweden shows some different behaviors that confirm its outstanding role in de-gendering processes of parenting issues management. One of the main conclusions of our cross-country comparison is that the institutional contexts mainly affect the quantum differences between countries, but they hardly alter the micro-level determinants of father involvement.

As expected, the amount of total time fathers spend with their children, and the way it is allocated among the different analyzed activities vary across the four European countries under study. Specifically, Swedish fathers are the most involved in childrearing, they spend the greatest amount of total time with their children, while Italy and France show the lowest commitment of fathers in fathering activities. In France this might be the result of an efficient system of childcare provision that substantially reduces the need of parental time; in Italy it is plausibly the result of a still rigid gender specialization. Italian fathers can be described as “hesitant”, as they are spending time with children without acquiring fully the role of autonomous care-giver.

Conversely, among the Swedish fathers the time invested in childcare activities represents a consistent proportion of the total time spent with children, while in all the other countries (above all in France and Italy) the time devoted to childcare is marginal with respect to the time spent in non-childcare activities with children.

Another interesting element is that both in Sweden and in France the time spent in childcare alone is always higher than the time in childcare activities carried out in the presence of the partner. Swedish and French fathers seem to be more autonomous and more inclined in taking on responsibilities deriving from childcare activities.

Sweden and UK show more similar time allocation patterns, the most important difference is in the time spent in childcare activities alone, where, as said before, Swedish fathers are outstanding. France and Italy resulted to have similar time allocation schemes, characterized by a very low amount of time devoted to childcare tasks (above all when they have to be carried out alone), and a high proportion of time in non-childcare activities together with the children and the partner, that is, in those activities whose burden can be shared with another adult (the partner), and that do not necessary require the direct and active involvement in childrearing.

Finally, distinguishing between fathers' involvement on weekdays and on weekend days emerges as an important determining factor for the amount of time that fathers spend with children: during the weekend most of fathers are more “available”, thus explaining the higher proportions of total time

spent with their children. However, it is important to notice that the time devoted to childcare activities only slightly increases during the weekend. This means that fathers (above all in France, Italy and UK) decide to allocate their time in less demanding activities (the non-childcare activities carried out together with the partner).

All those elements taken into account, it is plausible to conclude by saying that even if a new phase in parenting seems to be under way, characterized by the modern involved father, and even if at the present time, the ideal is increasingly for a father not only to be an economic provider but also to be involved in the day-to-day care of his children and to be emotionally connected to them, in France, Italy, and in the UK, fathers seems to be still far from the ideal. They still spend a low proportion of time in childcare activities, both in the weekend and in the weekend days. They spend most of the total time with their children in non-childcare activities, that do not always require strong commitment, and they tend to share this time together with the partner, thus further lowering fathers' "burden" of childrearing.

The division of childcare tasks seems far from being completely de-gendered: although mothers may not wish to reduce their levels of child care, they are still not totally able to negotiate greater father involvement in the most demanding aspects of child care. In Sweden where gender and work-life balance policies have been implemented for 40 years and where the father role has been fully recognized as crucial, fathers seems to approach rapidly the model of nurturing father.

Current debate on reconciliation policies, which are largely dominated by working mothers' issues, could encourage also working men to become more committed fathers. Enhancing the role of father is not only important to alleviate mother's burden and for men's fulfillment, but it is crucial for children themselves, as recent psychological theories agree that a closer relationship between fathers and their offspring is built mainly through the daily childcare activities. Indeed, care activities are believed to foster a more intimate relationship with children and to develop mutual emotional sensitivities for fathers, as for mothers.

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Appendix

Table A1. OLS regression results. France.

			WEEK DAY						WEEK END					
			TOTAL TIME		TIME ALONE		CHILDCARE		TOTAL TIME		TIME ALONE		CHILDCARE	
			B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Intercept			156.636***	26.17	53.735***	15.11	38.566***	9.68	444.881***	45.62	118.215***	26.84	40.871***	15.15
Father	Professional position (Ref. Medium)	High	-9.086	17.41	-11.422	10.18	-6.876	6.52	38.677	30.31	-14.004	17.83	-1.006	10.06
		Low	-7.677	17.63	-7.948	10.05	-10.080	6.44	56.073*	29.93	0.316	17.61	8.477	9.94
		Never work	-120.491**	44.89	-48.551*	25.91	-27.548*	16.61	-108.787	68.95	-80.490**	40.56	2.923	22.89
	Education (Ref. Medium)	Low	38.432**	18.34	-2.182	10.91	10.055	6.99	33.097	33.03	5.883	19.43	12.899	10.97
		High	18.584	18.90	3.688	10.59	-1.133	6.79	2.204	32.24	-8.725	18.97	-16.810	10.71
	Working h/w (Ref. Regular full time)	Light ft	36.715**	12.27	13.494**	6.99	12.294***	4.48	-13.020	20.61	-2.194	12.13	5.631	6.84
		Over ft	-0.844	14.42	-5.365	8.30	-0.091	5.32	36.687	23.98	-23.338*	14.11	0.293	7.96
		Not in work	153.211***	17.10	59.956***	9.87	29.585***	6.33	45.415	28.19	23.673	16.59	8.490	9.36
	Age	<35	5.429	12.10	11.645	7.08	2.177	4.54	-46.759**	20.70	-7.817	12.18	-8.066	6.87
		>44	3.562	14.38	2.118	8.32	-1.701	5.34	-0.627	25.10	-1.635	14.76	0.613	8.33
Children	Sex*Number (Ref. Both sexes)	One male	-15.040	15.64	-23.595***	9.03	-10.873*	5.79	-48.205*	26.06	-35.247**	15.33	-3.756	8.65
		One female	-42.121**	14.96	-32.432***	8.63	-16.388***	5.54	-62.076**	24.99	-48.173***	14.70	-7.060	8.30
		>1 all male	-14.435	14.46	-13.559	8.35	-3.601	5.35	-43.557*	24.54	1.841	14.44	19.303**	8.15
		>1 all female	-26.606*	15.28	-18.099**	8.82	-3.986	5.65	-42.505	26.24	-21.249	15.44	-2.018	8.71
	Age (Ref. 3-5)	<3	24.113**	12.30	-3.734	7.10	18.065***	4.55	31.494	20.75	7.521	12.21	40.499***	6.89
6-14		-9.507	12.97	-3.972	7.49	-12.135**	4.80	-59.345*	21.99	-6.909	12.94	-20.371***	7.30	
Partner/couple	Working h/w (Ref. Not in work)	Full time	10.465	12.00	32.528***	6.92	11.763***	4.44	18.174	20.50	25.540**	12.06	11.887*	6.81
		Part time	11.445	15.37	26.028***	8.87	13.832**	5.69	6.968	26.85	12.852	15.79	4.457	8.91
	Couple status (Ref. Married)	Cohabiting	26.690**	10.60	4.162	6.12	3.914	3.92	11.120	17.93	-0.544	10.55	11.521**	5.95
	Education (Ref. No tertiary)	Tertiary	-0.875	11.66	4.614	6.73	8.003*	4.32	-56.898**	20.33	-15.374	11.96	-5.844	6.75
	Domestic Help (Ref. No)	Yes	13.112	15.99	7.327	9.23	4.951	5.92	50.187*	27.50	31.536**	16.18	18.271**	9.13

***p<0,01 **p<0.05 *p<0.1 (N weekday=1354, N weekend=952)

Table A2. OLS regression results. Italy.

			WEEK DAY						WEEK END					
			TOTAL TIME		TIME ALONE		CHILDCARE		TOTAL TIME		TIME ALONE		CHILDCARE	
			B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
	Intercept		252.570***	23.78	57.914***	12.69	28.058***	7.09	359.749***	30.53	69.838***	12.98	46.145***	8.15
Father	Professional position (Ref. Medium)	High	-33.173***	13.99	-3.933	7.46	-4.302	4.17	49.928***	17.34	10.451	7.37	12.128***	4.63
		Low	-30.010***	12.72	6.770	6.79	-2.678	3.79	26.226*	15.78	11.597*	6.71	5.759	4.21
		Never work	24.358	69.09	-5.673	36.87	-8.105	20.60	-90.778	71.11	-9.819	30.24	-23.628	18.98
	Education (Ref. Medium)	Low	-14.114	11.24	-15.580***	6.00	-2.455	3.35	-16.476	14.37	-7.579	6.11	-3.723	3.84
		High	-12.449	16.74	-4.671	8.94	1.469	5.00	-0.955	20.47	-2.662	8.71	-3.628	5.47
	Working h/w (Ref. Regular full time)	Light ft	41.607***	18.45	9.339	9.84	12.736**	5.50	-39.604*	23.01	-15.995	9.79	-3.306	6.14
		Over ft	-39.139***	10.33	-15.281***	5.51	-9.253***	3.08	-45.987***	12.83	-21.975***	5.45	-5.241	3.42
		Not in work	94.814***	25.25	39.169***	13.48	19.555***	7.53	44.527	34.31	35.481***	14.59	24.398***	9.16
	Age	<35	-15.557	14.09	5.794	7.52	-2.769	4.20	-33.022*	17.39	-1.147	7.39	-1.428	4.64
		>44	-4.280	13.09	13.956**	7.00	-3.256	3.91	-24.687	15.69	-5.484	6.67	-4.088	4.19
Children	Sex*Number (Ref. Both sexes)	One male	-3.131	13.24	-13.478*	7.08	-4.894	3.96	13.088	16.45	-3.867	7.00	-1.914	4.39
		One female	8.911	13.78	-18.881***	7.36	-5.098	4.11	35.711**	17.18	-30.349***	7.30	-5.038	4.59
		>1 all male	11.152	15.59	-12.882	8.32	-0.458	4.65	7.346	19.63	-6.249	8.35	-1.308	5.24
		>1 all female	-1.106	16.11	-11.112	8.61	-3.929	4.81	14.456	20.88	-8.161	8.88	0.020	5.57
	Age (Ref. 3-5)	<3	20.785*	12.54	2.287	6.72	17.779***	3.75	26.416*	15.64	8.296	6.65	21.733***	4.17
		6-14	-18.286	12.41	-6.509	6.63	-12.845***	3.70	-34.810**	15.25	-3.201	6.49	-25.971***	4.07
Partner/couple	Working h/w (Ref. Not in work)	Full time	-16.552	11.16	31.682***	5.96	7.003***	3.33	-4.885	14.28	26.838***	6.07	-2.230	3.81
		Part time	-9.848	13.00	22.319***	6.95	1.617	3.88	34.880**	16.09	27.340***	6.84	6.039	4.30
	Couple status (Ref. Married)	Cohabiting	-1.159	14.91	-3.517	10.00	0.909**	5.58	-25.847	22.58	7.097	9.60	12.951***	6.03
	Education (Ref. No tertiary)	Tertiary	-15.565	17.21	-14.425*	7.95	0.696	4.44	14.440	18.13	-1.849	7.71	5.471	4.84
	Domestic Help (Ref. No)	Yes	2.014	14.80	-8.415	9.18	2.490	5.13	17.320	21.63	-8.560	9.20	-7.482	5.77

***p<0,01 **p<0.05 *p<0.1 (N weekday=933, N weekend=1548)

Table A3. OLS regression results. UK.

			WEEK DAY						WEEK END					
			TOTAL TIME		TIME ALONE		CHILDCARE		TOTAL TIME		TIME ALONE		CHILDCARE	
			B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Intercept			313.977***	38.93	100.312***	21.94	55.235***	11.55	576.032***	52.56	131.6596***	30.53	74.485***	13.16
Father	Professional position (Ref. Medium)	High	-6.603	29.05	-11.122	17.77	-14.205	8.71	-4.418	39.46	38.274	25.49	0.393	9.98
		Low	-32.641	28.74	-34.798**	18.07	-26.578***	8.45	-81.786**	38.40	-14.560	25.60	-16.329*	9.78
		Never work	-58.755	67.84	-10.597	42.93	-63.673***	23.35	-106.185	96.88	159.626*	90.17	-1.194	43.51
	Education (Ref. Medium)	Low	4.763	19.14	23.011**	11.63	3.570	6.24	-34.606	26.43	-20.157	15.86	-14.808**	6.88
		High	14.249	30.47	20.837	18.70	1.998	10.55	7.479	37.94	-41.665**	21.30	-13.395	10.69
	Working h/w (Ref. Regular full time)	Light ft	67.260	41.97	18.673	31.33	16.324	12.20	66.464	53.79	-1.954	33.38	3.601	12.53
		Over ft	-14.032	16.90	-11.707	10.75	-1.361	5.64	3.487	23.45	-0.391	14.12	-2.553	6.32
		Not in work	106.600***	36.23	31.509	20.88	61.387***	15.85	59.754	48.25	17.514	23.93	36.802***	13.10
	Age	<35	21.897	20.01	-6.678	12.13	3.052	6.12	-36.742	26.33	-18.441	17.43	-12.597	7.64
		>44	11.219	24.33	4.427	16.20	-1.799	9.87	-58.358*	33.45	-43.410**	17.00	-22.497***	7.34
Children	Sex*Number (Ref. Both sexes)	One male	-59.727**	23.48	-40.871***	12.13	-12.692*	6.88	6.844	31.95	-32.746*	18.56	7.689	9.46
		One female	-54.480**	23.28	-20.021	14.93	0.920	8.22	-82.277***	31.64	-48.985***	17.07	4.020	8.36
		>1 all male	-38.167	24.46	-17.847	16.25	-2.547	9.38	-21.461	34.19	-28.218	19.43	0.539	8.25
		>1 all female	-39.624	26.08	-9.342	16.30	-10.613	7.82	6.994	35.45	-5.696	25.59	-1.593	8.92
	Age (Ref. 3-5)	<3	12.605	23.49	-5.393	15.10	24.382***	7.69	-4.165	29.49	0.919	19.75	40.066***	8.31
		6-14	-68.488***	22.10	-47.659***	13.92	-19.868***	6.48	-112.844***	29.18	-40.601**	19.22	-35.127***	7.24
Partner/couple	Working h/w (Ref. Not in work)	Full time	-19.479	21.09	26.583**	13.15	5.773	6.36	-25.023	30.99	34.046**	17.46	-0.016	7.48
		Part time	21.580	19.11	45.944***	11.88	15.090**	6.26	57.585**	26.39	60.917***	14.86	15.765**	7.42
	Couple status (Ref. Married)	Cohabiting	-39.770	25.97	-30.474**	13.54	-12.598	8.22	-52.535	34.03	-1.732	19.78	-3.112	10.12
	Education (Ref. No tertiary)	Tertiary	28.180	27.14	-15.411	15.51	14.019	9.94	36.583	34.84	15.852	22.70	10.342	9.92
	Domestic Help (Ref. No)	Yes	-31.425	36.40	-20.351	17.62	-0.222	11.39	-18.942	43.21	6.324	27.91	24.360**	10.99

***p<0,01 **p<0.05 *p<0.1 (N weekday=731, N weekend=731)

Table A4. OLS regression results. Sweden .

			WEEK DAY						WEEK END					
			TOTAL TIME		TIME ALONE		CHILDCARE		TOTAL TIME		TIME ALONE		CHILDCARE	
			B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
	Intercept		226.8***	56.60	210.99***	51.19	150.97***	32.64	185.28**	78.75	206.76***	57.83	150.81***	37.89
Father	Professional position (Ref. Medium)	High	-73.36	41.05	-34.67	37.13	-41.39*	23.68	130.21**	57.47	1.28	42.20	-12.17	27.65
		Low	-80.75*	41.27	-43.15	37.32	-38.63	23.80	139.25**	57.15	10.33	41.97	-8.52	27.50
		Never work	-8.96	80.94	-144.75**	73.21	-73.88	46.68	121.02	114.04	-62.96	83.75	-89.69	54.88
	Education (Ref. Medium)	Low	38.72	48.26	14.69	43.65	9.63	27.83	-19.21	65.86	63.83	48.36	24.62	31.69
		High	11.92	25.16	17.44	22.76	17.44	14.51	7.51	35.39	31.72	25.99	40.15**	17.03
	Working h/w (Ref. Regular full time)	Light ft	-55.92	50.92	57.90	46.06	29.64	29.37	20.72	67.93	0.20	49.88	-4.29	32.69
		Over ft	-31.77	23.91	-8.48	21.63	-7.42	13.79	-17.32	33.85	4.73	24.86	2.33	16.29
		Not in work	73.88	57.15	147.47***	51.69	141.30***	32.96	53.53	80.95	46.14	59.44	112.90***	38.95
	Age	<35	-74.12**	31.98	-12.89	28.93	-25.92	18.45	-0.42	44.60	23.09	32.75	-9.99	21.46
		>44	24.59	30.63	-36.42	27.70	-4.09	17.66	13.72	44.03	19.96	32.33	19.41	21.19
Children	Sex*Number (Ref. Both sexes)	One male	-19.18	29.91	-33.91	27.05	-8.96	17.25	54.64	41.91	-33.19	30.78	-30.89	20.17
		One female	-25.10	30.98	-30.72	28.02	7.15	17.87	-12.44	45.08	-59.25*	33.10	-36.43*	21.69
		>1 all male	12.17	34.73	-19.64	31.42	22.94	20.03	-27.84	48.30	27.32	35.47	20.36	23.24
		>1 all female	-0.27	32.72	-11.44	29.60	7.25	18.87	-20.56	45.89	-25.00	33.70	-10.26	22.08
	Age (Ref. 3-5)	<3	37.69	28.21	8.16	25.51	48.77***	16.27	11.29	40.21	-34.96	29.53	39.14**	19.35
		6-14	-28.97	29.43	-27.09	26.62	-41.27**	16.97	-19.24	41.59	-57.00*	30.54	-68.60***	20.01
Partner/couple	Working h/w (Ref. Not in work)	Part time	10.42	30.72	60.01**	27.79	35.56**	17.72	-57.20	42.80	11.98	31.43	3.27	20.60
		Full time	-26.89	29.18	29.52	26.40	14.95	16.83	-47.92	40.16	-12.81	29.49	-17.91	19.33
	Couple status (Ref. Married)	Cohabiting	35.13	23.17	-16.96	20.96	-16.89	13.37	-15.39	33.11	16.71	24.31	-10.73	15.93
	Education (Ref. No tertiary)	Tertiary												
	Domestic Help (Ref. No)	Yes	65.35*	38.46	-65.91*	34.79	-52.22**	22.18	60.32	54.67	-42.70	40.15	-17.31	26.31

***p<0,01 **p<0.05 *p<0.1 (N weekday=254, N weekend=248)