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# Parental Care Time in Four European Countries: Comparing Types and Contexts

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## **Abstract**

The intensity of parental investments in child care time is expected to vary across families with different norms and time-constraints. Additionally, it should also differ across countries, since the abilities of parents to harmonize family and work vary by national context. In our opinion, however, this question remains inconclusive for two main reasons: 1) only some countries have been studied from a comparative approach; 2) previous studies have not paid enough attention to the analysis of how the conditional effects of education and employment affect parental investments.

In this paper we used nationally representative time-use data from Denmark, Flanders, Spain and the United Kingdom (N=4,031) to explore how employment and education predict variations in child care time. In Britain and Spain employment has a strong negative effect on fathers' child care, but a weaker one in Flanders and particularly in Denmark. In contrast, maternal employment has a strong negative impact in all four countries. Education increases child care time significantly only among Spanish mothers and fathers, as well as British mothers. Nonetheless, we find that college-educated mothers under similar time-constraints increase substantially their expected child care time in Britain, Flanders and Spain; for fathers we find a more mixed picture. Routine child care activities are more sensitive to both maternal and paternal employment than interactive child care activities. Finally, we observe that working in a public sector job generally increases total time allocated to parental care, controlling for several demographic and socioeconomic variables.

# Keywords

Child Care, Education, Employment, Family-Work Balance, Time Use

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#### Introduction

The quality of parental care is a key indicator of children's present and future development. Although this fact is well-known, in industrialized countries many parents face important constraints to spending time with their children (Presser, 2003). The rise of dual-earner couples and high-intensity jobs in Western countries has brought about a substantial increase in family-work strain (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). For instance, in the United States (U.S.) 55% of fathers and 42% of mothers report having "too little time" for their youngest child (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006, p. 133). In Europe, 28% of employees feel stressed and more than 20% report general fatigue (Van der Lippe, 2007, p. 694).

The harmonization of parenthood and employment, however, can be more easily fulfilled in some countries, such as the Scandinavian countries, than in others, such as English-speaking countries (Crompton, 2006; Esping-Andersen, 1999; Gornick & Meyers, 2003; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004; Lewis, 2009). But whether or not country variations show different effects of employment on parental care, an important question remains. The dramatic growth of maternal employment has not been accompanied by a decline in maternal care (Bianchi, 2000), even though paid work hours still significantly reduce parents' time with children, especially among mothers (Gauthier, Smeeding, & Furstenberg, 2004). One recent study finds that, in English-speaking countries, the effect of maternal employment on child care time is stronger than in countries with shorter employment hours and a better family-work balance (Sayer & Gornick, forthcoming). Yet, despite the merits of previous studies, there is surprisingly very little evidence on whether certain work schedules (i.e. working in certain types of shift work) and economic sectors (i.e. public vs. private) change the nature of parent-child interactions in different national contexts (see Presser, 2003).

In the literature on time-use, it is common to distinguish "routine" child care activities, such as feeding and watching over children, from "interactive" activities, like playing, reading to the child, teaching, and the like (see Bianchi et al., 2006). These two types of parental investments are associated with distinctive processes in children's development (Bianchi et al., 2006), as well as with gender inequalities and norms. Women devote more absolute and relative time to routine child care, which is considered the most time-consuming and less desirable child care activity (Bittman, Craig, & Folbre, 2004; Craig, 2006; Roeters, Van Der Lippe, & Kluwer, 2009). To date, however, we do not know if the effect of employment on different child care activities varies across country and gender. This is an essential empirical question for our understanding of the allocation of paid and unpaid work in couples.

Scholars have also stressed the importance of education in affecting parental care. The general assumption is that highly educated parents adopt more intensive parenting styles and have more economic resources to invest in their children (Lareau, 2003). Nevertheless, very few national comparisons have deeply explored this question. Sayer, Gauthier, and Furstenberg (2004b), in their study on Canada, Germany, Italy and Norway, provide the most notable contribution to this cross-national literature. They argue that "the less educated are more likely to be employed in occupations with rotating shifts, or inflexible hours, and may also have to work two jobs to make ends meet" (Sayer et al., 2004b, p. 1156). It should follow that generous social policies compensate the educational gap in parental care. Yet, although their hypothesis was corroborated for fathers, we argue that it is necessary to expand this line of research with new data. In fact, education not only captures resources, but also parenting styles (Lareau, 2003), and other variables that are not mere proxies of education might also predict variations in child care time (i.e. income, occupation, work conditions).

Furthermore, education, gender and paid work are not correlated to the same extent *per se* in all countries (Gershuny and Sullivan, 2003; Pettit and Hook, 2009). Finally, in post-industrial societies, high-skilled fathers and mothers generally allocate more average hours to paid work (and this means time-constraints) than their lower skilled counterparts (Gershuny, 2000). These questions suggest that a more detailed examination of the conditional effects of education and employment on parental care time is needed.

In this article we study the effects of labor market conditions and education on parents' child care time in Denmark, Flanders, Spain and the United Kingdom (UK). These countries represent very different scenarios for reconciling parenthood and employment (Gornick & Meyers, 2003). British and Spanish parents have high levels of constraints to balancing work and parenthood, whereas in Flanders, and particularly Denmark, family-friendly work schedules are much more widespread (Esping-Andersen, 2009; Ghysels, 2004; Lewis, 2009). Using nationally representative time-use data for couples with children, our results show important employment and educational differences across countries and gender, but also similarities. We argue that, in order to understand the complex mechanisms behind child care time, we need to identify analytically how education affects parental care conditional upon paid work constraints, as well as the variations within employment categories.

## Theoretical Perspectives and Research on Parental Care Time

Several theoretical approaches contributed to our understanding of parental care time in couples. Whereas some micro-level theories applied an "opportunity-cost" framework, others primarily looked at preferences, attitudes and values. Both analytical perspectives are crucial to understanding the complex mechanisms behind parental investments in contemporary advanced societies.

A first theory, the *relative resources hypothesis*, states that the more resources an individual has (i.e. education or earnings), the less time he or she will invest in unpaid work (Coverman, 1985). From this approach, the degree of specialization in the household depends on the spouse's comparative advantage (see Becker, 1991; Breen & Cook, 2005; Ermisch, 2003). In contrast, the *time-availability* theory predicts that child care performance depends on time-scarcity, rather than on resources (Nock & Kingston, 1988; Presser, 1994). From this perspective, the own hours of paid work reduce the quantity of time allocated to child care, and child care increases with the partner's hours of work (Presser, 1994). Because child care is particularly valued among parents (Hallverg & Klevmarken, 2003), the time-availability approach appears to be more powerful in predicting child care than the relative resources perspective (Bloeman & Stancanelli, 2008; Coltrane, 2000; Presser, 1994).

Aside from rational choice models, sociologists emphasize that parents from the middle and upper classes adopt more authoritative and intensive parental strategies than working-class parents (Bourdieu, 1984; Coleman, 1988; Lareau, 2003). According to the *human capital hypothesis*, well-educated parents are more aware of the links between parental care and child outcomes and feel closer to the norms of intensive parenthood (Bryant & Zick, 1996; Sayer et al., 2004b; Sayer, Bianchi & Robinson, 2004a). College-educated mothers and fathers tend to spend more time with children than their lower educated counterparts (Gauthier et al., 2004). We have, nevertheless, fewer cross-national evidence on the extent to which this educational gap stems from a higher involvement in developmental child care rather than in physical child care (Bianchi et al., 2006; Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, & Hoffert, 2001). This question is especially important in understanding how parenting varies across social strata.

Notwithstanding parenting values differ across the population, child care is clearly a "gendered" activity. Scholars argue that *gender ideology* affects individual's daily lives (West & Zimmerman, 1987), including household work in dual-earner couples (Brines, 1994; Craig, 2006; Hochschild, 1989), and particularly in families with young children (Bianchi, 2000; Craig & Mullan, 2010). Although a certain trend of 'lagged adaptation' has been observed over the last decades (Gershuny, 2000), gender inequality in care persists, despite the dramatic increase of women's employment participation. Mothers devote more absolute and relative time to routine care activities, a form of gender inequality, as these activities are more demanding and less desirable than other care activities (Bittman et al, 2004; Craig, 2006; Roeters et al., 2009). Although in countries with more gender equality, men usually participate more in care work (Fuwa, 2004; Hook, 2006), we have little evidence on whether the division of specific child care activities vary across countries.

How married parents allocate time to child care does not simply mirror micro-level circumstances. National contexts, family-work conditions and policy scenarios clearly affect the allocation of unpaid work (Craig & Mullan, 2010; Crompton, 2006; Gornick & Meyers, 2003; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004; Lewis, 2009). In countries where job pressure is high and balancing family and work difficult, we might expect that employed parents orient less relative time to child care than in those countries with lower levels of work-life strains. Sayer and Gornick (2011) examined how variations in *employment* predict child care time in nine countries with different institutional frameworks (see also Bianchi et al., 2006; Gauthier et al., 2004). The authors found that, in all Anglo-Saxon countries (except in Canada), working between 15 and 30 hours significantly increased maternal care in comparison to working full-time. In contrast, these effects were not found in France, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia or Sweden, all countries with shorter and more family-friendly work schedules. They observed a general weak effect of employment on father's child care, apart from the US. Sayer and Gornick (*op.cit*), however, did not examine variations within similar employment categories, which might explain key variations in child care time.

To date, only a few studies using time-diary data have investigated how changes in work schedules intersect with the allocation of child care, showing mixed results. Wight et al. (2008) found that parents with 'nonstandard' shift work schedules reduced their leisure time and time with their spouse, but spent more time together with their children in comparison to parents with "standard" work schedules. Gutierrez-Domenech (2010), however, observed that in Spain being employed after 6pm (when school-aged children are not at school) had a strong negative effect on maternal and paternal child care. Recently, Hook and Wolfe (2010) found gender and country variations in the effect of working evening shifts on parental care in their study of Germany, Norway, US, and UK. This findings justify extending this line of research in other national contexts.

An important contribution to the comparative literature on child care time would be to explore the extent to which *public employment* increases child care time in countries with different private and public sectors and quality of employment (Ferrara, 1996; Gallie, 2003). Public sector jobs are associated with lower levels of work-life strains (Ingram & Simons, 1995), which could explain variations in tradeoffs and actual child care behaviors among parents working in different economic sectors. To date, however, there are no studies testing this hypothesis with time-diary data in different countries.

Additionally, the extent to which *education* predicts parents' child care in different industrialized countries remains an open question. Sayer et al. (2004b) made an important contribution in this regard (see also Bianchi et al., 2006; Gauthier et al., 2004). Exploring data for Canada, Germany, Italy and Norway, they found that only in Germany does maternal education not have a strong positive effect on child care. Norway was the only country where paternal education did not have any effect on child care, the only country of these four with strong father-friendly policies. The study, however, begs some empirical questions (as explained above), particularly concerning the conditional effects of education on paid work in explaining child care time. For this reason, we explore this question by analyzing data from four European countries with different employment and family contexts.

#### Family and Work in Britain, Denmark, Flanders and Spain

Denmark, Flanders, Spain and the UK represent very different scenarios for the reconciliation of work and family (Gornick and Mayers, 2003). In Denmark, family and employment policies enabled the predominance of dual-earner couples, with high levels of family-work balance and an egalitarian division of labor (Esping-Andersen, Boertein, Bonke, & Gracia, 2010; Gornick & Mayers, 2003). In Flanders, institutions recently implemented active family policies, although these are less generous than in Denmark and the ratio of female part-time employment is high (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004; Ghysels, 2004). Spain has weak family-friendly policies and its demographic structure has a high proportion of male-breadwinner couples coexisting with a large group of full-time dual-earners (Esping-Andersen, 1999; Lewis, 2009). In the UK, like in Spain, family-work policies are residual, although female part-time employment rates are very high (Crompton, 2006; Lewis, 2009).

In Table 1 we observe that in Denmark 62% of children in the 0-2 age group are enrolled in child care institutions, followed by Flanders (56%) and the UK (26%) and Spain (21%). Parental leave policies are more active and generous in Denmark than in the other countries. The British and Spanish parental leave systems are the less protective ones. Male employment rates are similar in the four countries (ranging from 77% in Spain to 82% in Denmark), but not female employment (Denmark 73%, UK 68%, Flanders 58%, Spain 52%) or maternal employment (Denmark 78%, Flanders 75%, UK 61%, Spain 58%). We see that, on a random weekday, employed mothers work a similar average of hours (from 6.6 in Flanders to 7.1 in Spain). Nevertheless, more than 40% of British and Flemish mothers work part-time, against 13% in Denmark and only 6% in Spain in this category. Furthermore, 42% of Spanish employed mothers work after 6pm, followed by their British (29%), Danish (25%) and Flemish (19%) counterparts. In Denmark 50% of mothers report having flexible work schedules, compared with 20% in Flanders, 18% in Spain and only 12% in the UK.

We observe that the mean of fathers' paid work time is very high in Spain and the UK (9.6), above Flanders (8.8) and Denmark (8.5). In Spain, 40% of fathers do more than 10 hours of paid work activities in a random weekday (36% in Flanders, 31% in the UK and 13% in Denmark). Similarly, 71% of Spanish fathers do paid work-related activities after 6pm (54% in the UK, 36% in Flanders and 31% in Denmark), whereas 60% of Danish fathers report having flexible work schedules, against 33% in Flanders, 16% in Spain and 10% in the UK. These contextual differences in terms of family and work could also reflect cross-national variations in parenting behaviors.

Table 1. Indicators of Work and Family for Mothers and Fathers

	Denn	ıark	Fla	nders	Spo	ain	UI	ζ.
	Moth.	Fath.	Moth.	Fath.	Moth.	Fath.	Moth.	Fath.
% Children in age 0-2 enrolled in child care schools in 2004 (a), (b)	62	62	56	56	21	21	26	26
Weeks of paid Parental Leave in 2006/7 (100% rate of allowance)	18	2	15	1	16	2	10	1
Weeks of Parental Leave (job protection, in FTE) (c)	40	40	13	13	156	156	13	13
Weeks of paid parental leave, in fraction of average wage (c)	32	32	40	2.6	0	0	0	0
% Female/Male employment rate around 2005 (d), (e)	73	82	58	71	52	77	68	81
6 Maternal employment, couples with children aged 0-14, 2008 (e), (f)	78	78	75	75	58	58	61	61
Hours of work among parents with children in a random weekday (g)	6.9	8.5	6.6	8.8	7.1	9.6	6.7	9.6
% Mothers in part-time jobs / % Fathers working 10 or more hours (g)	13	13	42	36	6	40	43	31
% Parents doing paid work activities between 6pm and midnight (g)	25	31	19	43	42	71	29	54
Hours of work after 6pm among parents who worked after 6pm (g)	1.8	1.9	1.8	2	2.5	2.6	2	2
6 Parents with young children working in Public Sector jobs (g)	44	26	17	16	16	19	36	27
6 Parents who reported having 'flexible' work schedules (g) (h)	50	60	20	33	18	16	12	10

Note: only in the UK parents do not receive the 100% of the rate of allowance (24% for mothers and 15% for fathers).

Sources: (a) source for Flanders: Buysse, Bea (2006) "Het kind in Vlaanderen", Brussel:Kind en Gezin; (b) OECD (2007) Babies and Bosses Reconciling Work and Family Life: A Synthesis of Findings for OECD Countries. Paris, OECD; (c) OECD Family Database (www.oecd.org/els/social/family/database) (d) for Denmark data for 1999; (e) OECD Family Policy Database; (f) for Flanders data from the EU-LFS (last quarter of 2005); g) Time-Use Surveys (own calculations); Denmark 2001; Flanders 2004/05; Spain 2002/03; UK 2000/01; for two-parent families with children in the 0-15 age group; (h) based on self-reported sense of flexibility to adapt work schedules to personal and family preferences.

#### **Hypotheses**

Hypothesis 1: In this hypothesis full-time employment is expected to have a strong negative effect on child care time in Spain and the UK, a moderate one in Flanders and a low one in Denmark. These effects would mirror country variations in terms of parenthood-work balance. The negative effect of full-time employment should be more pronounced for routine child care activities than for interactive activities because routine child care is typically the most demanding child care activity (Roeters et al., 2009). As a result of the persistence of a gendered division of child care, mothers are expected to assume the main burden of physical child care (see Craig, 2006). Therefore, we expect that full-time employment will decrease routine child care to a higher extent for the group of mothers than for the group of fathers.

Hypothesis 2: Spanish fathers doing paid work-related activities after 6pm, followed by their British and Flemish counterparts, are expected to spend less time in child care compared to their Danish counterparts. These results should reflect country differences in father's job pressure and the amount of time that fathers work after 6pm. Spanish mothers working after 6pm are expected to reduce their allocation of child care more significantly in relation to their British counterparts, and particularly in comparison to their Danish and Flemish counterparts, as a result of country differences in mother's shift work (see Table 1).

Hypothesis 3: In line with the human capital hypothesis, in all four countries college-educated parents would prioritize parental care to a higher extent than lower educated parents. The negative relationship between employment and parental care is therefore expected to be more orthogonal among college-educated parents than among their non-college-educated counterparts. This might be due to an expected higher involvement of the former when they have time-availability than among the latter. At the same time, we anticipate that college-educated parents will invest in child care above the expected time for any given amount of time allocated to paid work.

Hypothesis 4: We assume that public sector jobs provide better chances for reconciling employment and parenthood than private sector jobs as a result of the higher levels of worklife strains among the latter than among the former employees (see Ingram & Simons, 1995). Therefore, working in a public sector job should enhance parents' ability to invest more time in child care in relation to non-public sector employees.

#### Methodology

#### Data

We explore the '2001 Danish Time Use Survey' (N=377), the '2004/05 Flemish Families and Care Survey' (N=849), the '2002/03 Spanish Time Use Survey' (N=1812), and the '2000/01 United Kingdom Time Use Survey' (N=908). The data for Denmark, Spain and the UK are included in the Multinational Time Use Survey database, a survey with nationally representative data of the real populations. Two adult respondents of each couple reported diaries of time-use activities for every 10 minutes across the 1,440 minutes of the day. The survey for Flanders is comparable with the other three surveys for our purposes, though its time-diaries count activities for every 15 minutes across the day. Our samples only include heterosexual couples in the 25-60 age group, with at least one child younger than 16 years old (samples of families with younger children were not possible due to data restrictions with the Danish data). Our samples exclude the cases with missing values in some of our variables and those cases of households where one of both spouses did not report a diary. We only include weekday diaries because our scope is examining parents' tradeoffs on a random weekday, when employed parents usually work.

#### Dependent variables

We use three linear dependent variables which capture the minutes allocated to primary child care activities (secondary activities were not possible to be added for Flanders). Firstly, the variable *total primary care* counts the amount of time devoted to primary child care activities. Secondly, *routine care* activities are the ones providing the basic material needs of children (i.e. medical care, feeding, watching over). Finally, we explore *interactive care* 

activities (i.e. playing, teaching, speaking to the child), all of which involve generally high levels of interpersonal parent-child relationship (see Bianchi et al., 2006).

#### *Independent variables*

We include two dummy variables for college education, *mother's college education* (college education = 1) and *father's college education* (college education = 1). Unfortunately, the Danish data have too few parents with primary education to include three educational categories. We constructed the variables *mother's part-time job* (yes = 1) and *mother's full-time job* (yes = 1), *father's full-time job* (yes = 1), including fathers working less than 45 hours in a random week, and *father's overworking* (yes = 1), grouping all fathers that work 45 hours or more on a standard week. In all four countries there are representative samples of fathers working 45 hours or more and very few fathers working part-time. In contrast, the sample of mothers working more than 40 hours is very small. We also use a linear variable that counts the number of hours of employment that the individual works in a standard week (*hours of employment*), as well as the dummy variable *worked after 6pm* (yes = 1), considering whether in the same day of observation the person did paid work-related activities between 6pm and midnight. Finally, the dummy variable *public sector job* (public sector job = 1), includes public sector employees.

#### **Controls**

We control for whether the partner also worked after 6pm on the same day of observation, partner worked after 6pm (yes = 1). In our models we put the variables child care help (yes =1), including both paid and unpaid child care assistance, and housework help (yes = 1), which also counts paid and unpaid help (these were the most detailed combinations that we could use). We control for the age of the youngest child, youngest child 0-5 (yes = 1) and youngest child 6-11 (yes = 1), with those families with a child aged above 11 years old as the reference category. We also add in our analyses the linear variable number of children.

#### Empirical Strategy

A common solution to zero responses using time-use data is applying Tobit Regressions for censored data (see Greene, 1997). Nevertheless, time-use activities always range from 0 to 24 hours on the observed day and do not produce negative values (Hook, 2010). For this reason, and because it is more robust than Tobit, we use Ordinary Least Squares' (OLS) regressions. We run separate OLS regressions for each country and gender, because the logic of parental child care is known to vary significantly between men and women. Except for the variable working after 6pm, our employment variables were constructed based on the standard weekdays to avoid high levels of statistical endogeneity (analyses with employment variables derived from the diary of observation showed very similar results). Scholars suggested that parents choose their work schedules according to their child care and leisure preferences (Carriero, Ghysels, & Van Klaveren, 2009; Hamermesh, 2002). Nonetheless, our analytical aim is precisely to examine whether parents' tradeoffs between child care and other activities are affected by different structural contexts. We run a different model with the variables college education and hours of employment, and another with their interaction terms, using the 'linear combination test' to calculate the statistical (adjusted) effect of the interaction term (we used the command 'lincom' in Stata 11). In our last empirical stage, we predict the child care time using the hours of employment by education in order to explore the magnitude of the interaction term of education and employment in each country. In these analyses we also control for the above mentioned variables.

We examined the impact of household income on child care time through multivariate analyses (not shown but available upon request). Unfortunately, we had to exclude this variable from our models because the Danish sample became too small (no sample bias and changes in our results were observed after excluding it from our models). Although the effect of social class (itself) on child care does not represent the main purpose of this article, we also explored class effects: parents in professional and intermediate occupations tend to invest more time in parental care (results available also upon request). Additionally, we ran our models using a linear variable counting the number of minutes of paid work after 6pm and the results remained unchanged, although we ultimately opted for the dummy variable, as it was the best option in terms of statistical multicollinearity with other employment variables.

#### **Results**

#### Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 shows that in all four countries, mothers allocate significantly more time to child care activities than fathers (ratios of 2.3 in the UK, 2.1 in Denmark, 2 in Spain and 1.9 in Flanders). We observe that maternal care is positively associated with education in Flanders, Spain and the UK, but not in Denmark. In Denmark and Spain, paternal care is associated with education. In Flanders, fathers with a high school diploma are the ones who spend more time with children, whereas no educational gradient is found amongst British fathers.

We see that in the UK the child care ratio between non-employed and full-time employed mothers is 2.1, being 2.0 in Denmark, 1.6 in Spain and 1.4 in Flanders. Mothers' time of child care is higher among part-time female employees than among full-time employees, particularly in the UK (ratio = 1.4). Doing paid work activities after 6pm reduces maternal child care in all countries, but especially in Spain (51 minutes) and the UK (35). We see that British and Spanish mothers working in the public sector invest more time in children than their part-time and full-time counterparts. Danish mothers who are public employees spend 13 minutes more on child care than those in the full-time category and the same time as part-time employees. In contrast, Flemish mothers in public sector jobs devote less time to maternal care than the other two groups of employed mothers (Flemish mothers with public sector jobs do not work more hours than their full-time counterparts in the private sector, though they are less likely to have a part-time job).

In Spain the child care ratio between full-time and non-employed fathers is about 2.5 times, 1.6 in the UK and close to 1.4 in Denmark. Surprisingly, in Flanders non-employed fathers do not allocate more time to parental care than their employed counterparts who work less than 45 hours in a standard weekday, though they spend 13 minutes more than those who overwork. Besides, working between 6pm and midnight reduces paternal time with children in the UK (14 minutes), Flanders (13) and Spain (11), but not in Denmark. Finally, in Denmark and Spain being employed in the public sector job is associated with an important relative increase in fathers' child care time (16 minutes in Spain and 13 in Denmark), a moderate increase in the UK (8 minutes) and a marginal one in Flanders (3).

Table 2. Means and SD for Minutes of Parental Care Related to Independent Variables

		Denmark 				Flan	ders			Spair	ı		Un			
	Mothers		Fathers		Mothers		Fathers		Mothers		Fathers		Mothers		Fatl	ners
Variables	M.	S.E	M.	S.E	M.	S.E	M.	S.E	M.	S.E	M.	S.E	M.	S.E	M.	S.E
Mean of Parental Care	99	(88)	48	(61)	85	(103)	44	(67)	108	(108)	54	(70)	95	(98)	41	(63)
Basic Education (a)		-		-	64	(89)	37	(62)	98	(101)*	43	(59)*	82	(90)*	40	(61)
High school education	96	(81)	39	(48)	88	(107)	47	(70)	117	(115)	63	(79)*	96	(93)	44	(67)
College education	99	(91)	53	(66)	89	(104)	43	(65)	128	(117)	76	(82)*	110	(111)*	39	(61)
Father is not employed	85	(91)	65	(70)	88	(117)	44	(87)	72	(92)*	111	(136)*	81	(83)	61	(88)*
Father works < 45 h. week	98	(88)	47	(58)	83	(105)	48	(67)	110	(109)	52	(65)*	98	(103)	39	(56)
Father works > 44 h. week	104	(90)	46	(74)	89	(97)	36	(60)*	118	(111)	42	(63)	95	(96)	38	(63)
Mother is not employed	160	(106)*	61	(71)	101	(122)	34	(66)	134	(120)*	48	(62)*	132	(106)*	44	(68)
Mother part-time job	91	(85)	41	(61)	84	(100)	40	(64)	95	(80)	64	(73)	91	(94)	44	(69)
Mother full-time job	78	(71)*	46	(57)	77	(93)*	55	(68)*	82	(90)*	44	(55)*	64	(83)*	33	(46)*
He works after 6pm.	102	(86)	47	(57)	81	(92)	31	(52)*	114	(109)*	43	(52)*	107	(108)*	23	(49)*
She works after 6pm	74	(56)	42	(51)	60	(77)*	47	(58)	57	(63)*	63	(80)*	54	(64)*	48	(78)
Working in Public sector	90	(89)	61	(81)	64	(81)*	47	(65)	101	(109)	70	(80)*	92	(101)	49	(68)

Sources: Time-use Surveys for Denmark (2001), Flanders (2004/5), Spain (2002/3) and UK (2000/1).

#### Multivariate Results of Paid Work Hours

In the OLS results of tables 3, 4 and 5 we observe that the effect of employment on fathers' child care varies across countries. In Denmark, father's employment and working after 6pm have negative effects on the time of child care, but insignificant. In Flanders, fathers' employment reduces their primary and physical care without significant effects, although doing employment related activities after 6pm decreases the total primary care by 18 minute, though it is only visible for interactive child care. Spanish fathers working full-time and overworking reduce their primary child care by more than 50 minutes, over 30 routine, and over 20 interactive care activities. Similarly, working after 6pm has a strong negative effect on the three child care activities among Spanish fathers (p-values < 0.001). In Britain employment has a significant and negative effect on father's child care, particularly in routine care (Coeff. = - 15). Nonetheless, in Britain the strong negative impact of working after 6pm captures part of the effect from the other employment variables.

<sup>(</sup>a) Indicates that there are too few cases for Denmark in these categories.

<sup>\*</sup> Indicates that the average time of the category differs from the reference category with > 95% significance (based on Anova-test and Bonferroni, if it represents more than 2 categories).

What effect does employment have for mothers? Part-time employment generally has a significant and negative effect on maternal child care, except for routine child care in Flanders and interactive child care in Spain. But in all four countries the effect of being a part-time employee is weaker than that of full-time employment, although to a lesser extent in Spain. In Denmark the total child care time of mothers decreases with full-time employment by 71 minutes, routine by 52 and interactive by 19 (note that Danish mothers in the reference category are the ones more likely to be on maternity leave). In Flanders, maternal child care also decreases significantly with full-time employment (primary child care 41 minutes; 19 routine; 18 interactive). Unlike in Denmark, working after 6pm has an important negative effect on maternal care in Flanders (by 27 minutes), with a clear strong effect for routine care. In Spain, the impact of mothers' full-time employment and working late is always negative and strong (Coeff. = - 43 for primary care; - 35 routin; -23 interactive; working after 6pm reduces mother's total child care by 34 minutes). Finally, in Britain, maternal care time also decreases with full-time employment (primary care 24 minutes, 18 routine and 17 interactive), though its effect is considerably taken by having worked after 6pm, reducing by more than 30 minutes the total time of primary child care.

### Multivariate Results of Parental Education

Education is overall positively associated with the time allocated to child care. Significant effects, however, are only found for Spanish mothers (Coeff. = 22) and fathers (Coeff. = 16) and for British mothers (Coeff. = 20). The educational gradient is higher for routine care than for interactive care activities, particularly among Spanish fathers. Interestingly, when the mother has a college degree, the amount of paternal care time increases by 12 minutes in Denmark, by 10 in Spain and by 9 in Britain (with significant effects in all three cases). But the opposite is not true.

In Table 6 we observe that the impact of education on parental investments varies with paid work constraints. Among mothers, the effect of the hours of employment clearly varies by education (see the *lincom test*). College-educated mothers who are not employed invest significantly more time in child care than their lower educated counterparts, particularly in Britain (Coeff. = 29) and in Spain (Coeff. = 31). In contrast, the negative elasticity of the hours of employment is stronger among college educated mothers in Britain, Denmark, and particularly in Flanders, although the opposite is true in Spain.

When we look at fathers, we appreciate more mixed patterns (Table 6). In Denmark no significant variations are observed. Flemish college educated fathers who are not in the labor force invest 25 minutes less child care than their non-college educated counterparts. In contrast, the effect of employment on paternal care is strongly negative among Flemish non-college educated parents, but moderately positive for their college educated counterparts. Similarly, British low educated fathers reduce significantly their child care time with their hours of employment (in relation to their highly educated counterparts), whereas they invest more relative time in child care when they are not employed. Unlike in Flanders and the UK, non-employed Spanish fathers with a college degree increase dramatically their time of child care (90 minutes), and their hours of employment have a much stronger negative impact over child care than it has for non-college educated fathers.

Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4 allow us to observe not only the slope, but the amount of child care that each educational group devotes in relation to the predicted effect of paid work hours on child

care time. In Britain and Spain, college educated mothers allocate significantly more time to child care than their lower educated counterparts. In Flanders the gap is again in favor of college educated mothers, though for the group of full-time employed mothers these differences narrow significantly. In Denmark, educational variations are insignificant. For the group of fathers we again find a divergent picture. In Spain, highly educated fathers are, on average, much more involved in child care than their lower educated counterparts, though both groups perform similar amounts of childcare when working full-time and overworking. In Britain and Flanders, non-college educated fathers clearly invest in children above the predicted value, though in both countries the educational gap converges among full-time employees. It is very surprising that Flemish college educated fathers do not respond at all to their hours of employment. Finally, in Denmark, we observe that college educated fathers devote a relatively higher amount of child care than their lower educated counterparts, particularly among the group of full-time employees.

## Multivariate Results of Public Sector Employment

Public sector employment is in general positively correlated with parental child care, though in the majority of cases this impact is not statistically significant. Flemish mothers working in public sector jobs present an (apparently) odd behavior in this respect. On the one hand, they reduce their time with children in routine care by 18 minutes. On the other, their interactive child care time increases by 10 minutes. Being a public sector employee increases the time devoted to interactive care among Danish mothers by 9 minutes and their total time spent on primary care by 16. Among British and Spanish mothers, working in the public sector is in general positively associated with maternal care, though its effects are not statistically significant. Danish fathers with a public sector job increase by 16 minutes their primary child care and by 10 their interactive care. Their Spanish counterparts allocate 9 minutes more time to total care than the reference group. In contrast, no relevant effects are observed among British and Flemish fathers employed in the public sector.

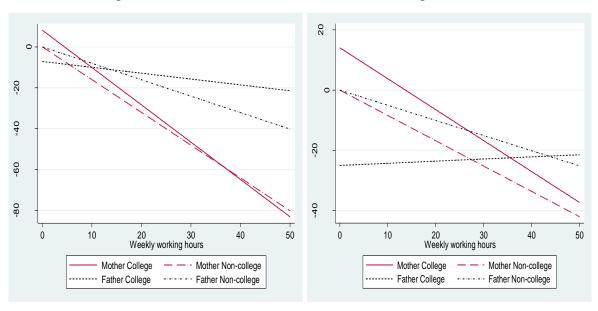
#### **Discussion**

The quality and quantity of investments that children receive from their parents constitute essential inputs for their future development. Parental investments are explained, on the one hand, by resources and time availability and on the other by preferences and attitudes. In this article, we have examined the extent to which employment and education predict changes in child care time. Focusing on four cases with different scenarios for the reconciliation of work and parenthood, namely Denmark, Flanders, Spain and the UK (Crompton, 2006; Esping-Andersen, 1999; Gornick & Meyers, 2003; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004; Lewis, 2009), our analyses contribute to the limited cross-national literature on child care (Bianchi et al., 2006; Craig & Mullan, 2010; Gauthier et al., 2004; Sayer et al., 2004b; Sayer & Gornick, 2011). Unlike in previous studies, we explicitly explored the conditional impact of paid work and education on parents' child care time by studying both routine and interactive child care activities (see Bianchi et al., 2006). We believe that accounting for these conditional effects, something not applied in previous studies with similar aims, we are moving forward in our understanding of the conditions under which education and time-constraints predict variations in child care time in different national contexts.

Figures 1, 2, 3, & 4. Predicted Minutes of Child Care by Education and Employment

Figure 1: Denmark

Figure 2: Flanders

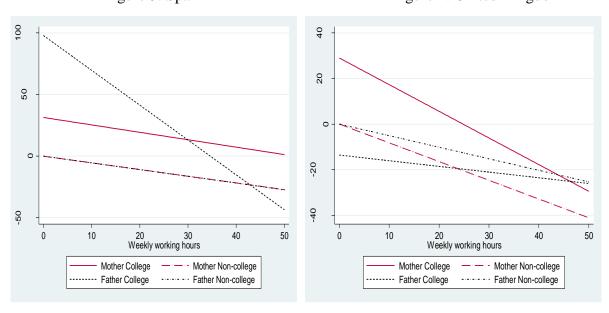


Source: '2001 Danish Time Use Survey'

Source: '2004/05 Flemish Families and Care Survey'

Figure 3: Spain

Figure 4: United Kingdom



Source: '2002/03 Spanish Time Use Survey'

Source: '2000/01 British Time Use Survey'

*Note:* Controlling for working late, partner's working late, public sector job, care and housework help, number of children, and age of youngest child.

Our paper illustrates that employment and education are significant predictors of the allocation of parental care time. These effects, however, vary across countries. Father's paid work has a stronger negative impact on child care in Spain and (to a lesser extent) in the UK than in Flanders and, in particular, Denmark. Only in Denmark does having worked after 6pm not have a strong negative effect on paternal care. These results suggest that, where the regulation of employment schedules is active (Flanders) and very active (Denmark), the balance of work and paternal care time is higher than in countries with residual father-friendly policies (Spain and UK). This finding contributes to the emerging literature on the links between institutions, work, and fathers' child care (Craig & Mullan, 2010; Sayer & Gornick, forthcoming; Sullivan, Coltrane, Mcanally, & Altintas, 2009).

Maternal full-time employment, contrary to our expectations, has a strong negative effect on child care in all four countries. Married mothers do the majority of child care work and face serious constraints to balancing full-time employment and child care (Craig, 2006). The overall moderate effect of female part-time employment on child care might explain, in part, why mothers opt for part-time employment, particularly in Britain and Belgium, two countries with a high supply of part-time jobs. This strategy clearly reinforces life-long gender inequalities in paid and unpaid work (Lewis, 2009). We found, however, that Denmark, the country with the best chances of balancing full-time employment and motherhood, is the only case where working after 6pm does not significantly reduce maternal child care time, exactly as we expected. Future research nevertheless should study in more detail whether the extension of child care centers for preschoolers has a direct positive effect on the actual synchronization of paid work and parenthood.

In line with previous research (Bianchi et al., 2006; Gauthier et al., 2004; Sayer et al., 2004b) we observed a general positive relationship between education and child care. Significant effects, however, were only found among Spanish mothers and fathers, as well as among British mothers. Interestingly, when mothers have a college degree, fathers significantly increase their time spent on primary child care (except in Flanders). Yet the opposite is not true. Our study found gender and country variations in how education and paid work hours interact to predict parental care time. Among mothers in Britain, Flanders and Spain, the college-educated group spent significantly more time caring for children than the group of lower educated mothers working the same number of hours. Only among Danish mothers was this educational gap not observed. In contrast, the mixed results for fathers show evident gender differences in this regard, particularly in Britain and Flanders. In Spain, collegeeducated fathers clearly invest more time in child care, except for the group of full-time employees. In Denmark, high-skilled fathers only allocate a moderately higher amount of time to child care than their lower educated counterparts working the same number of hours in the labor market. On the contrary, in Britain and Flanders non-college educated fathers are the ones who invest in children above the amount of predicted time, showing results in the opposite way than we expected. This implies that a positive and strong effect of education on paternal care is far from universal. Thus we recommend that future cross-national studies use an approach similar to ours to extend our knowledge about this question.

Following the argument of Sayer and colleagues (2004b), it could be argued that the overall bigger educational gap in Britain and Spain mirrors indirect welfare state effects. Actually household income only has a strong positive effect in Britain and Spain, particularly among mothers (results not shown). One might expect that part of this effect is due to the fact that low-income families (and mothers) allocate a higher relative amount of time to domestic work in Britain and Spain than in Denmark and Flanders. We did not find such differences. In

all four countries, high-skilled mothers devoted about 15% less time to housework (but about 15% more time to paid work) than their lower educated counterparts (see Gupta, Evertsson, Grunow, Nermo, & Sayer, 2010, for a study of this question). Further research should examine more specifically the extent to which outsourcing patterns and maternal employment vary across social class and countries with different family policies. In any case, our results unequivocally show that in Britain, Flanders and Spain, college-educated mothers allocate more time to child care than their lower educated counterparts working a similar number of hours. Because paid work conditions constitute the main source of time-availability and we control for different sociodemographic variables, we interpret these results as an explanation of different maternal styles and attitudes across the educational strata.

In contrast to previous research (Roeters et al., 2009), our expectations of gender differentials in the effects of employment on routine and interactive child care were not corroborated. It is true that in Flanders routine child care is significantly low among mothers who worked after 6pm, whereas fathers in similar conditions significantly reduced their interactive child care time, but not their physical child care. This should be read as a manifestation of gendered behaviors (Bittman et al., 2004; Craig, 2006), although admittedly this cannot be extrapolated to Britain, Denmark and Spain. Contrary to what has been argued in the literature (Lareau, 2003; Leibowitz, 1977), we found that an educational gap is more pronounced in routine child care activities than in those more associated *a priori* with cognitive and interpersonal skills (this is particularly visible among Spanish fathers). We encourage scholars to study further the exact mechanisms which might predict how parents from different social backgrounds invest in different child care activities across their children's life course.

Our paper is, to our knowledge, the first to explore the effects of public employment on parental care time in countries with different degrees of employment quality (see Gallie, 2003) The positive correlation of public employment and child care time among British, Danish and Spanish fathers, and among Danish mothers, implies that public sector jobs provide better chances for the articulation of parenthood and work than private sector jobs, which tend to produce higher levels of work-life strains (Ingram & Simons, 1995). This evidence contributes to the literature on how employment conditions and work schedules affect the allocation of time within the household (Presser, 2003).

Our findings notwithstanding, we think that in the future three lines of research could improve our knowledge about parental care in different countries. The first deals with couple decision-making (see Kingston and Nock 1987; Lesnard, 2008). If we wish to predict parental investments among couples, we should understand not only parents' agency at the individual level, but at the couple level. This line of research remains underdeveloped. Secondly, we have focused on how working evenings affects child care time. Future studies might allow us to better understand how non-standard employment and different work schedules affect parental investments in child care among dual-earner couples from different countries (see Hook & Wolfe, 2010). Finally, we believe that future studies would benefit from extending the analysis of parental involvement during the weekend (see Craig & Mullan, 2010; Yeung et al., 2001). This is a crucial research question if we want to understand the entire picture of what inputs children receive from mothers and fathers over the course of a whole week.

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Table 3. OLS Estimates for Primary Child Care, by Gender and Country

				Mothers					Fathers									
	Denn	nark	Fland	lers	Spai	n	UK		Denmo	ark	Fland	lers	Spain	ı	UK			
Variables	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff	S. S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff	. S.E		
Father College Education	-3.6	(7.8)	1.0	(6.8)	-0.4	(5.5)	12.4	(6.3)	5.7	(6.0)	7	(4.6)	15.6	(4.2)***	-5.1	(4.6)		
Mother College Education	4.1	(8.4)	8.9	(7.0)	22.0	(5.8)***	19.7	(6.6)**	11.8	(6.1)	2.2	(4.6)	10.1	(4.2)*	9.2	(4.6)*		
Father Full-time job	36.5	(17.0)*	-21.3	(11.6)	-8.1	(10.1)	10.1	(9.6)	-25.2	(12.6)	-7.4	(7.8)	-52.4	(7.5)***	-19.7	(6.9)**		
Father Overworks	46.8	(20.3)*	-19.4	(12.9)	-5.8	(13.6)	4.7	(10.1)	-26.1	(15.0)	-14.0	(8.7)	-55.7	(10.1)***	-15.8	(7.3)*		
Mother Part-time	-49.6	(14.3)**	-17. <i>7</i>	(8.2)*	-41.1	(8.4)***	-24.2	(7.2)**	-2.9	(10.4)	.1	(5.4)	3.8	(6.1)	2.8	(5.1)		
Mother Full-time	-70.7	(10.4***	-37.4	(8.9)***	-42.9	(5.4)***	-37.5	(8.3)***	1.7	(7.4)	8.8	(5.9)	-2.4	(3.7)	-10.3	(5.9)		
Father works after 6pm	15.8	(8.9)	-5.4	(7.1)	18.2	(4.2)***	15.2	(5.7)**	-0.9	(6.6)	-17.9	(4.8)***	-18.9	(3.3)***	-25.8	(4.2)***		
Mother works after 6pm	-8.5	(12.4)	-26.8	(7.9)**	-34.2	(5.8)***	-33.8	(7.9)***	9.4	(9.2)	.9	(5.4)	10.1	(4.2)*	21.6	(5.7)***		
Public sector job	16.0	(8.4)	-9.5	(8.5)	8.3	(6.3)	4.0	(6.0)	18.2	(6.9)**	6.4	(5.7)	8.3	(4.0)*	9.0	(4.5)*		
Youngest child < 6 years	95.3	(12.5)***	103.8	(13.1)***	159.1	(6.0)***	108.2	(8.5)***	53.9	(9.3)***	44.8	(8.9)***	74.7	(4.5)***	40.2	(6.1)***		
Youngest child 6-11 years	37.5	(12.2)**	28.2	(10.9)*	53.3	(5.8)***	29.0	(8.1)***	10.2	(9.0)	4.1	(7.4)	30.3	(4.3)***	14.9	(5.9)*		
# of Children at home	-6.0	(5.1)	4.7	(4.6)	-3.8	(3.1)	1.0	(3.4)	7.7	(3.8)*	.2	(3.1)	3.8	(2.3)	3.3	(2.4)		
Intercept	50.9	(20.0)*	56.7	(12.6)***	37.5	(12.4)**	34.4	(12.4)**	10.5	(14.8)	21.8	(8.5)*	52.6	(9.1)***	30.3	(9.0)**		
Adj. R-Squared	0.31		0.23		0.43		0.32		0.21		0.15		0.27		0.15			
n.	377		934		1812		908		377		934		1812		908			

*Note:* All covariates are correlated at a level below 0.5. Control variables are 'child care help' and 'housework help'.

\*p < .05, \*\*p < .01, \*\*\*p < .001

Table 4. OLS Estimates for Routine Child Care, by Gender and Country

				Mothers					Fathers									
	Denn	nark	Fland	ers	Spai	n	UK		Denmo	ark	Flande	ers	Spair	ı	UK			
Variables	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E		
Father College Education	-2.5	(6.3)	1.0	(4.7)	-4.7	(4.9)	6.7	(5.6)	4.4	(4.3)	0.7	(2.7)	12.0	(3.4)***	-1.8	(3.7)		
Mother College Education	-2.0	(6.8)	7.7	(4.9)	16.0	(5. 2)**	13.8	(5.8)*	7.6	(4.4)	1.5	(2.7)	9.1	(3.4)*	3.4	(3.7)		
Father Full-time job	30.9	(13.6)*	-9.4	(8.1)	-5.3	(9. 0)	12.0	(8.4)	-13.6	(9.1)	-6.2	(4.6)	-32.3	(6.2)***	-18.2	(5. 6)**		
Father Overworks	30.7	(16.3)	-4.1	(9.0)	1.5	(12.2)	11.0	(8.9)	-15.3	(10.8)	-4.6	(5.1)	-32.7	(8.3)***	-15.9	(5.9)**		
Mother Part-time	-33.7	(11.4)**	-1.7	(5.7)	-37.8	(7.5)***	-17.4	(6.3)**	-2.5	(7.4)	7.9	(3.2)*	39	(5.0)	3.4	(4.1)		
Mother Full-time	-52.0	(8.3)***	-19.3	(6.2)**	-34.9	(4.8)***	-18.4	(7.3)*	-3.7	(5.3)	9.7	(3.4)**	-1.7	(3.1)	-3.2	(4.8)		
Father works after 6pm	12.8	(7.1)	-3.6	(4.9)	10.2	(3.8)**	7.6	(5.0)	6.0	(4.7)	-5.1	(2.8)	-9.7	(2.7)***	-14.0	(3.4)***		
Mother works after 6pm	1.7	(9.9)	-15.9	(5.5)**	-23.6	(5.1)***	-27	(6.9)***	4.4	(6.6)	1.1	(3.1)	5.1	(3.4)	16.0	(4.6)**		
Public sector job	6.7	(6.7)	-18.3	(5.9)**	7.6	(5.6)	0.8	(5.2)	7.5	(4.9)	3.8	(3.31)	6.0	(3.3)	5.9	(3.6)		
Intercept	33.9	(16.0)*	32.4	(8.8)***	24.5	(11.0)*	14.8	(10.9)	6.1	(10.6)	7.5	(5.0)	27.7	(7.5)***	18.4	(7.2)*		
Adj. R-Squared	0.31		0.22		0.42		0.25		0.17		0.10		0.23		0.11			
n.	377		934		1812		908		377		934		1812		908			

Note: All covariates are correlated at a level below 0.5. Controls variables are 'care help', 'housework help', 'number of children' and 'age of youngest child'. \*p < .05, \*\*p < .01, \*\*\*p < .001.

Table 5. OLS Estimates for Interactive Child Care, by Gender and Country

				Mothers					Fathers											
	Denn	nark	Flande	ers	Spa	in	UK		Denma	ırk	Fland	ers	Spai	n	UK					
Variables	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E				
Father College Education	-1.1	(3.9)	2.1	(4.0)	4.3	(2.4)	5.0	(2.9)	1.2	(3.3)	-1.5	(3.0)	3.6	(2.1)	-3.4	(2.1)				
Mother College Education	6.0	(4.2)	.2	(4.1)	6.0	(2.5)*	4.9	(2.9)	4.2	(3.4)	0.1	(3.1)	1.1	(2.1)	3.8	(2.1)				
Father Full-time job	5.6	(8.4)	-11.7	(6.8)	-2.9	(4.4)	-2.3	(4.3)	-11.6	(7.0)	-1.0	(5.1)	-20.2	(3.7)***	-5.1	(3.2)				
Father Overworks	16.2	(10.1)	-14.2	(7.5)	-7.3	(5.9)	-4.9	(4.5)	-10.8	(8.3)	-8.1	(5.7)	-23.0	(5.0)***	-2.4	(3.3)				
Mother Part-time	-15.9	(7.1)*	-15.4	(4.7)**	-3.3	(3.6)	-7.0	(3.2)*	4	(5.7)	-7.0	(3.6)	4.2	(3.0)	-0.2	(2.4)				
Mother Full-time	-18.7	(5.2)***	-17.9	(5.2)**	-8.0	(2.3)***	-17.3	(3.7)***	5.4	(4.1)	-0.4	(3.9)	7	(1.8)	-6.4	(2.7)*				
Father works after 6pm	2.9	(4.4)	8	(4.1)	8.0	(1.8)***	6.5	(2.6)*	-6.9	(3.6)	-11.8	(3.1)***	-9.2	(1.6)***	-9.4	(1.9)***				
Mother works after 6pm	-10.2	(6.2)	-10.1	(4.6)*	-10.6	(2.5)***	-11.0	(3.5)**	5.0	(5.1)	0.3	(3.5)	5.0	(2.1)*	3.3	(2.6)				
Public sector job	9.3	(4.2)*	10.2	(5.0)*	.7	(2.7)	0.1	(2.7)	10.7	(3.8)**	4.4	(3.7)	2.3	(2.0)	2.3	(2.1)				
Intercept	16.9	(9.9)	23.2	(7.4)**	13.0	(5.4)*	21.9	(5.6)***	4.4	(8.1)	13.0	(5.6)*	24.9	(4.5)***	14.0	(4.1)**				
Adj. R-Squared	0.9		0.10		0.8		0.16		0.10		0.10		0.10		0.9					
n.	377		934		1812		908		377		934		1812		908					

Note: All covariates are correlated at a level below 0.5. Controls variables are 'care help', 'housework help', 'number of children' and 'age of youngest child'. \*p < .05, \*\*p < .01, \*\*\*p < .001.

Table 6. OLS Estimates for Primary Child Care with Paid Work Hours and Education

				Mothers			Fathers										
	Denmark		Flanders		Spain		UK		Denmark		Flanders		Spain		UF	K	
Variables	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	Coeff.	S.E	
Model 1 (without interaction)																	
College education	2.4	(9.3)	9.3	(7.0)	30.0	(7.7)***	21.1	(6.6)**	8.1	(6.6)	-1.5	(4.6)	14.7	(5.6)**	-4.0	(4.6)	
Hours of paid work	-1.7	(0.3)***	-0.9	(0.2)***	-0.5	(0.2)**	9	(.2)***	6	(0.3)	-0.3	(0.1)*	-1	(0.2)***	-0.5	(.1)**	
Intercept	49.0	(20.0)**	56.9	(10.7)***	10.5	(16.0)	35.1	(11.9)**	9.6	(14.7)	23.1	(7.3)**	38.6	(12.0)**	30.3	(8.6)***	
Adj.R-Squared	0.30		0.23		0.40		0.32		0.21		0.17		0.25		0.15		
Model 2 (with interaction)																	
College education	8.1	(17.6)	14.1	(11.7)	31.3	(11.9)**	29.0	(10.4)***	-7.1	(23.4)	-25.0	(11.4)*	97	(22.0)***	-13.5	(14.2)	
Hours of paid work	-1.6	(0.5)**	-0.8	(0.3)*	-0.5	(0.2)**	8	(.2)***	8	(0.4)	-0.5	(0.2)**	5	(0.3)*	5	(.2)**	
Lincom test (Paid Work * College)	-1.8	(0.4)***	-1.0	(.3)***	6	(.4)	-1.2	(.3)***	3	(.5)	.1	(.2)	-2.8	(.5)***	3	(.3)	
Intercept	44.8	(22.5)*	55.2	(11.2)***	10.4	(15.8)	32.6	(12.1)**	18.6	(18.0)	32	(8.3)***	23.1	(12.8)	34.7	(9.3)***	
Adj.R-Squared	0.30		0.23		0.40		0.32		0.21		0.16		0.25		0.14		
n	377		934		1812		908		377		934		1812		908		

*Note*: Control variables are 'partner's education', 'public sector job', 'child care help, 'housework help', 'number of children', and 'age of the youngest child'.

\*p<.05, \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001.