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Work-Family Enrichment Experiences  
among Working Fathers:  
Evidence from Catalonia

MARC GRAU GRAU

**PhD in Social Policy**

*The University of Edinburgh*

2016



*Time is not gold.  
Gold is worth nothing.  
Time is life.*

JOSÉ LUÍS SAMPEDRO



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Doing a PhD is far from being an individual task. Only with the guide, support, love and caring disposition of many people was it possible to put an end to this long, vivid, and enriching journey. I am aware that these words are not enough to acknowledge all the warm support received during this process, but I need to say thank you.

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Edinburgh, 28 April 2016



## Abstract

Although there is still a gender division of labour in post-industrial countries, evidence seems to suggest that there are some fathers more involved than others, and interestingly, a growing number of fathers that want to be more involved with their children. Using the Catalan Survey on the Use of Time, this thesis aims to understand how paternal time devoted to children under 10 years old differs across educational level, income, age, number of (paid) working hours, occupation and partner's occupation among other independent variables. Understanding patterns of those fathers involved with their children will presumably give some clues on how to promote gender equality in parenting. Furthermore, it will contribute to the fatherhood literature by expanding the research to Catalonia.

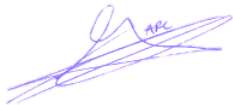
Furthermore, while we know that fatherhood involvement is positively related with child outcomes and gender equality, less is known about the benefits of having both work and family roles for working fathers themselves and their jobs. Using the conceptual framework of WFE elaborated by Greenhaus and Powell (2006), this thesis seeks to explore how resources developed at home are positively transferred and applied at work, and vice versa. For that aim, 20 interviews with Catalan working fathers have been conducted. Understanding and shedding light on these hidden sources of enrichment between work and family domains might be a positive way to challenge the disproportionate attention to the conflict perspective in the work-family literature and to counteract the benefits of the “ideal worker” and “organization man”.

The methodological contribution of this thesis is that it is the first study to use the Catalan Survey on the Use of Time to look at fathers as well as offering one of the first qualitative studies to examine the work-family enrichment process for fathers. Regarding the empirical contribution, the analysis of the time use data reveals that father's age, educational level and partner's occupation is positively associated with paternal time devoted to children. On the other hand, working hours is negatively

associated with time devoted to young children. The qualitative analysis suggests that enrichment occurs under certain conditions. Interestingly, the sources of enrichment reported from family to work (*invisible rewards*) were different from the sources of enrichment reported from work to family. This thesis also suggested that fathers employed in higher-levels occupation were more likely to experience high levels of enrichment, but at the same time high levels of conflict.

## Declaration

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work, except otherwise indicated, and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of several overlapping, fluid strokes. The signature is positioned above the word 'Signed'.

Signed

29 April 2016

Word count: 75,535



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## List of Abbreviations

<b>WFB</b>	Work-Family Balance
<b>WFE</b>	Work-Family Enrichment
<b>FWE</b>	Family-Work Enrichment
<b>WFC</b>	Work-Family Conflict
<b>FWC</b>	Family-Work Conflict
<b>IDESCAT</b>	Statistical Institute of Catalonia
<b>EUT10</b>	Catalan Time Use Survey (2010-11)
<b>INE</b>	Spanish Statistical Office
<b>EUSTAT</b>	Basque Statistical Office
<b>OLS</b>	Ordinary Least Square

*To Queralt,  
for her unconditional support*



# 1 Introduction

Love and work are arguably the cornerstones of our humanity. According to Freud, the ability to love (*lieben*) and work (*arbeiten*) is deeply connected with an individual's degree of happiness and mental health. It seems reasonable that a sane society (Fromm, 1955) should be able to find a balance between these two cornerstones. However, recent studies report that people in post-industrial societies suffer from time famine (Perlow, 1999), the perception of not having enough time to fulfil all of their duties. In Europe, 21% of workers stated that they “always” or “almost always” feel too tired to do their household duties (Eurofound, 2015). In the United States, 53% of American parents with children under 18 said that it was not easy for them to find a work-family balance, and there was no difference between mothers and fathers (Parker & Wang, 2013).

The current lack of balance between work and family has important consequences (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000). Work-family conflict (hereafter WFC) affects not only men (Hill, Hawkins, Märtinson, & Ferris, 2003), women (Allen & Finkelstein, 2014; Wharton & Blair-Loy, 2006) and the quality of couples' relationships (Fellows, Chiu, Hill, & Hawkins, 2015), but also children, who are the unseen stakeholders in this situation (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000). Feeling stressed, tired and rushed appears to be the norm among working parents in post-industrial countries. Parker and Wang (2013) reported that 40% of working mothers and 34% of working fathers with children under 18 years reported always feeling rushed. In Spain, almost half of employees reported high levels of stress, and the regions with the highest GDP (Catalonia, Navarra, Madrid) were also the ones with a higher percentage of employees who perceived high levels of stress in their lives (Grau-Grau, 2013).

The current situation is most likely not as our ancestors imagined. They expected that future generations would work less and have more time for themselves and for their family members. In fact, the reduction in working hours during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was a good sign for these expectations. During this “century of shorter hours” (Hunnicut, 1984), the number of working days was reduced from 7 to 6 and then from 6 to 5<sup>1</sup>, and the number of working hours was reduced from 12 to 10 and then from 10 to 8<sup>2</sup> (see Appendix 1 for the distribution of “normal” working weeks in Catalonia until 1930). This positive trend was the basis for some intellectuals to argue that employees in the near future would work 6, 4, or 2 hours per day. In 1931, Keynes predicted in *Economic Possibilities for our Grandchildren* a 3-hour shift or a 15-hour working week (Keynes, 1963). Huxley predicted a 2-day working week in 1930<sup>3</sup>.

Also in 1930, innovative industrialists such as Kellogg, inspired by studies showing that reduced hours increased productivity, introduced a six-hour working day in his cereal-plant production. However, in 1943, the company decided to re-establish an eight-hour workday due to a labour shortage and new demand caused by World War II (Hunnicut, 1992). Today, almost 100 years after the principle of eight working hours per day was established, there has been no significant progress on this issue, with the exception of a few examples, such as the 35-Hour law in France (Fagnani & Letablier, 2004), and some new initiatives<sup>4</sup> (Coote, Franklin, & Simms, 2010).

During the nineties, there was much interest regarding how much working parents work and the impact on children (Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter, 2000). Schor

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<sup>1</sup> According to Huberman and Minns (2007), in general, we can assume that full-time employees worked 6 days per week from 1870 to 1913, 5 and a half days from 1929 to 1950, and 5 days from 1960 until today. Obviously, there were significant country and sectorial variations.

<sup>2</sup> In 1919, the first ILO Convention in Washington D.C. established the principle of 8 working hours per day (Retrieved June 6<sup>th</sup>, 2015)  
[http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100\\_ILO\\_CODE:C001](http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C001)

<sup>3</sup> Published in New York Times (November 17<sup>th</sup>, 1930).

<sup>4</sup> In April 2014, the municipal council of Gothenburg (Sweden) decided to enact a one-year experiment that consisted of reducing fully paid working hours per week from 40 to 30.  
<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/articles/working-conditions-industrial-relations-law-and-regulation/sweden-gothenburg-municipality-implements-30-hour-working-week>

(1991) found that time on the job has increased by the equivalent of one month in recent decades, producing “an expected decline of leisure”. However, her *overworked American* thesis was not supported by time data (Robinson & Godbey, 1997). Based on the arguments for “the saturated self” (Gergen, 1991), the authors explained that although people have tended to work less in recent years, they feel more rushed and with less free time than ever. This paradox could be explained as a result of the increasingly rapid pace of working parents’ lives (Robinson and Godbey, 1997). Bittman (1998) noted that the sense of feeling rushed may result from participation in a wide range of activities rather than the total duration of these activities. This feeling of frequently changing activities could be the reason why many working parents feel overworked. These findings are in line with Friedman and Greenhaus (2000), who argued that the *psychological* intrusion between work and family was more problematic than time. Hochschild (1997) posits a new reality in which “home has become work and work has become home”. As a consequence of this relative new reality in which parents seek to cope with their various commitments, there is great concern about whether the increased difficulty of balancing work and family life will have negative consequences for children, women, men and families in general.

Nevertheless, evidence from post-industrial societies suggests that parents are currently spending more minutes per day to their young children than in the family-oriented 1960s (Sayer, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004), half a century ago (Parker & Wang, 2013) or forty years ago (Gauthier, Smeeding, & Furstenberg, 2004). Focusing on the role of the father, new evidence has shown that the number of minutes devoted to children by fathers is higher today than in previous decades (Bianchi, 2000; Sandberg & Hofferth, 2001). However, there is still an important gap regarding the contribution at home men and women (Craig & Mullan, 2011; Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010).

Despite this gender inequality, we are witnessing a growing interest in fatherhood, not only in academia (Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000) but also in the media and in the political arena (Hobson, 2002). Scholars have largely demonstrated that fatherhood involvement is positively related to important social indicators: child

development (Cabrera & Tamis-LeMonda, 2012; Lamb, 2004), gender equity (Coltrane, 1996) and couple relationship quality (Schober, 2012). These benefits are the reason why some advancing societies have started to consider fatherhood in the policy arena. Lamb and his colleagues (1985, 1987) made an important effort to operationalize the construct of fathers' involvement. It was an important starting point to study the antecedents and consequences of fatherhood involvement. In this sense, this thesis aims to shed light on how fathers' involvement in Catalonia differs across different independent variables such as educational level, age, number of hours, occupation and partner occupation. Thus, the **first aim** of this thesis is as follows:

To explore the contribution of Catalan working fathers at home with children under 10 years old and to understand how fathers' involvement differs across educational level, age, number of hours, occupation and partner occupation among other variables.

The methodological novelty of this research is that it is the first study to use the time-diary data (2010-11) from the National Institute of Statistics in Catalonia (hereafter IDESCAT) for this purpose. The second novelty of this thesis is that it uses occupation and partner occupation as independent variables to predict fatherhood involvement.

Additionally, this thesis aims not only to explore the factors that are positively related to fatherhood involvement, but also to understand the positive consequences of fathers' participation at home. The growing literature on fathers (Marsiglio et al., 2000) has made a tremendous contribution to comprehending the benefits of men's involvement for children's development and gender equality, leaving the benefits of fatherhood involvement understudied, with the exception of a few studies (Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001; Grau-Grau, 2015; Palkovitz, 2002).

Therefore, this study examines the positive consequences of parental involvement for fathers themselves and for their jobs. To understand these positive benefits, I frame this study with the theory of work-family enrichment (hereafter WFE) developed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006). As will be presented in the second and third chapters,

some authors have attempted to conceptualize the positive side of work-family interference with different labels and to develop and validate some scales that attempt to examine the positive relationship between work and home (as an example see Carlson, Kacmar, Wayne, & Grzywacz, 2006)

These validated WFE scales have been useful in determining whether employed parents are gaining knowledge, acquiring skills or acquiring new perspectives in one domain (for example: family) that might have a positive impact on another domain (for example: work). Surprisingly, neither the theoretical arguments nor the work-family enrichment scale shed light on *which* specific skills, knowledge, resources, values or perspectives working fathers are developing in one role/domain that can be transferred to another role/domain and vice versa. In order to contribute to reducing this gap, the **second aim** of this thesis is as follows:

To gain more insight into the specific sources of enrichment involved in combining multiple roles among working fathers.

To conduct this analysis, I used semi-structured interviews with Catalan working fathers. The methodology novelty of this research is that it is one of the first empirical works to use qualitative data to understand such a process. Furthermore, this is one of the rare studies in the work-family balance (hereafter WFB) literature that focuses on comprehending which specific skills, knowledge and resources are developed or learnt in one role/domain that can be transferred to another role/domain and vice versa. Finally, as far as this author knows, this is the first study to examine WFE experiences in the Catalan context.

Finally, this thesis has a third aim. Regarding the first aim, little research has examined how occupation shapes parenting behaviour. In the academic literature about the benefits of multiple roles it is a similar story. The role of occupation has not received any particular attention. Thus, little is known about how occupation shapes work-family enrichment experiences. For that reason, the **third aim** of this thesis is:

To examine the relationship between fathers' occupations and WFE experiences among working fathers.

To conduct this analysis, I also used 20 semi-structured interviews with Catalan working fathers in different types of occupations. The literature has not paid special attention to the work-family issues of parents in low-skilled jobs (Henly & Lambert, 2005). For that reason, this research intends to explore work-family enrichment experiences not only among working fathers in high and middle-skilled jobs, but also among fathers in low-skilled jobs. This last qualitative analysis aims to contribute to the WFE literature (1) by expanding the research to fathers' occupations, (2) by examining WFE experiences in Catalonia, and (3) by using qualitative analysis to understand the process of WFE.

Thus, the intention of this thesis is to understand how paternal involvement differs across different independent variables such as educational level, income and occupation, to examine the benefits of fathers' involvement for fathers themselves in a specific context, i.e. Catalan, and to understand the role that occupation plays in this process. In the rest of the introduction, I will describe the motivation for writing this thesis and the thesis outline.

## **1.1 Motivation for this research**

After finishing my bachelor's degree in Business Administration, I worked for 4 years in a multinational company. There, I realized that men, and especially fathers, experienced a problem that I had not considered before: a lack of balance between work and family. More specifically, the issue was the little time that most people, especially managers, spent at home with their families. After 4 years, I decided to begin this thesis about work-family balance with an emphasis on men.

The second motivation for this thesis was *fathers*. During the intense, rich and vivid years that I spent working on this thesis, I had two children. Becoming a father has given me a new perspective on men, work and family. I started to understand that

men might suffer from work-family conflict (Hill et al., 2003). I realized that some men want to be more involved at home, but important personal, social and organizational barriers continue to exist (Coltrane, Miller, Dehaan, & Stewart, 2013; Rudman & Mescher, 2013; Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2013). Furthermore, the academic literature suggests that fathers' involvement increases gender equity and child development. However, the academic interest in fathers compared to mothers has been relatively low. Thus, the second motivation for this thesis was to understand and examine the role of fathers at home. Understanding the patterns of those fathers involved with their children will presumably give some clues on how to promote gender equality in parenting.

A third motivation or research interest of this thesis was to *focus on the positive side*. As we will discuss in the following sections, the work-family balance (WFB) literature has mainly concentrated on work-family conflict (WFC) (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). However, some researchers have challenged the conflict view with an expansionist approach (Marks, 1977; Sieber, 1974), which assumes that participating in multiple roles might be positive for the person participating in these roles. Focusing on the positive side does not necessarily mean obviating the negative side, which is necessary, but rather it entails understanding under what conditions positive outcomes occur. Thus, the third motivation for this thesis is to gain more insight into the specific sources of enrichment involved in combining multiple roles for working fathers and to understand the mechanism of enrichment. Understanding and shedding light on these hidden sources of enrichment between work and family domains might be a positive way to challenge the disproportionate attention to the conflict perspective in the WFB literature and to offer a new perspective beyond the “ideal worker” and “organization man” (Williams et al., 2013).

Finally, the fourth motivation for this thesis was to examine fatherhood and work-family enrichment in a particular context: *Catalonia*. Most of the research on WFB has been conducted in an Anglophone context (mainly the United States and the United Kingdom) and more recently in Europe, especially in Nordic countries and the Netherlands. Obviously, there are exceptions around the world, but the literature has been dominated by studies in post-industrial societies. We can also find some

studies about work-family balance in Spain (Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010) and Southern Europe (Flaquer, 2004); however, studies that examine a particular region are rare (as an exception see MacInnes & Solsona, 2006). As will be presented later, Catalonia could be a very good context to study work-family balance for different reasons. Catalonia is a region with important similarities to the rest of the Spanish regions, but at the same time it has its own characteristics. Not only do language, history and culture contribute to the “differential fact” of Catalonia (Moreno, Arriba, & Serrano, 1998) but also its image of a hard-working (Giner, 1980) and familialistic society (Castiñeira & Elzo, 2009) as important sources of self-identification, its chaotic schedules (Cardús, 2003), the importance of its industrial sector (Hernández Gascón & Fontrodona Francolí, 2003), its openness to other cultures (Giner, 1980), its organizational rigidity (Chinchilla, León, Hernández, & Grau-Grau, 2009), its rapid changes in the family and its governmental effort to offer a family policy (Colominas, 2002; Grau-Grau, 2014). For all of these reasons, research in this region seems justified. Additionally, focusing on a particular context such as Catalonia may presumably contribute to expanding the research in a context with poor empirical evidence.

## 1.2 Thesis outline

Through this document, I want to share the structure and general content of this dissertation (table 1.1). The goal of this first chapter is to explain the key motivations for this research and to present the aims of this study. The purpose of chapter 2 is to review the current literature on paternal time and work-family enrichment to present the research gaps that will guide this study. Chapter 3 presents the analytical framework of this research and the definitions of the key terms used in this study. The Catalan context is also presented. Chapter 4 describes the qualitative and quantitative methods used in this thesis. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present the main results of this thesis. While chapter 5 identifies the main determinants of fathers’ involvement with children using the Catalan Time Use Survey (EUT10), chapters 6 and 7 present the main results of the qualitative interviews with Catalan working

fathers. Chapter 6 shows how the rewards perceived by working fathers fit with the conceptual model of Greenhaus and Powell (2006) and distinguishes between the rewards generated from work to home and the rewards perceived from home to work. In contrast, chapter 7 examines how occupation is positively related to the strength and shape of the levels of WFE and tries to shed light on the mechanism of enrichment between work and family and vice versa. Finally chapter 8 presents the main conclusions of this study.

**Table 1.1 Thesis outline**

<b>Chapter</b>	<b>Aim</b>
Chapter 1. Introduction	To present the <b>motivation, aims</b> and <b>structure</b> of this thesis
Chapter 2. Fathers, work and family	To <b>review the theories</b> and literature on how parents divide paid and unpaid work and to review approaches to work-family enrichment
Chapter 3. Analytical framework	To present the <b>analytical framework</b> and key terms for this research
Chapter 4. Methodology	To present the <b>methodology</b> used in this thesis (qualitative and quantitative)
Chapter 5. Time with children	To identify the <b>main determinants of fathers' involvement</b> with children
Chapter 6. Invisible rewards	To gain more insight into <b>the benefits of participating in multiple roles</b>
Chapter 7. WFE and occupation	To understand the relationship between <b>occupation</b> and enrichment
Chapter 8. Conclusions	To present the <b>main conclusions</b>



## 2 Fathers, work and family: An overview and theoretical perspectives

The main goal of this chapter is to review the academic literature on parental time and work-family enrichment and to present the research gaps that will guide this study. From these theories, hypotheses about the predictors and consequences of fatherhood involvement will emerge and these will be described in chapter 3. As this thesis has different aims, (1) to identify the predictors of fatherhood involvement, operationalized as paternal time (see chapter 4), (2) to gain more insight into the specific sources of enrichment, and (3) to examine the relationship between occupation and enrichment; two different bodies of theories have been reviewed: theories of the allocation of time to unpaid work, and theories of participating in multiple roles.

This chapter has been divided into three sections. Firstly, this chapter presents an overview of the recent scholarship on fatherhood and key associated issues attempting to explain the transition from a breadwinning model to a new fatherhood model. Secondly, this chapter will review eight different theoretical perspectives on how men and women allocate their time in unpaid work. I will try to critically discuss these theoretical perspectives in order to construct the analytical framework of this thesis later on. Finally, different approaches on the benefits and costs of participating in multiple roles will also be presented in order to introduce the theory of WFE (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006), which will partially frame the second and third aim of this research. As will be described later, this body of research is relatively new. First it focused mainly on the theoretical development, and later this led to the development of different scales, which have been very helpful for a growing, but still small body of quantitative studies. However, this research on the benefits of multiple roles still leaves very intriguing questions that have not been tackled.

## 2.1 Understanding contemporary fathers in post-industrial societies: An overview

Almost all Europeans (94%) agree that gender equality is a fundamental right (Eurobarometer, 2015), and almost all Europeans (91%) state that reducing gender inequality is extremely necessary for having a better and fairer society. However, at the same time, two thirds (62%) think that inequalities between men and women are widespread in their own country. Gender inequalities, in fact, are still prevalent in organizations (Acker, 1990; Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Ezzedeen, Budworth, & Baker, 2015), in political representation (Folke & Rickne, 2016; Kenworthy & Malami, 1999), in academia (Karataş-Özkan & Chell, 2015), and above all, at home (Craig & Mullan, 2011).

The prevalence of gender inequality is not consistent with either the current laws and rights stating that men and women should receive equal treatment or with the attitudes that Europeans seem to have (Eurobarometer, 2015). An interesting question arises here: if women have equal access to the labour market and education and at the same time almost all Europeans agree that equality is a fundamental right, why are there still very significant gender inequalities in all domains? Another specific intriguing question would be: if the majority of men agree that men and women should share household duties equally (CIS, 2010) and at the same time, dual-earners seem to be the new norm (Ajenjo Cosp & García Román, 2011), why are there very significant gender inequalities at work and at home? Apart from a potential gender bias in this type of question (Dema Moreno & Díaz Martínez, 2014), evidence seems to suggest that there is still a men's gap between culture and conduct (LaRossa, 1988), or attitudes and behaviours (Dermott, 2008)

This gap between culture/attitudes and conduct/behaviours might be a sign that fatherhood is in transition (Eerola & Huttunen, 2011) and that we are moving towards an image of the father as a *coparent* (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000), leaving behind the image of a “helper” or pure breadwinner. According to Lamb (2004), fatherhood has evolved from the moral

teacher during the colonial phase in United States, to the distant breadwinner during the time of industrialization, to the sex role models after the Great Depression, to the new nurturing father of today. The idea behind the nurturing father is that fathers are aware that their role is not only to provide or “help”, but also to care (Koslowski, 2010). This new nurturing father has been studied from different perspectives, generating a series of evidence and studies about the caring side of fathers. The subjects of these studies include: the new father (Harrington, Deusen, & Humberd, 2011; Harrington, Deusen, & Mazar, 2012; Harrington, Van Deusen, & Ladge, 2010; Harrington, Van Deusen, & Sabatini Fraone, 2013), the modern parent (Parker & Wang, 2013), superdad (Kaufman, 2013) or the intimate father (Dermott, 2008), although these terms do not have exactly the same meaning.

The entry of women into the (paid) labour market has moulded the way men participate at home (Lewis, 2001). There is an interesting debate regarding whether men’s participation at home, especially in childcare activities, is due to choice or necessity. Although there is no clear answer, some scholars have argued that a growing proportion of working fathers want to be actively involved with their children (Ellison, Barker, & Kulasuriya, 2009; Lamb, 2004; Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004; Smith, 2004) or at least more involved than previous generations. In fact, empirical studies have systematically demonstrated that contemporary working fathers devote more time to their young children than previous generations (Gauthier et al., 2004; Parker & Wang, 2013; Sayer, Bianchi, et al., 2004).

Today, due to the recent social, economic and demographic changes, the role of the father is an emerging topic in many disciplines, such as sociology (e.g., Dermott, 2008), economics (e.g., Willis, 2000), psychology (e.g., Howard, Lefever, Borkowski, & Whitman, 2006), anthropology (g., Hewlett, 1991), history (e.g., Bailey, 2010), management (e.g., Dahl, Dezso, & Ross, 2012) and social policy (e.g., Marsiglio, 1995). This growing interest in fatherhood, as we have seen in the introduction, takes place not only in academia (Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000), but also in the media and in the political arena (Fox, Pascall, & Warren, 2009;

Hobson, 2002; Warren, Fox, & Pascall, 2009). One of the main motivations behind this relatively recent interest in fatherhood involvement is its relevance to child development (Allen & Daly, 2007). Leibowitz (1974) was one of the first scholars to find a positive relationship between fatherhood involvement and children outcomes later in life. Her model postulates that final schooling level depends on ability, family income, and home investment. In recent years, other studies have documented a link between fathers' involvement and children's outcomes. The evidence seems to suggest that fatherhood involvement is positively related with children's outcomes from their very first moment. Illustrative examples are the impact of fatherhood involvement on children's birth weight (Padilla & Reichman, 2001) or on the mother's breastfeeding experiences (Rempel & Rempel, 2011). Additionally, recent evidence also suggests that fatherhood involvement has a positive impact on children's eating behaviours and feeding practices (Khandpur, Blaine, Fisher, & Davison, 2014; Mallan et al., 2014)

In general, fatherhood involvement is positively associated with key child outcomes such as cognitive, emotional and social development (see review: Allen & Daly, 2007). Amato and Rivera (1999) showed that higher fatherhood involvement, measured by father-child closeness, a father's support, and the frequency which a father engages in child-related activities, was associated with fewer behavioural problems in children. Children of involved fathers also reported higher levels of IQ (Yogman, Kindlon, & Earls, 1995), better academic results (Howard et al., 2006), and enjoyment of school activities (Flouri, 2006), as well as being more likely to find a job (Harris, Furstenberg, & Marmer, 1998). The impact of fatherhood involvement is positive not only on a cognitive level, but also on an emotional and social level. As Allen and Dally (2007) highlighted in their excellent review that children of involved fathers felt more confident (Flouri, 2006), took more initiatives than other children, and interacted more with other people (Biller, 1993).

As stated before, fatherhood involvement has an impact not only on children, but also on gender equity (Coltrane, 1996), couple satisfaction (Schober, 2012) and fathers themselves (Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001). Due to the potential impact of

fatherhood involvement on this triple bottom line (on children, couples and fathers themselves), it is necessary to continue shedding light on why some fathers are more involved than others. Another intriguing question that arises here, before moving on to the theoretical perspectives on the allocation of time to unpaid work, is why, if the benefits of fatherhood involvement are so crystal clear (Allen & Daly, 2007) and at the same time a growing number of working fathers seem to want to be involved at home, does their contribution remain low compared to working mothers?

Empirical evidence suggests that those working fathers who want to be involved might suffer stigmas and barriers, and also be penalized at work for their involvement at home (Coltrane et al., 2013; Rudman & Mescher, 2013). This argument might be easily counteracted by the notion of the *fatherhood premium-motherhood penalty*. According to the existing literature, mothers seem to suffer a motherhood penalty in the form of perceived competence or starting salary. An interesting study involved a laboratory experiment to evaluate the impact of parental status in the workplace (Correll et al., 2007). The authors manipulated cover letters and CVs in response to different job advertisements to monitor whether or not candidates received a call-back for an interview. Their study found that definitively mothers were penalized. In contrast, fatherhood might be positively associated with wage changes “because men alter their behaviour or because employers discriminate on the basis of fatherhood” (Killewald, 2012, p. 97). Interestingly, not all fathers seem to benefit from the fatherhood premium. Killewald (2012) found that while married, residential, and biological fathers were positively associated with wage gains, unmarried residential fathers, non-residential fathers, and stepfathers did not receive a fatherhood premium. An intriguing question arises here, which is: Do involved fathers also receive a fatherhood premium, although they are married, residential and biological fathers? The answer is not clear, but new evidence reveals that involved men, or at least those fathers asking for flexible arrangements, also suffer barriers and stigmas (Coltrane et al., 2013; Rudman & Mescher, 2013) .

In the seventies, Coser (1974) wrote his book “Greedy Institutions” in which he defined a greedy institution as an organization that seeks the exclusive and undivided commitment of their workers. The assumption behind this type of behaviour is the thinking that a person who devotes all of his time and energy to the company will be more productive than others who have other commitments. This idea is in line with the scarcity approach (Goode, 1960), which assumes that the fewer roles a person has, the better an employee he/she will become. This approach, as we will see later, is the origin of the work-family conflict perspective (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). This type of company, which still exists, seeks employees with few non-work demands (Hochschild, 1997). Hochschild stated in her book, “The Time Bind” that a new term (zero drag) has arrived in Silicon Valley. This physical term, which means no friction with the environment, is applied to those workers with no family demands. According to this premise, workers with zero drags (no kids, no partner) are more likely to be more productive, because they can devote all of their attention and commitment to one role: work. This is, in fact, what the scarcity approach (Goode, 1960) revealed.

This type of company has in some sense moulded the notion of the ideal worker as the worker who devotes all of his attention, energy and time to work. This notion of the ideal worker is in line with the work devotion schema developed by Blair-Loy (2003), which is a coercive feature at work that induces a moral understanding that work is a vocation and deserves single-minded dedication (Blair-Loy, Hochschild, Pugh, Williams, & Hartmann, 2015). Men who ask for flexible arrangements to devote time to their family demands are violating the image of the ideal worker and the work devotion schema, and according to the notion of *Greedy Institutions* (Coser, 1974) that is still penalized (Rudman & Mescher, 2013). Thus, we cannot assume that all fathers enjoy the fatherhood premium.

According the recent Sixth European Working Conditions Survey (Eurofound, 2015), only one in five employees (20%) is free to adapt the starting and finishing times of their work within designated margins. In addition, almost one third of employees (28%) would like to decrease their number of working hours. Furthermore, 14% of workers reported that they continue to worry about work in

their spare time ‘always’ or ‘most of the time’, and 21% reported that they always/almost always feel too tired to do their household duties, which is in line with the idea of time famine (Perlow, 1999) presented at the beginning. Finally, 45% of the participants in the Sixth European Working Conditions Survey (Eurofound, 2015) stated that they have worked in their free time in order to meet work demands in recent years.

In a context like that, it seems very interesting to examine how working parents balance their work and family responsibilities. For this thesis, after reflecting on studying both mothers and fathers, I decided to examine only working fathers, on the one hand due to time constraints, and on the other because there is less research about them. Additionally, new social, economic and demographic changes seem to suggest that the role of fathers is in transition, which is always an academic motivation and challenge. A recent report (Parker, 2015) stated five facts about how fatherhood is changing in post-industrial societies: (1) the breadwinner model has been eroded (Lewis, 2001), and dual-income partners are becoming the new norm (García Román, 2012; Gudmundsson, 2003), (2) fathers are doing childcare and household activities that before were mainly done by mothers (Craig & Mullan, 2010), (3) work-family balance is also a priority for many working fathers (Parker & Wang, 2013), (4) contemporary fathers are devoting more time to childcare than past generations (Sayer, Bianchi, et al., 2004) and finally, (5) we are witnessing a growing number of fathers staying at home to take care for their young children (Doucet & Merla, 2007; Stevens, 2015).

As we have seen in the introduction, Lamb and his colleagues (1985, 1987) were the first scholars to operationalize the construct of fathers’ involvement. They distinguished between three dimensions: engagement, accessibility and responsibility. Today, we are witnessing a growing amount of literature on the predictors of fatherhood involvement, as we will see in the following section. However, there is still room to answer intriguing research questions like the following, which will guide this research, in a context with poor empirical evidence on paternal time such as the Catalan one:

- *Why are some working fathers more involved than others?*
- *Which factors explain fatherhood involvement?*
- *How much time do working fathers devote per day with their children in Catalonia?*
- *Does educational level affect the time devoted to children?*
- *Does a father's occupation affect the time he devotes to his children?*
- *Does a partner's occupation affect the time a father devotes to his children?*

Some authors have already tried to answer similar questions in other contexts, and other questions like the one regarding occupation have been almost ignored in the literature. In order to review the current literature on parental involvement with children in a systematic way, the following section reviews eight different theories, which, since the last decades, have attempted to explain how time devoted to unpaid work differs across gender. From these theories, hypotheses about the predictors and consequences of fatherhood involvement will emerge and these will be described in chapter 3.

## **2.2 Understanding men's participation at home: Theoretical perspectives**

Theories and middle range theories (Merton, 1967) from different disciplines (i.e. economics, sociology and psychology) have been used to understand how families divide paid and unpaid work. Today, we can find different reviews about such theories (Coltrane, 2000; Coverman, 1985; Hiller, 1984; Peterson & Gerson, 1992; Shelton & John, 1996). This section will review the contribution of these theories as well as their limitations in order to build a theoretical framework for this research.

### **2.2.1 Role differentiation**

One of the first theoretical perspectives examining the division of family work was role differentiation (Parsons & Bales, 1955; Zelditch, 1955). According to this perspective, the division of work was explained as: “a given by virtue of the nature”

(Hiller, 1984, p. 1004). Role differentiation, partially influenced by the psychoanalytic theory developed by Freud, assumes that there are universal sexual attributes. Thus, a nuclear family, which is composed of persons with different sexual attributes, will inevitably be organized according to these “natural” attributes. More specifically, Parsons and Bales described role differentiation along an “instrumental-expressive axis”.

If the nuclear family consists in a defined ‘normal’ complement of the male adult, female adult, and their immediate children, the male adult will play the role of instrumental leader and the female adult will play the role of expressive leader (Parsons & Bales, 1955, p. 315).

The instrumental leader is the one who provides income, discipline and protection, while the expressive leader is the one who provides caregiving, companionship and sharing activities. According to these assumptions, the male adult was considered the “head” of the nuclear family, while the female adult was considered the “heart”.

Furthermore, Parsons and his colleagues were not the only ones supporting these assumptions. The Nobel Prize winner in Economics in 1992, Gary Becker, who is notable for his contribution of New Home Economics, also stated that:

The various divisions of labour among family members are determined partly by biological difference and partially by different experiences and different investments in human capital (Becker, 1981, p. 30).

More specifically, the author emphasized that intrinsic gender differences from the first moment of conception:

A man completes his biological contribution to the production of children when his sperm fertilizes a women’s egg, after which she controls the reproductive process: she biologically houses and feeds the fetus, delivers the baby, and often feeds the infant with her own milk (Becker, 1981, p. 37).

However, this first attempt to understand how male and female adults distribute their family work due to intrinsic and universal attributes has been largely discredited by empirical studies (Aldous, 1977; Slater, 1961). Today, role differentiation is no longer included in the mainstream literature on allocation of time to unpaid work and this study does not consider this perspective as a frame. However, reviewing this perspective is an interesting way to understand the origins of the theories on allocation of time.

### 2.2.2 Economic and exchange perspectives

Another theoretical approach to this topic is based on a utilitarian perspective, originated by Bentham and Stuart Mill, which seeks to maximize utility or maximize well-being. This premise, refined during the last two hundred years, has strongly penetrated the economic and corporate world. With regard to the topic studied in this thesis, utilitarian perspectives (Becker, 1965, 1981) also seek to maximize household utility. According to this economic perspective, families arrange the division of labour to maximize the economic well-being of the family unit. This theory, which has been continuously refined by Becker, assumes that the goal of the family, as well as the market, is to maximize utility, and in order to maximize utility, couple specialization is required.

If all members of an efficient household have different comparative advantages, no more than one member would allocate time to both the market and household sectors. Everyone with a greater comparative advantage in the market than this member's would specialize completely in the market, and everyone with a greater comparative advantage in the household would specialize completely there. (Becker, 1981, p. 33)

Furthermore, this theoretical perspective invites us to assume that male adults should specialize completely in the market, while female adults should specialize completely in the household. There was some empirical evidence regarding this theory during the 1970s (Farkas, 1976). However, this utilitarian approach has received strong criticism, which makes it far from perfect.

One of the first criticisms came from Feminist economists, who criticized this approach for its lack of consideration of social structures and systemic unequal access to the (paid) labour market (England & Farkas, 1986; England, 1993; Hartmann, 1981). Another important criticism is that this neoclassical economic approach does not consider people's preferences (Folbre, 2004). As Coltrane (2000) stated, "the model ignores that couples might get enjoyment out of cooking a meal together or value equity as a goal along with marginal utility" (p. 1214).

Another significant limitation of Becker's model is the lack of appropriateness in respect of recent social changes, where the male-breadwinner model has been replaced by a dual-earners model (Ajenjo Cosp & García Román, 2011; Boris & Lewis, 2006; García Román, 2012). Thus, this theory is not able to explain differences in household involvement when both partners participate in the (paid) labour market (Evertsson & Nermo, 2004).

Another important critique of this perspective is that the model assumes that the family functions with the same logic and parameters as the market. There are no significant criticisms in this sense, although even Becker (1981) accepted in one of his last chapters that families and markets have different motivations. According to the author, while selfishness<sup>5</sup> is common in markets, altruism is common in families. He explained that:

Altruism is less common in market transactions and more common in families because altruism is less "efficient" in the marketplace and more "efficient" in families (Becker, 1981, p. 299).

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<sup>5</sup> "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest" (Smith, 1937, p. 14)

He added:

If I am correct that altruism dominates family behaviour to the same extent as selfishness dominates market transactions, then altruism is much more important in economic life than is commonly understood (Becker, 1981, p. 303).

However, it seems that this problem with the different motivations and dynamics between markets and families remains understudied. Finally, a last criticism of this approach is the perpetual necessity of measuring every factor with efficiency terms. For all this limitations, this perspective has not been used in this study.

### 2.2.3 Gender construction

Due to the failure of the utilitarian approach to explain why couples who participate in the paid labour market differ substantially in their domestic involvement, scholars in the 1980s included gender and its symbolic theories. These types of theories propose that male and female adults do different tasks at home because such tasks affirm their gendered selves (Coltrane, 2000).

Gender construction theories were developed under different labels, as presented in the review by Coltrane (2000), such as “doing gender” (Coltrane, 1989; West & Zimmerman, 1987), “gender perspective” (Potuchek, 1992), “symbolic exchange” (Brines, 1993; Hochschild & Machung, 1989), “Gender display” (Brines, 1994; Sullivan, 2011), and “Interactionist” (Pestello & Voydanoff, 1991).

Goffman was one of the first scholars to define gender display. According to the author:

If gender is defined as the culturally established correlates of sex (whether in consequences of biology or learning), then gender display refers to conventionalized portrayals of these correlates (Goffman, 1976, p.69).

The “gender construction” approach criticized Goffman’s first formulation, because gender “is not merely something that happens in the nooks and crannies of interaction” (West & Zimmerman, 1987), but is “an ongoing activity embedded in everyday life interaction” (p. 130). West and Zimmerman (1987) emphasized that gender is not what one is, but what one *does*. Thus, domestic behaviours are determined by ideologies and norms constructed through interactions with others in everyday life.

According to this perspective, men with a traditional sex role ideology are more likely to be less committed with household duties than men with egalitarian sex roles. In this respect, some studies support the notion that men with egalitarian attitudes are positively related to a more equal division of household responsibilities (Shelton & John, 1996). Interestingly, other empirical evidences revealed that men with traditional attitudes are less likely to be involved in household activities, even when they are unemployed (Hochschild & Machung, 1989).

“Gender construction” perspectives have made an important effort to explain the processes at the behavioural level. However this approach has not been exempt from criticisms. One of the first criticisms was the difficulty of operationalizing “gender construction” and the fact that the approach does not provide a completely satisfactory explanation of the gender relations at home (Esping-Andersen, 2009). For the difficulty of operationalizing “gender construction”, I have not used this perspective as a frame.

#### 2.2.4 Social-structural theories

A distinctive feature of Social-structural theories, compared to “Gender construction” theories, is that the differences across gender are not seen as being due to ideologies and norms constructed in everyday life interactions, but are seen as the result of the structural arrangements of the sexual division of labour (England & Farkas, 1986; Hartmann, 1981). According to these theories, this systemic difference in the sexual division of labour is explained by capitalism (Jaggar, 1988) and

patriarchy (Folbre & Hartmann, 1989; Hartmann, 1979). Mainly, these theories analyse how class and gender may constitute a barrier in a gendered and hierarchized society (Acker, 1990). However, a greater limitation of this approach is how to empirically test the role of patriarchy and capitalism in the division of household labour. Due to this limitation, this theory has not been considered for this research.

### 2.2.5 Power dependence and relative resources

The power-dependence relation (Emerson, 1962) is a theoretical axiom of exchange theory (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959), which very briefly assumes that people desire rewards and avoid costs. Thus, if the costs or rewards are easily identified then a behaviour can be predicted (Hiller, 1984). This theory assumes that power-dependence occurs when one person needs the resources of another one. Furthermore, the person with more power is normally the person with less interest in the relationship. This principle is known as the “principle of least interest” (Waller & Hill, 1951).

According to this theory, given that household work could be considered less appealing, attractive or prestigious (a cost) than paid work, a person with less advantage in a relationship is more likely to perform the less unappealing tasks. One of the main limitations of this perspective is defining dependency in a relationship, however Hiller (1984) developed an interesting comprehensive model.

According some scholars (Brines, 1993), three models (relative resources, time availability and ideology) of household allocation of time have dominated the agenda. These three middle-range theories (Merton, 1967) placed important emphasis on earnings and resources. The hypothesis of “relative resources” is partially based on the power-dependence relation (Emerson, 1962; Hiller, 1984). Blood and Wolfe (1960) were the first scholars to define the “relative resources” hypothesis.

According to them, the partner with more resources (i.e., money, education, occupation) in the relationship will show more power (Breen & Cooke, 2005), and this power will be translated into more power in decision making (Brines, 1993), and consequently less time devoted to domestic activities (Coverman, 1985; Hiller, 1984).

It is also important to highlight the distinction between childcare and housework at this point. While household activities (i.e., cleaning) seem to be unattractive and unappealing, childcare has taken on another dimension in recent decades (Hallberg & Klevmarken, 2003). In fact, new findings suggest that well-educated fathers are more likely to be involved with their children for two reasons: equality norms (Coltrane, 1996, 2000) and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2000b), which assumes that well-educated fathers know the benefits of fatherhood involvement for their children and consequently they will devote more time than other fathers (Gracia, 2015). From here, the first research question of this study arises: Is educational level positively associated with fatherhood involvement as in other countries?

Other studies have demonstrated that the increase in women's resources (i.e., income, working status and education) is positively related to more fatherhood involvement (Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010; Raley, Bianchi, & Wang, 2012). On the other hand, Aytac (1990) found that men with women who take managerial decisions at work were more likely to participate in household chores. Apart from this empirical finding, very few studies have paid attention to the role occupation in fatherhood involvement. For that reason, this thesis aims to answer two other intriguing research questions: Does a father's occupation affect the time he devotes to his children? Does a partner's occupation affect the time the father devotes to his children?

Interestingly, this middle-range theory, together with the rest of the theories analysed in this section, has one underlying assumption: that domestic tasks are undesirable activities. This underlying assumption could be one of the main criticisms of this theory, because this theory does not pay any attention to the preferences and desires of people. Another criticism of this perspective is that it is too simplistic (Hiller,

1984), and another, which again is valid for the rest of the theories, is that it considers all domestic activities to be the same. Recent studies suggest that preferences for childcare are not the same as for other household activities (Hallberg & Klevmarcken, 2003; Raley et al., 2012). Finally, another criticism of analysing only resources is that this could be more indicative of ideology than resources (Coverman, 1985).

### 2.2.6 Time availability

Some scholars have argued that neither rational-economic theories nor bargaining frameworks offer a comprehensive framework for explaining the difference between men and women in unpaid work. In this sense, another middle range theory has also dominated the more recent empirical evidence: time-availability.

This perspective assumes that male and female adults' capability to spend time at home is strongly fixed by their time-availability. This becomes especially true in a 24/7 economy (Presser, 2003), where people suffer from time famine (Hunnicut, 1999; Perlow, 1999). In Europe, less than one-third (29.9%) of employees reported that their working schedules fit well with their family responsibilities (Eurofound, 2010).

The "time-availability" perspective assumes that time is finite. Thus, time constraints such as long working hours (Drobnic & Guillen Rodriguez, 2011), a lack of flexibility (Shockley & Allen, 2007) or workload (Greenglass, Burke, & Moore, 2003) will reduce the time potentially devoted to family and household chores. Similarly, we may expect that partners of people suffering severe time constraints are more likely to increase their domestic and family involvement. Some studies have already tested this hypothesis and they found that an increase in partner's number of working hours is related to greater participation at home (Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010). In this respect, this thesis aims to understand whether the number of working hours and the partner's number of working hours are negatively associated with fatherhood involvement.

This theoretical model has been used by a significant body of empirical studies. However, it has not been exempt from criticisms. Hiller (1984) highlighted that both relative resources and time available hypotheses have an unstated assumption, which is that paid work is of primary importance and consequently determines the division of family work. Another important criticism may be that this model has not explored why people have different time-availability. In other words, this perspective obviates the decision-making process in defining the division of unpaid work.

### 2.2.7 Institutional interdependence

There is another group of theories that analyse the division of unpaid work from a macro perspective. These “institutional interdependence” theories examine how institutions affect the way in which female adults and male adults divide their family work. Recently, there has been important interest in the cross-national institutional impact on the division of unpaid work (Cooke & Baxter, 2010; Esping-Andersen, 1999; Hook, 2010; Mandel & Semyonov, 2005; Orloff, 1996)

These theories examine the relationship between welfare states (Lewis, 1992, 2009; Orloff, 1993, 1996; Pascall & Lewis, 2004), social policy (O’Connor, Orloff, & Shaver, 1999) and family policies (Daly, 2011; Meil Landwerlin, 2006; Sjöberg, 2004) and how people balance their work and unpaid work responsibilities.

An important body of studies using an “institutional interdependence” approach have been developed in Europe. Interestingly, there is evidence that social policies in Nordic countries (Ellingsæter & Leira, 2006; Ellingsæter, 2007) influence attitudes and behaviours towards parenting. As an example, a recent study (Kotsadam & Finseraas, 2011) examined the impact of the Norwegian daddy quota on fathers, and the study revealed that fathers who had their child after the reform experienced less conflict and they were more likely to equally divide household chores. In contrast, other studies have examined the residual impact of liberal or Mediterranean types of welfare states (Flaquer, 2004; Trifiletti, 1999) on how couples divide their paid and unpaid work.

This perspective is undoubtedly useful for understanding the impact of policies on attitudes and behaviours towards parenting and caring. However, one important limitation could be that this theory is not able to explain the differences among couples in the same context. In other words, this perspective does not consider the importance of the bargaining process between adults or parents.

#### 2.2.8 Life-course factors

Finally, Coltrane (2000) argued that apart from empirical studies based on a particular theoretical tradition, there is a proliferation of studies examining the impact of several life-course factors, which “reflects a loose conglomeration of hypotheses rather than a unified body of research” (p. 1215).

Research in recent years has included life-course factors such as age, family structure, marriage, cohabitation and children’s age (Ajenjo Cosp & García Román, 2011; Gimenez-Nadal, Marcén, & Ortega, 2010; Gracia Molina, 2014; Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010). Coltrane (2000) suggested that future research should consider more of these life-course factors and articulate them with theoretical perspectives. In line with this, this research wants to add other life-course factors into the model, such as number of people in household and adult dependents, to see if they are positively associated with fatherhood involvement. Chapter 3 will present the hypothesis in more detail.

### 2.3 Understanding the benefits of multiple roles: Theoretical perspectives

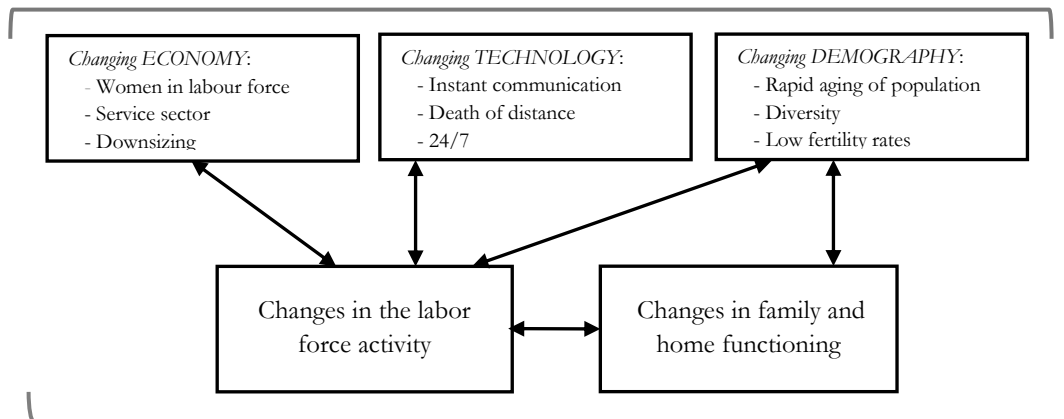
In the previous section, I reviewed the theoretical theories about allocation of time in order to define the theoretical framework for the first aim of this research: to identify the determinants of fatherhood involvement. The goal of this section is to review the theories on the benefits of multiple roles in order to frame the second and the third aim of this thesis.

As Presser (2003) stated, the *changing* labour market, the *changing* technology and the *changing* demography have modified the way we work, and consequently, the way family and home are organized (see figure 2.1). Since the 1970s these social changes have generated a substantial body of WFB literature. Nonetheless, despite the growing body of literature in this field, there is a clear focus dominated by a conflict view (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1999), which assumes that participating in one domain will have a negative impact in another domain. However, in contrast to the disproportionate attention to the negative outcomes of participating in multiple roles, Sieber (1974) and Marks (1977) have questioned the dominance of the scarcity theory with an expansion approach, which will be detailed in the following sections.

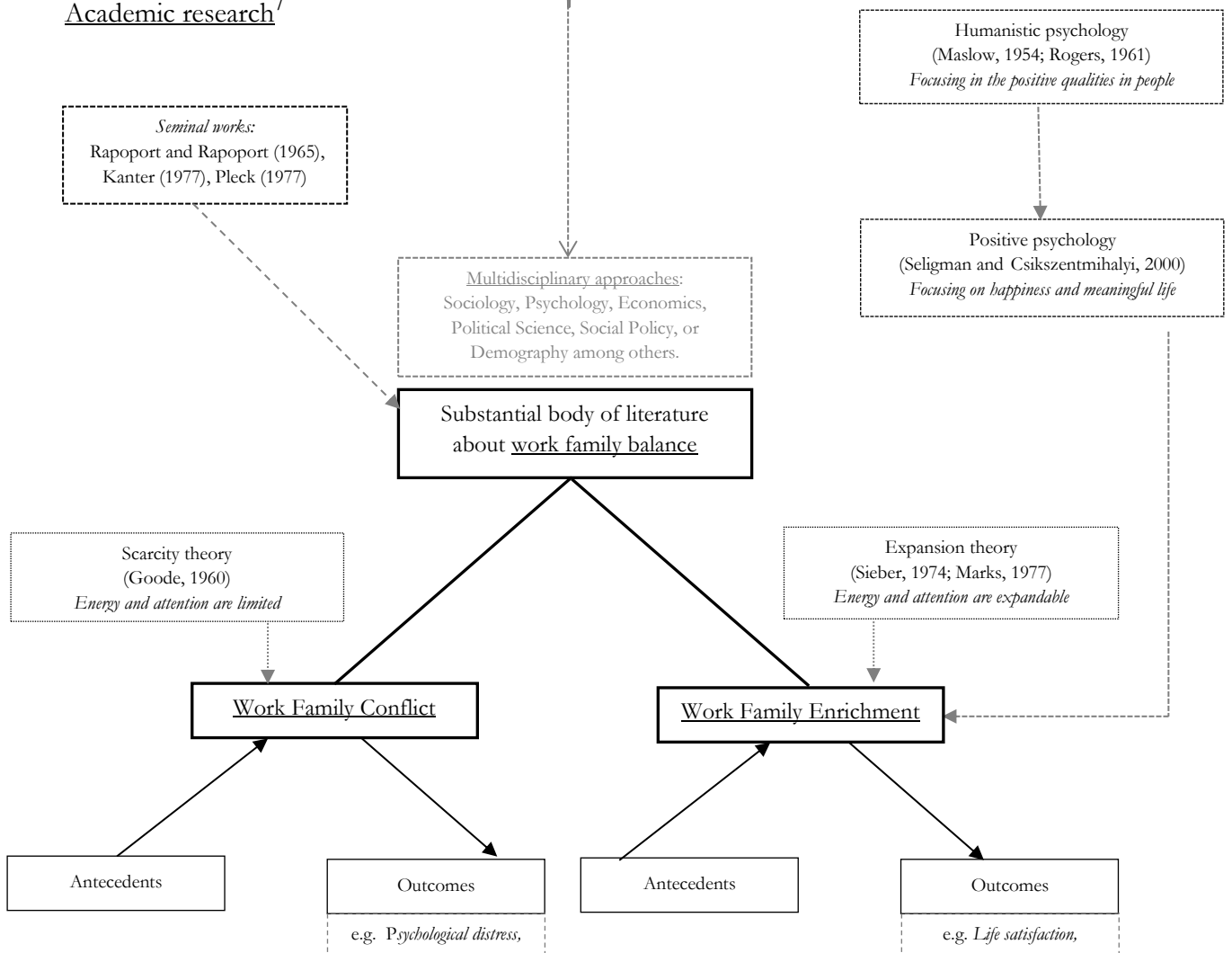
This section has been divided into three subsections. Firstly, it reviews how the scarcity approach has dominated the WFB literature. Secondly, it presents the concept of work-family conflict (WFC) and reviews its main antecedents and outcomes. The third section will present the main concept of this study: work-family enrichment (WFE).

**Figure 2.1 Recent social changes and its consequences**

Recent social changes<sup>6</sup>



Academic research<sup>7</sup>



<sup>6</sup> Adapted from Presser (2003)

<sup>7</sup> Developed by the author

### 2.3.1 Scarcity approach

In order to understand the concept of WFE, it is interesting to first review its roots. As we stated before, the WFB literature has been interested on the negative side of participating in multiple roles, which is on a scarcity approach (Goode, 1960; Marks, 1977). This approach considers that time, energy and attention are limited and finite, and therefore, participation in one role tends to reduce the time, energy and attention devoted to another. The following statement summarizes the central assumption of this approach:

The individual is thus likely to face a wide, distracting, and sometimes conflicting array of role obligations. If he conforms fully or adequately in one direction, fulfilment will be difficult in another. Even if he feels lonely, and would like to engage in additional role relationships, it is likely that he cannot fully discharge all the obligations he already faces. He cannot meet all these demands to the satisfaction of all the persons who are part of his total role network. Role strain - difficulty in meeting given role demands - is therefore normal. In general, the individual's total role obligations are over-demanding (Goode 1960, p. 485).

In other words, Goode (1960) pointed out that participating in multiple roles leads to *role strain*, the difficulty of satisfying different role demands. Goode (1960) argued that people face the same problem they face in their economic life: there are limited resources for unlimited options. Consequently, people cannot meet all of their role obligations and they should decide where to focus more time, energy and attention. The author distinguished between two main techniques for reducing role strain: "those which determine whether or when he will enter or leave a role relationship; and those which have to do with the actual role bargain which the individual makes or carries out with another" (1960, p. 486). As explained previously, the scarcity approach has been used in a number of sociological works (Marks, 1977) and it has been the theoretical framework of work-family conflict (WFC).

### 2.3.2 Work-Family Conflict: the concept, antecedents and consequences

As presented before, recent changes in the labour market, demography, family and technology have changed the way people live and work. These *new* situations have prompted academic research. However, the existing research has been framed in a conflict perspective known as work-family conflict (WFC). According to Kahn and his colleagues (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964), role conflict appears when the pressure of one role does not allow for fulfilling the demands of another role. Based on this definition, Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) defined WFC three decades ago as:

A form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect (Greenhaus & Beutell 1985, p.77).

This definition has been widely accepted among scholars as well as the three types of conflict proposed by the same authors. The first type of conflict, *time-based conflict*, takes place when a person needs to be in two domains at the same moment. An illustration of this form of conflict would be when a working father has a meeting with a client at the same moment that he should be in the school festival of his daughter.

*Strain-based conflict* is the second form of conflict proposed by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985). This form of conflict takes place when the strain generated in one domain does not allow satisfying the demands of another domain. This strain may include fatigue, tension, worry or frustration (Bartolome & Evans, 1980). This is totally in line with Friedman and Greenhaus (2000), who argued that time is not the big problem; rather the problem is the psychological interruption of one domain in another one.

The third type of conflict is *behaviour-based conflict*. This type of conflict appears when the behaviours expected in one domain are not totally in line with the behaviours expected in another domain. For instance, some organizations expect their managers to be serious, competitive, cold and rational, whereas the family of

one of these managers might expect from him to be fun, warm and emotional at home. Thus, behaviour-based conflict appears when we have opposing expected behaviours in different roles. As we will see in the analysis, behaviour-based conflict might be one of the reasons why working fathers do not experience work-family enrichment.

Early research treated WFC as an unidimensional construct (Bedeian, Burke, & Moffet, 1988). However, empirical evidence suggests that the conflict from work to family (work-family conflict, WFC) and the conflict from family to work (family-work conflict, hereafter FWC) might be distinct facets of a more general construct (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). This has marked an important shift in WFC measurement (Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007). It is also true that there is a high correlation between WFC (working pressures generating conflict at home) and FWC (family pressures generating conflict at work). However, this important correlation does not invalidate the utility of having two constructs (Mesmer-Magnus & Viswesvaran 2005). A clear example provided by these authors is that verbal ability and numeric ability are highly correlated, but are conceptually distinct. So, the same happens with the work-family conflict construct; WFC and FWC are highly correlated, but are conceptually distinct.

There is now a growing body of research that examines the predictors and consequences of WFC. Currently, we can find five meta-analytic articles (Byron, 2005; Duong, Tuckey, Hayward, & Boyd, 2015; Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005; Ford et al., 2007; Michel, Kotrba, Mitchelson, Clark, & Baltes, 2011) that, in some sense, review WFC and its antecedents, which might be categorized into three groups: work, family variables and personality and demographic variables.

Just as an illustration, with regard to working variables, the empirical evidence suggests that variables such as number of working hours (Cooklin et al., 2015), shift work (Mauno, Ruokolainen, & Kinnunen, 2015), job insecurity (Richter, Näswall, Lindfors, & Sverke, 2015), organizational restructuring (Burke & Greenglass, 1999), and job involvement (Adams, King, & King, 1996) are positively related to WFC,

while variables such as flexibility (Radcliffe & Cassell, 2015), autonomy/control (Ahuja, Chudoba, Kacmar, McKnight, & George, 2007) and organizational support (Nohe & Sonntag, 2014) are negatively related to WFC, meaning that these latter variables are more likely to reduce levels of WFC.

With regard to family variables, some authors showed that whereas hours devoted to family (Byron, 2005), family involvement (Amazue, 2013), and family stress (Michel, et al., 2011) were positively related to WFC, family support (Burke, Koyuncu, & Fiksenb, 2013; Van Daalen, Willemsen, & Sanders, 2006) was negatively related to WFC. On the other hand, with regard to demographic variables, previous research has found that age, gender and life-stage (Allen & Finkelstein, 2014) are also related to WFC. According to the authors, age has a small but negative relationship to WFC. Additionally, Allen and Finkelstein (2014) revealed that men suffered WFC, while women experienced FWC. Finally, regarding personality, Michel and his colleagues (2011) revealed that while extraversion and neuroticism were negatively related with WFC, conscientiousness and openness to experience were positively related with WFC.

The literature examining the consequences of WFC is vast and quite rich. Only as an illustration, evidence revealed that WFC is associated with work outcomes such as intention of turnover (Nohe & Sonntag, 2014) absenteeism (Boyar, Maertz, & Pearson, 2005), organisational commitment (Li, Lu, & Zhang, 2013), performance (Li et al., 2013; Nohe, Michel, & Sonntag, 2014) and job satisfaction (Chen, Brown, Bowers, & Chang, 2015) among others. The empirical evidence also revealed that WFC is related to family outcomes such as family satisfaction (Bagger & Li, 2012), parental satisfaction (Burke et al., 2013) and marital satisfaction (Minnotte, Minnotte, & Bonstrom, 2015) Finally, the literature has examined the impact of WFC on physical and psychological outcomes such as depression (Fujimoto, Shinohara, & Oohira, 2014), distress (Cooklin et al., 2015), drinking problems (Wolff, Rospenda, Richman, Liu, & Milner, 2013) and lower life satisfaction (Rupert, Stevanovic, Hartman, Bryant, & Miller, 2012).

In summary, WFC has been largely studied and associated with a long list of negative consequences: low levels of job satisfaction, intention of turnover, absenteeism, low levels of commitment, low performance, low family satisfaction, low leisure satisfaction, depression, psychological distress, greater stress, drinking problems, low life satisfaction and health. However, are we really looking at the whole picture? Do work and family always compete for time and energy? Is there anything positive about participating in multiple roles?

The following section will review the concept of work-family enrichment (WFE), which will be the frame from the second and third aims of this thesis.

### 2.3.3 Expansionist approach

Is it true that time, energy and attention are always limited? In contrast to the disproportionate attention paid to the negative outcomes of participating in multiple roles, Sieber (1974) and Marks (1977) challenged the dominance of the scarcity theory with a new perspective: the expansion approach. This approach, instead of assuming that time, energy and attention are finite, assumes that time, energy and attention are flexible and can be contracted or expanded.

Energy is flexible, waxing abundant or scarce, slow or fast, expanded or contracted, depending upon very particular socio-cultural and personal circumstances. In short, we need to see the experience of both time and energy as outcomes or products of our role bargains, rather than assuming that they are already constituted for us as scarcities even before our role bargains are made (Marks 1977, p. 929).

In general, this approach suggests that participating in one role can generate some rewards that have a positive impact on another role. Sieber (1974) was the first academic to present the potential benefits of participating in multiple roles. He distinguished between four different types of rewards: (1) role privileges, (2) overall status security, (3) resources for status enhancement and role performance, and (4) enrichment of personality and ego gratification.

On the other hand, Marks (1977) argued that sociologists have tended to focus on the scarcity approach to human energy, stressing the negative side of participating in multiple roles. As we have seen, he proposed an *expansion* approach, which postulates an energy-creation perspective rather than a “spending” perspective. From his point of view, sentiments are socially constructed and may lead to a positive impact on the amount of human energy and time available.

The author highlighted that sociologists have often confounded terms such as time, energy and commitment, treating them as interchangeable scarce resources. Marks (1977) tried to explain the abundance phenomenology not only of energy, but also of time. Other scholars (Dizard, 1968; Moore, 1963) have argued that human energy is flexible and expansible but time is definitely finite and scarce. However, Marks (1977) argued that time becomes scarce, only when social institutions (such as families and work-places) become segregated from each other.

Finally, a very interesting contribution from Marks (1977), which scholars have not paid attention to, is that scarcity accounts act as socially honourable excuses. Scarce energy or time excuses reflect particular role priorities and standards of role performance. For instance, a person who devotes a lot of time to his work is likely to excuse himself for his low performance at home. According to Marks (1977), the energy and time devoted to different roles depends on the specific commitment of each person.

#### 2.3.4 Work-Family Enrichment: the concept, antecedents and consequences

Based on the argument of the expansion approach, four different labels have appeared in recent years to define the positive side of being in multiple roles: *Enrichment* (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Kirchmeyer, 1992a; Rothbard, 2001), *Enhancement* (Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer, & King, 2002), *Positive Spillover* (Crouter, 1984; Grzywacz, 2000; Stephens, Franks, & Atienza, 1997), and *Facilitation* (Frone, 2003; Wayne, Musisca, & Fleeson, 2004). Although these

constructs has similar meanings, they are not exactly the same. *Work-Family Facilitation* is defined as “a form of synergy in which resources associated with one role enhance or make easier participation in the other role” (Voydanoff, 2004, p. 275). On the other hand, *Enhancement* is defined as the social and psychological resources acquired by being in multiples roles (Poelmans, Stepanova, & Masuda, 2008; Ruderman et al., 2002). Similar to this last term, *Positive Spillover* refers to “the effects of work and family on one another that make the two domains similar” (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000, p. 185). Out of all of these constructs based on the expansion approach, *Work-Family Enrichment* (WFE) has been the most commonly accepted among work-family scholars. As we will see in the following chapter, this construct will frame the second and third of this thesis. Greenhaus and Powell (2006) define WFE as:

The extent to which experiences in one role improve the quality of life in the other role (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006, p. 72).

Furthermore, Greenhaus and Powell developed the model of WFE in order “to offer a more complete understanding of positive work-family linkages, and to guide future research in the area” (2006, p. 79). The authors distinguish between work-family enrichment (WFE), what people learn at work that has a positive impact at home, and family-work enrichment (hereafter FWE), what people learn at home that has a positive impact work. So, the construct is bidirectional like WFC.

The WFE model (see figure 2.2) identifies two different mechanisms that explain WFE: the instrumental path and the affective path. In the instrumental mechanism or path, “different types of resources are directly transferred from role A to role B, improving performance in the latter role” (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006, p. 81). For instance, skills learned at home can improve the way a person works. The positive emotions developed in one domain can also have a positive direct impact on performance in another domain. Family contacts can help in finding a new position, or flexibility at work can promote high performance in one’s family life. Finally, money derived from work provides and satisfies family needs. In the *affective path*, a resource generated in role A might improve the performance in the same role A,

which in turn, would increase the performance in role B. As an example, self-esteem from a role can enhance positive satisfaction with that domain, which in turn, would generate high performance in another domain.

Additionally, the model distinguishes between five types of resources that might be developed in one domain and positively translated to another one: (1) skills, (2) psychological and physical resources, (3) social-capital resources, (4) flexibility, and (5) material resources. According to the authors, skills are defined “as a broad set of task-related cognitive and interpersonal skills, coping skills and knowledge and wisdom derived from role experiences” (Greenhaus and Powell, p. 80) and perspectives involve ways of dealing with different situations and expanding one’s world view. Psychological and physical resources include physical health, mood, self-esteem and positive emotions such as hope and optimism. The two social-capital resources included in Greenhaus and Powell’s construct are influence and information, which may help individuals in achieving their personal or professional goals. Flexibility, in their model, refers to “discretion to determine the timing, pace, and location at which role requirements are met” (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006, p. 80). Finally, material resources, is another resource in the model, which basically include money and different types of gifts.

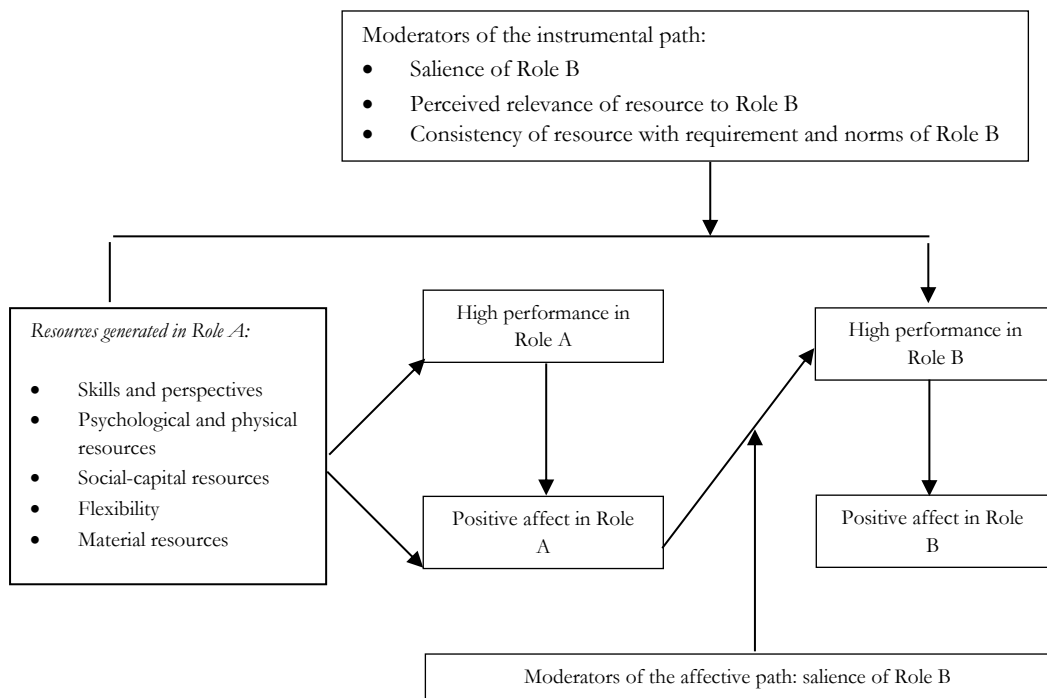
Based on this model, different scholars have started to develop scales, which are used to determine when work-family enrichment occurs. For example, Carlson et al. (2006) developed a scale (see Appendix 2) based on the construct of Greenhaus and Powell (2006) “that captures the extent to which resource gains experienced in one domain are transferred to another in ways that result in improved quality of life in the other domain” (Carlson et al., 2006, p. 148). In developing this scale, the authors tried to “overcome problems found in existing measures including: incomplete validation, lack of attention to the bidirectional influence of the construct and inadequate handling of the multi-dimensional nature of the construct” (Carlson et al., 2006, p. 148). Their effort provides a solid measure that can be used to advance the positive side of WFB. Using this measure, Henessy (2007) revealed that WFE and both work and family satisfaction are positively related. As well as the measure developed by Carlson et al. (2006), other authors have tried to measure the positive

side of being in multiple roles (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Hanson et al., 2006; Kirchmeyer, 1992b; Stephens et al., 1997; Wayne et al., 2004).

We are currently witnessing a growing interest on examining the antecedents and consequences of WFE, using the WFE scales (e.g., Carlson et al., 2006). Just as an illustration of the predictors of WFE, with regard working variables, empirical evidence has suggested that variables such as number of job autonomy (Williams, Franche, Ibrahim, Mustard, & Layton, 2006), decision latitude (Thompson & Prottas, 2006), job complexity (Grzywacz & Butler, 2005), supervisor support (Russo, Shteigman, & Carmeli, 2016), peers support (Mennino, Rubin, & Brayfield, 2005), are positively related to WFE. With regard family variables, empirical studies reveal that family support (Russo et al., 2016) was positively related to WFE. Finally, with regard the personal characteristics some studies found that women (Grzywacz, Almeida, & McDonald, 2002), extroverted persons (Wayne et al., 2004) and old people (Grzywacz et al., 2002) are more likely to report WFE than other groups.

The literature examining the consequences of WFE is still small, at least compared with the literature on WFC. However, we can find a meta-analysis reviewing the consequences associated with the WFE (McNall, Nicklin, & Masuda, 2009). Only as an illustration, evidence revealed that WFE is associated with work outcomes such as turnover intention (Russo & Buonocore, 2012), engagement (Creed, French, & Hood, 2015), and job satisfaction (Chan et al., 2016). Empirical evidence also revealed that WFE is related with family outcomes such as parenting warmth and consistency (Cooklin et al., 2015), family satisfaction (Bhargava & Baral, 2009), and parental satisfaction (Burke et al., 2013). Finally, the literature has examined the impact of WFE on personal outcomes such as health (Russo, 2015), mental well-being (Grzywacz et al., 2002), alcohol abuse (Grzywacz et al., 2002), burnout (Daniel & Sonnentag, 2016), and sleeping problems (Williams et al., 2006).

**Figure 2.2. Model of Work Family Enrichment**



So, in general, there has been an important effort, first towards defining a model, which explains the positive side of participating in multiple roles (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006), and then towards developing and validating scales, (Carlson et al., 2006) which have been used to understand the predictors (Bhargava & Baral, 2009) and consequences of WFC (McNall et al., 2009). However, there is a clear gap in the literature with regard to understanding which specific skills, resources and gains are developed in one domain that can have a positive impact on the other domain. An example of an item in Carlson’s scale (2006) is:

My involvement at work helps me to acquire skills and this helps me be a better family member (Carlson et al., 2006, p. 147)

This type of item does not allow for understanding which types of skills are developed in one domain that can be positively transferred to another one. It seems that the best option to examine this is in-depth interviews with working parents. Surprisingly, until now there has been no research that has used this type of analysis.

On the other hand, it would also be interesting to analyse if the skills, resources and gains developed at work differ from the skills, resources and gains developed at home. Additionally, in the WFE construct, Greenhaus and Powell (2006) did not distinguish between the domains and it seems that the five types or resources can be developed in both domains. Is that correct? If the answer is yes, it seems quite obvious that the skills or perspectives developed at home will differ from the skills and perspectives developed at work. So, it seems interesting to examine in more detail the particular skills, resources and gains developed in both domains.

## 2.4 Summary

Firstly, this chapter presented an overview of the recent scholarship on fatherhood and key associated issues in an attempt to understand the transition of the role of the father in contemporary societies. The central aim of this chapter was to review two crucial bodies of theories for this research. First, relevant theories, divided into eight groups, regarding how men and women divide their unpaid work were discussed. Second, this chapter reviewed the main perspectives and theories regarding participation in multiple roles. More specifically, the model of WFE was presented. Drawing on the review of the theories in this chapter, the following chapter will develop the analytical framework for this research and present the key terms.



## 3 Analytical framework

In the previous chapter, theories about how men and women allocate their time to unpaid work were reviewed. Furthermore, the theory of work-family enrichment was presented, as well as its roots (expansion approach), and a complementary perspective (work-family conflict), which has its roots in the scarcity approach and has dominated the WFB literature. The goal of this third chapter is to present the reader my own analytical framework, from which to analyse the antecedents of fatherhood involvement and the benefits of fatherhood involvement for fathers themselves.

This third chapter starts with the definition of three terms, which are not always clearly defined: fathers, fathering, and fatherhood. After presenting the definitions of these terms, I will articulate my own theoretical assumptions about fathers and the dependent variable for the first aim of this thesis: paternal time. I will also introduce two terms that are central to this study: time and cultural capital. Then, the hypothesis for the first part of this study will be presented.

The second section of this chapter presents the framework for analysing the benefits of multiple roles for working fathers as well as two terms that are relevant for this part of the study: occupation and boundaries. Finally, this chapter ends by explaining why it is interesting and necessary to undertake this study in a context like the Catalan one.

### 3.1 Fathers, fathering and fatherhood

The terms fathers, fathering and fatherhood are crucial concepts in this thesis. However, since these terms are sometimes mixed up and treated the same, it is necessary to accurately describe their meanings for this research. For example, the

term *father* can be indistinct; it may be used to describe the male biological progenitor of a child who has never seen or interacted with his child, or to describe a non-biological father, who takes de facto responsibility for a child. Both men may be defined by the same term, but their fathering practices are totally different. For this thesis, I do not define a father as the biological father of the child, but as the resident man, whether or not they are the biological father, who takes de facto responsibility for the child. Some authors have defined this man as a social father (Marsiglio, Day, & Lamb, 2000). In this line, Morgan applied the term father as:

The process of identification, of linking a child or children to a particular man, identifying the biological or the social father or both (Morgan, 2004, p. 382).

In this thesis, both in the qualitative and quantitative analyses, a father is considered to be the man who lives with the children, meaning that he is the residential father, and he lives with a partner (married or de-facto). The reason for choosing residential fathers living in the same household as their partners is precisely in order to examine how men and women allocate their time to unpaid activities like childcare, when they both live in the same home, and more interestingly, when they both work full-time. Almost all of the partners of the fathers interviewed in this thesis were full-time workers.

On the other hand, all of the fathers examined in this thesis were fathers with children younger than 10 years old. The age of the children was a limitation of the secondary dataset. The age of the children was a limitation of the secondary dataset. The EUT10 did not provide the ages of the children; the only information available was whether the children were younger or older than 10 years old. That limitation was in part beneficial for this study because I focused on a group of fathers with children at similar development stages, or at least I did not study fathers with adolescent children that presumably require other types of childcare. Due to the secondary dataset being focused on fathers with children under 10 years old, I applied the same requirement to the fathers interviewed in the qualitative part. Thus,

the sample was fathers living with their children, living with their partner, with children under 10 years old, and working full-time.

Fathering<sup>8</sup> might be defined as the process of being a father by caring for a child. Morgan (2004) defined fathering as the set of practices of “doing” parenting. Doherty and his colleagues (1998) stated that the historical work has demonstrated that fathering is a social construction. According to the authors, fathering is not only a behavioural set of individual fathers, but a process involving different stakeholders such as fathers, mothers, children, or the extended family. In short, they defined fathering as:

A product of the meanings, beliefs, motivations, attitudes, and behaviours of all these stakeholders in the lives of children”  
(Doherty et al., 1998, p. 278).

Therefore, fathering is not a static process, but a “dynamic set of developmental relationships embedded in a diverse set of interacting systems” (Adamsons & Palkovitz, 2014, p. 279). Scholars seem to agree that the fathering literature is rich in empirical studies but short on theory (Cabrera & Garcia Coll, 2004; Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 2000; Marsiglio, Amato, et al., 2000).

In contrast to fathering, fatherhood is defined as the public meaning related to fathers (Morgan, 2004), or as Hobson and Morgan (2002) state “as the cultural coding of men as fathers” (p. 11). According to some authors, fatherhood is culturally influencing fathering behaviours (Roy, 2014), but we might also assume that fathering practices change over time, and for that reason, the image of fatherhood is also changing. There is agreement that the cultural image of fatherhood has evolved over time (Lamb, 2000). As we saw in the previous chapter, the cultural image of fatherhood has evolved from the moral teacher during the colonial phase in the United States, to the distant breadwinner around the period of industrialization, to sex role models and finally to the new nurturing father of today (Lamb, 2000).

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<sup>8</sup> Not all the languages have a word for fathering. In Catalan, it would be “cura paternal”, something like the act of caring by a father.

In this line, some scholars have attempted to classify different types of fatherhood (see table 3.1). As an illustration, Eerola and Huttunen (2011) identified three types of narratives about fathers. The three types of narrative are: the modern, the transition and the postmodern narratives of fathers, which are in line with other classifications (Kaufman, 2013; Kekäle, 2007; Marks & Palkovitz, 2004). According to the authors, the modern narrative of fatherhood is characterized by the traditional gender roles. This first type of category comprises three different storylines: the well-known storyline of breadwinning (good provider equals good father), the discourse of gendered parental roles (women in the domestic domain, and men in the public domain), and the father seen as the mother's assistant, "the helper" (fathers help mothers, but they are not actively involved at home).

The second type of narrative is the transition narrative of fathering, which is defined by the "challenges and insecurities of fathering" (Eerola & Huttunen, 2011, p. 219) in men's lives. The main features of this narrative are: fathers as role-seekers (efforts to find a new sense as a caregiver), fathers' challenges in engaging with a family-centred lifestyle (efforts to find a place as a nurturer), the mother's role as gatekeeper (obstructing the father's involvement), and the father's growth into involved parenthood (efforts towards good parenting).

Finally, the third type of narrative outlined by Eerola and Huttunen (2011) is the postmodern narrative of fathering, which is in line with the new fathers discourse. According to the authors, the postmodern narrative is defined as the intention of fathers to share parenting responsibilities equally. The four storylines behind this narrative of fathering are: the father's notable participation in family planning (not due to being "under pressure", but as something that the man has intensively deliberated (p.223)), equally shared parenting (the opposite to the traditional father), a satisfied couple relationship (the better the couple-relationship, the more engaged the father is), and a nurture and care giving role.

**Table 3.1 Categorizations of fatherhood**

Authors	Classic	In transition	New
Marks & Palkovitz (2004)	The bad	The uninterested	The good
Kekäle (2007)	Pre-modern	Modern	Postmodern
Eerola & Huttunen (2011)	Modern	Transition	Postmodern
Kaufman (2013)	Old dads	New dads	Superdads

In this line, the first assumption of this thesis is that three types of fathers coexist, and in some environments they have coexisted for many years. Today, we can find evidence that a “sensible man” and fathers exist in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century (Bailey, 2010). For those reasons, my theoretical assumption is that there are fathers that want to be involved with their children, and fathers that simply do not want to be involved. I call this latter group “*real men*”, in line with other definitions in the previous table (old dads, pre-modern, etc.). On the other hand, I assume that there are fathers that want to be involved. In fact, the empirical evidence has shown that a significant number of fathers want to be more actively engaged with childcare activities than they currently are (Ellison et al., 2009; Lamb, 2004; Milkie et al., 2004). From this group, I distinguished two groups of fathers: “*I want, but I can’t*” and “*involved fathers*”. The ones that want to be more involved, but for whom there are some barriers that limit their participation (*I want, but I can’t*), are the ones who report a clear gap between culture and conduct (LaRossa, 1988) or attitudes and behaviours (Dermott, 2008). What is interesting is to understand the barriers (Coltrane et al., 2013) that limit their participation. Finally, the group of fathers that want to be involved and really are involved with their children is called “*involved fathers*”, in line with the concept of new fatherhood. I prefer not to use the word new, because I assume that these involved fathers, to a greater or lesser extent, have existed for many years. Having this assumption of the coexistence of different types of fathers is the starting point of this thesis and it encouraged me to examine why some fathers are more involved than others, why there are fathers that want to be involved and are not, and why there are fathers that want to be involved and they really are.

For this thesis, there are two other important terms regarding fathers: fatherhood involvement and paternal time. Lamb and his colleagues (1985, 1987) operationalized the construct fatherhood involvement by distinguishing three dimensions: *engagement* (direct interaction such as playing, or reading), *accessibility* (father's presence and availability), and *responsibility* (participation in decisions regarding childcare such as health visits or practical issues such as sleeping arrangements). According to Lamb (2004), fatherhood involvement can be explained by the extent to which a father is motivated (e.g., enjoyment, skills), some characteristics of children (e.g., temperament, gender), the level of social support (e.g., family support), cultural influences (e.g., socioeconomic opportunities, cultural ideologies), and institutional practices (e.g., welfare support). The operationalization of fatherhood involvement into the three dimensions developed by Lamb and his colleagues has important merits and drawbacks. On the one hand, considering fatherhood involvement beyond the classic notion of a mere provider is positive. It is particularly interesting that the authors considered accessibility as a key dimension of fatherhood involvement. It is not only necessary to be engaged and responsible as a father, but it is also necessary to *be there*. However, this multidimensional definition of fatherhood involvement has an important limitation: it is not easy to operationalize. For example, and considering accessibility again, how can we measure accessibility? Which type of questions should be used in order to measure it? Should we also ask the children?

In this line, due to is not possible to operationalize fatherhood involvement (engagement, accessibility, and responsibility), using a time use survey, I used paternal time as a dependent variable for the first aim of this thesis. As it will be explained in chapter 4, I developed my own measure of paternal time. In short, this measure has been divided in 4 dimensions: total care, basic care, development care, and secondary care.

## 3.2 Key terms and hypotheses regarding paternal time

Before presenting the hypothesis of this study drawing on the previous review of relevant theories, it is necessary to review other concepts like quality and quantity time, and cultural capital, which will be central terms for this thesis.

### 3.2.1 Distinguishing between quality and quantity time

The time that parents spend with their children is critical for their literacy skills and school performance, health and well-being, and behaviour (Carlson, 2006; Gracia Molina, 2015). Some authors have stated that not all time is the same, and they distinguish between quantity time and quality time. However, this distinction is not new. We can find two Greek concepts in this line: those of *Chronos* and *Kairos*. While *Chronos* refers to the quantitative dimension of time, *Kairos* points to the qualitative character of time (Smith, 1969).

Today, empirical evidence reports that the proportion of quality time from the total time devoted to children is higher in fathers than mothers (Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010). The concept of quality time can be ambiguous. However, it is true that working fathers tend to do (in proportion) more interactive activities with their children, or less physical and routine activities than mothers (Craig, 2006a). The Oxford English Dictionary defines quality time as “Time devoted exclusively to another person in order to strengthen a relationship”. However, some authors have stated that “Quality Time” in some cases could be an excuse, or a justification for not feeling guilty. For example, in a Newsweek article from 1997, Shapiro wrote:

All we know is that whenever time with kids is in short supply, calling it “quality time” makes parents feel better’ (Shapiro, 1997).

In this line, Kremer-Sadlik and Paugh (2007, p. 291) argued that:

When parents cannot give their children quantity time because of the work, they are encouraged to give them quality time, largely by

devoting time focused solely on children through participation in out-of-the-ordinary activities. (Kremer-Sadlik & Paugh, 2007, p. 291)

Galinsky (1999) argued that we cannot separate the amount of time from what happens during that time. In the academic literature it was not easy to find a clear definition of quality time, first, because the same concept has different names (family time, quality time, developmental care, quality care, interactive activities), and second, because the same name has different meanings. However, some scholars have made an important effort to distinguish both terms in their research. For instance, Stafford and Yeung (2005) distinguished between developmental time (e.g., caregiving, play/companionship, social activities) and non-development time. Bianchi et al. (2006) also distinguished between routine activities (e.g., feeding or transportation) and enriching activities (e.g., teaching children, playing). In this line, Gutiérrez-Domènech (2010) distinguished between basic care, which “encompass activities related to children’s more essential needs” (p. 374) and quality care, which “entail activities linked to children’s educational and cultural development” (p. 374). In contrast, Gracia Molina (2014) distinguished between three types of childcare: physical childcare, interactive childcare, and teaching childcare. Gimenez-Nadal and Molina (2012) also considered three types of childcare activities in their study: basic childcare, educational childcare, and supervisory childcare.

In this study, I distinguished between basic care, developmental care, secondary care, and total care. As explained later, basic care includes activities like feeding, dressing, bathing and accompanying a child and developmental care includes activities such as teaching or helping, and playing, reading and talking (see limitations in Chapter 4).

### 3.2.2 Cultural capital

Another central term in this thesis is cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital is another form of capital in addition to economic capital (money or resources convertible into money) and social capital (connections, also convertible to

money). Cultural capital exists in three different states: embodied (culture, cultivation, *bildung*<sup>9</sup>), objectified (e.g., books, musical instruments, paintings) and institutionalized (e.g., academic qualifications). Esping-Andersen (2004) argued that cultural capital plays an important role in parental involvement, without minimizing the importance of economic factors. As an example of cultural capital in different types of occupations (see the term Occupation in this chapter), we can compare a librarian and a real estate agent. While the latter would probably receive a higher income than the former, the former would have more cultural capital than the real estate agent. Cultural capital leads to a better understanding of the benefits of parental involvement, which consequently impact on the way in which parents behave. Assuming this premise, we can expect that individuals employed in occupations with higher cultural capital will devote more time to their children. Unfortunately, empirical studies that separate participants in terms of their type of occupation and cultural capital as critical dimensions are rare nowadays.

Without considering cultural capital, some studies of fathers' provision of childcare have found that high occupations have a positive impact on time devoted to children (Gerson, 1993). Gutiérrez-Domènech (2010) showed that Spanish fathers working as technicians, professionals and intellectuals spent more minutes with their children per day. Other studies have found that occupation has no effect on time devoted to children (Sayer, Gauthier, & Furstenberg, 2004).

### 3.2.3 Developing the hypotheses of this study

Drawing on the previous literature about “cultural capital”, we might assume that well-educated fathers are more likely to integrate equality norms and consequently devote more time to their children. Thus, the hypotheses of this research are as follows:

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<sup>9</sup> Building is a German concept used indistinctively to education and formation and refers also to the long-lasting process of self-cultivation, which implies certain maturation. Probably, the term *Bildung* summarized in a single word what Bourdieu described as embodied state.

Hypothesis 1a: Well-educated fathers are more likely to devote more time to their children than other fathers.

Hypothesis 1b: Fathers with a high income are more likely to devote more time to their children than other fathers.

At the same time, relative resources theories (see section 2.2.5) assume that the partner with more resources (i.e., money, education) in the relationship will show more power and that this power will be translated into more power in the decision making, and consequently less time devoted to domestic activities. According to this theory, we might assume that fathers with more power at home are more likely to be less domestically involved. Drawing on this argument, we might also expect that fathers with more power in a relationship are more likely to spend less time in the less prestigious or unappealing childcare activities. Or in other words, fathers with more power are more likely to decide which type of childcare activities they do. Empirical evidence suggests that working fathers tend to do the “funny part” of childcare (Gracia Molina, 2014; Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010). Additionally, based on the “cultural capital” argument, we might assume that well-educated fathers know the consequences of playing with, and reading and talking to their children. According to these arguments, I assume that:

Hypothesis 2a: Well-educated fathers are more likely to devote more “developmental care” time to their children than other fathers.

Hypothesis 2b: Fathers with a high income are more likely to devote more “developmental care” time to their children than other fathers.

On the other hand, based on a time-availability perspective (see section 2.2.6) and the previous literature we might expect fatherhood involvement to be explained by a lack of time constraints. For that reason, we may expect the number of (paid) working hours to be negatively related to fatherhood involvement. On the other hand, we might also assume that partners’ working hours will be positively related to fatherhood involvement. For these reasons:

Hypothesis 3a: The number of (paid) working hours is negatively related to fatherhood involvement.

Hypothesis 3b: The partner's number of (paid) working hours is positively related to fatherhood involvement.

Finally, also based on a time-availability approach, we might expect type of occupation to have a clear impact on the number of hours devoted to work and consequently to home. I assume that this is especially true for managers, who are always “on duty” (Innstrand, Langballe, & Falkum, 2010). However, for the rest of fathers in high-occupations (i.e. doctors, university professors) I assume that the cultural capital gradient will be more powerful than the time-availability approach. Thus, these fathers will make an extra effort to devote more time to their children.

On the other hand, we might assume that mothers with high occupations will be more likely to be actively involved in their jobs and positively related to fatherhood involvement.

Hypothesis 4a: Fathers with managerial occupations are more likely to devote less time to their children than other fathers in high-occupations.

Hypothesis 4b: Fathers with partners in high occupations are more likely to devote more time to their children.

So, as we have seen in this chapter, the first aim of this research is to shed light on how fathers' involvement differs across educational level, occupation and income among other variables in a specific context in which there has been little empirical research, Catalonia.

### **3.3 Key terms and considerations regarding the benefits of multiple roles**

The previous section presented the definition of the central terms in this study: fathers, fathering, fatherhood, and paternal time. Then, the first assumption about fathers was presented, as well as two other crucial terms: quality and quantity time and cultural capital. Finally, drawing on the relevant theories and central terms, different hypotheses were developed in order to study how paternal time differs across different independent variables.

The aim of the third section of this chapter is to present a frame for the second and their aim of this thesis and to present relevant terms that will help to frame this research.

As we saw in chapter 2, there is a growing interest in understanding the positive side of participating in multiple roles, although this perspective has received much less attention than the conflict perspective, which examines the negative side of participating in multiples roles. Out of the different models that have attempted to conceptualize the benefits of multiple roles, the model developed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006) is the most commonly accepted among work-family scholars. According to Greenhaus and Powell (2006), work-family enrichment refers “to the extent to which experiences in one role improve the quality of life in another” (p. 72). The authors presented a conceptual model (see section 2.3.4), which has been the starting point, first, for the development and validation of scales, and second, for the publication of a growing number of empirical studies. These studies are mainly quantitative studies and they have used the scales to shed light on the predictors and consequences of WFE.

However, as presented in chapter 2, there is an important gap on understanding which specific skills, resources and gains are developed in one domain that can have a positive impact on the other domain. The validated scales have not paid special attention to the specific resources generated in each domain. The type of items of these scales (e.g., “my involvement at work helps me to acquire skills and this helps

me be a better family member” in Carlson, Kacmar, Wayne, & Grzywacz 2006, p. 147) has been very useful for determining the level of WFE, but not for examining the process itself and the skills and other resources developed in one role and positively transferred in another role.

Greenhaus and Powell (2006) proposed in their model that five different types of resources might be generated in one role and positively transferred to another one. These five resources are (1) skills and perspectives, (2) psychological and physical resources, (3) social-capital resources, (4) flexibility, and (5) material resources. However, little is known about them and intriguing questions like the following ones:

- *Do the rewards and benefits perceived by working fathers fit into the categories proposed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006)?*
- *Are there other types of resources that have not been considered by Greenhaus and Powell (2006)?*
- *Can we distinguish different rewards in the different directions (enrichment from work to home and enrichment from home to work)?*
- *What do working parents learn at home that enriches work?*
- *What do working parents learn at work that enriches home?*

The five research questions, which, up to now, have been almost ignored in the academic literature, will help to give some clues regarding the second aim of this research: To gain more insight into the specific sources of enrichment involved in combining multiple roles. As will be discussed in chapter 4, the most appropriate method for answering these types of questions seems to be in-depth interviews. Additionally, due to the secondary dataset being focused on fathers with children under 10 years old, I applied the same requirement to the (social) fathers interviewed in the qualitative part. Thus, the sample was fathers living with their children, living with their partner, with children under 10 years old, and working full-time.

Regarding this second aim, I assume that WFE is not the opposite of WFC, as some authors have suggested (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006). Thus, all working fathers might experience WFE, and also WFC. In this line, other interesting questions arise here:

- *Do all working fathers experience the same level of WFE?*
- *Under what circumstances does WFE really exist?*

To answer these questions, I consider a new variable, which was also used for the first aim: occupation.

- *Do fathers employed in higher-level occupations experience more work-family enrichment than fathers employed in middle- or lower-level occupations?*

This last research question will guide the third and final aim of this thesis: To examine the relationship between occupation and WFE and to understand the conditions under which WFE occurs. In order to frame the third aim of this thesis, it is necessary to review two more concepts that are also central to this thesis: occupation and boundaries.

### 3.3.1 Occupation

Occupation is another key concept for this thesis. Grusky and Sorensen (1998) suggested that inequality and economic differentiation could be better explained by occupation than social class. Class still matters and exists, but at the same time the conventional aggregate classes are “unacceptably heterogeneous” (p. 1192). There is an interesting debate about how to classify class (Evans & Mills, 1998) and occupations (Hauser & Warren, 1997), but it seems that a disaggregate approach (occupation) is more appropriate than conventional aggregate classes to understand the relationship between conditions and outcomes. However, occupation and social class are interconnected. Kohn and Slomczynsky (1990) described social classes as “distinct group internally heterogeneous, each encompassing a wide spectrum of occupation” (p. 31), while Blau and Duncan (1967) argued that occupation is “the best single indicator of class” (p. 6).

Different stratification schemata have been developed during recent years. Among them, the Goldthorpe class schema (Goldthorpe, 1980) has been widely used. It is

interesting to analyse his schema, which started in the 1970s (Goldthorpe & Hope, 1972; Goldthorpe & Llewellyn, 1977) and ended in 1992 (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992) because it was focused on neither class structure nor social hierarchy. The classification rested on a three-way division: employers (purchasing labour from employees), the self-employed (neither purchasing nor selling), and employees (selling their labour to employers). Thus, Goldthorpe's class schema invites us to consider occupation as an important factor for this research.

According to Kohn and Slomczynsky (1990), occupational complexity and self-direction on the job are essential factors associated with parental behaviour. Parents in low complexity occupations are more likely to limit the intellectual environment of their children. On the other hand, parents working in high complexity occupations with a heavy workload and overtime hours may also limit the development of cognitive skills (Parcel & Menaghan, 1994). For that reason, it seems interesting to take a disaggregate approach (occupations) to understand how the nature of work affects enrichment. It is also true that although important efforts have been made in order to classify occupations (Elias, 1997), "highly detailed classifications may not perfectly identify sets of agents who are placed in homogeneous conditions of existence" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101). For instance, Esping-Andersen (1993) exemplified that an unskilled worker in a factory and fast-food counter boy, or a skilled hairdresser with a skilled metal worker have little in common regarding factors such as autonomy, discretion and link performance-rewards. Probably, all of them would fit into the same occupational category, but their autonomy and lifestyles might differ substantially. Despite this limitation, doing an analysis by occupation can shed light on the relationship between occupation and enrichment, which has been nearly ignored in the literature.

As an exception, a recent study in Norway (Innstrand et al., 2010) explored WFE and WFC across eight occupational groups (bus drivers, church ministers, information technology workers, advertisement workers, lawyers, nurses, physicians and teachers). Their results showed that all of the occupational groups reported more WFE than bus-drivers. Being a church minister was the occupational group with the highest score followed by nurses and lawyers. Church ministers were also the group

that reported more family-work enrichment (FWE). Paradoxically, the lowest scores on WFC were found among bus-drivers, who also reported the lowest scores on WFE. At the same time, advertisement agency workers, lawyers and church ministers reported the highest levels of WFC. Understanding the cases of church ministers and bus drivers could be interesting to understand other occupations with similar characteristics.

According to the authors (Innstrand et al., 2010), boundary theory (see next section) explains why bus drivers had the lowest levels of conflict and enrichment, while church ministers reported the highest levels of enrichment, but also conflict. Permeability is a crucial concept that explains role boundary. Permeability is the extent to which the “demands of the family role are permitted to intrude into the work role more than vice versa” (Pleck 1977, p. 423). Church ministers, who are always “on duty”, have more permeability between work and family than bus drivers, and as a consequence, they might experience high levels of conflict, but also high levels of enrichment.

In another study in the United States, Grzywacz, Almeida and McDonald (2002) found that service workers reported more work-family enrichment than operators or fabricators, but service workers stated that they experienced less enrichment than those individuals employed in farming, fishing or forestry occupations. Moreover, Grzywacz, Almeida and McDonald (2002) also examined the negative spillover by occupation as the previous study did, and they found significant differences. Managers and professionals experienced more WFC than service workers. Another study (Grzywacz & Butler, 2005) found that jobs with *substantive complexity*<sup>10</sup> and social skills are positively related with enrichment.

Grzywacz and Marks (2000) showed that lower levels of control and autonomy in the workplace were related with low levels of WFE. Similarly, Tummers and Den Dulk (2013) examined the impact of work alienation (powerlessness and meaninglessness) on work-family enrichment among Dutch employees. The results indicate that

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<sup>10</sup> According to the authors (Grzywacz & Butler, 2005), substantive complexity refers to the general complexity of a job and it is defined by six dimensions: vocational preparation, general education, complexity in relation to data, intelligence aptitude, numerical aptitude and verbal aptitude.

individuals who perceived that their work was not important reported low levels of WFE.

Apart from the empirical evidence presented in this section, the shape and strength of WFE in respect of fathers' occupation have received very little scholarly attention. According to the previous studies, we might expect fathers in high-level occupations to report more enrichment than other fathers in other types of occupations. For that reason, I conducted in-depth interviews with fathers in three levels of occupations: high, middle and low-occupations (see chapter 4). As this qualitative research is based on 20 qualitative interviews, we cannot generalize the results. However, the findings presented in chapters 6 and 7 could be useful for shedding some new light on this interesting relationship between occupation and enrichment and they may provide a starting point for other empirical studies on these two dimensions. Before to moving to the reason for choosing Catalonia, one more central term for this thesis need to be presented: boundaries.

### 3.3.2 Boundaries

In the first decades of the industrial era, people clearly knew when they were “at work” and when they were “at home”. In the recent past, with more technology facilitating on-line connections this separation is not as distinctive. Nipper-Eng defined boundaries as:

The process, through which individuals concretize the mental territories of home and work into physical ones and learn to transcend as well as preserve these realms (Nippert-Eng, 1996, p. 7).

In the mid-1990s, scholars from different disciplines such as psychology, education and sociology started to study and generate boundary theories, which analyse how people establish limits of time and space between domains. Boundaries are defined “as the physical, temporal, emotional, cognitive and relational limits that define entities as separate from one another” (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000, p. 474).

Furthermore, scholars have focused on studying how people construct boundaries (boundary theories); what kind of boundaries they prefer (boundary preferences); how they manage to set the boundaries where they want them to be (boundary management); and how they cross physical and psychological boundaries (transition styles).

Boundary theories analyse how people construct “mental fences” (Zerubavel, 1991) around different roles. The ways in which people act to establish boundaries can be rather different. Some individuals establish fences in such a way that work and family do not really overlap, in other words, roles are totally separated (segmentation), whereas others unify these domains (integration) (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996). In between these two ends one finds the full range of possibilities. In order to understand the segmentation-integration continuum, it is necessary to note that two dimensions define boundaries: flexibility and permeability. Hall and Richter define flexibility as:

The extent to which the physical time and locations markers, such as working hours and workplace, may be changed (Hall & Richter, 1988, p. 215).

With regard to the second dimension, Hall and Richter define permeability as:

The degree to which a person physically located in one domain may be psychologically concerned with the other (Hall & Richter, 1988, p. 215).

In general, roles are segmented when they are highly differentiated, limited to specific settings and times (inflexible), and allow few cross-role interruptions (impermeable) (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996). The positive side of segmentation is that it reduces the blurring between roles. In contrast, the main cost of segmentation is that it increases the magnitude of transition (i.e., it is more difficult to jump from one role to another). On the other hand, roles are integrated when they are not limited to specific places and times (flexibility) and allow cross-role interruptions (permeable) (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996). The

positive side of integration is that the transition between two roles is less difficult than that of segmented roles (magnitude to transition). However, the blurring between roles is greater than for highly segmented roles. As we will see in the analytical chapters, boundaries might be a key factor in explaining the process of work-family enrichment.

### **3.4 Why Catalonia?**

The main goal of this chapter is to justify why research in this particular context is important. As this section will briefly show (see Appendix 3, 4 and 5 for more information), analysing paternal time and the sources of enrichment among working fathers in the Catalan context may be very interesting for different reasons: (1) lack of empirical research in this context, (2) “the differential fact” of Catalonia, (3) “the normal chaos of the Catalan schedules”, and (4) a self-image of devotion to work and family.

Most of the existing research on how fathers balance their work and family demands has been conducted in Western societies, particularly in the United States, United Kingdom and Nordic countries. There are other studies around the world, but the literature is still dominated by research in Anglophone countries. We can also find interesting studies about fatherhood and the distribution of time in Spain (Ajenjo Cosp & García Román, 2011; Domínguez-Folgueras, 2012, 2015; Gracia Molina, 2014). However, studies that examine a particular region or context such as Catalonia are rare (for exceptions see MacInnes & Solsona, 2006; Marí-Klose, Gómez-Granell, Brullet, & Escapa, 2008) and further research is consequently necessary.

On the other hand, there are important similarities among all of the Spanish regions, but at the same time there are also significant differences. Catalonia is a nation with a long and complex history (see Appendix 3 for an overview). In 1978, the Spanish Constitution recognized the distinctiveness of three “historical nationalities”. These nations are the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia, which are characterized by a

“differential fact” (Moreno et al., 1997). This particular *fet diferencial* is the strong sense of identity of their inhabitants based on their own language, culture and long history. Thus, studies analysing a specific region, which have their own “differential fact”, are more than welcome. Furthermore, the institutes of statistics of the Basque Country<sup>11</sup> and Catalonia<sup>12</sup> have recently developed their own time use surveys, which allow researchers to shed new light in particular contexts.

A third reason to examine Catalonia is due to its chaotic schedules (table 3.2). In addition to describing the uniqueness of this region, Appendix 4 explains in more detail “the normal chaos of the Catalan schedules” and how this affects the levels of work-family balance of Catalan working parents.

The chaotic schedule in Catalonia is another important reason why it is interesting to conduct research in this particular context. Today, Catalans are facing a real conflict between their working expectations, their family duties and their personal desires. One might wonder if this occurs in every country or region; the answer is yes and no. New reports state that people have real difficulties combining their work and family demands (Parker & Wang, 2013); at the same time, Catalonia has its own singularities regarding its schedules (Cardús, 2003). As summarized in table 3.2 and explained in Appendix 4, the incompatibility between schools and working hours, the mismatch between primary and secondary education schedules, the long working hours, the lack of flexibility of Catalan organizations, the late dinner time, the long shopping hours, the late prime time, the time zone and the welfare state with poor family policies all make Catalonia a very good case study. Finally, another reason for examining Catalonia is for the self-image of devotion to work and family. Thus, these two domains are two of the most crucial sources of self-identification in Catalonia. Obviously, this is not always the case, but it is interesting to examine this particular context, in which work and family are the cornerstones of the society. The following paragraphs summarize the self-image of Catalans.

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<sup>11</sup> EUSTAT: Survey on Time Budget (Retrieved July 30<sup>th</sup>, 2015)  
[http://en.eustat.eus/ci\\_ci/documentos/presupuestos\\_i.html#axzz3hNQ0ZArf](http://en.eustat.eus/ci_ci/documentos/presupuestos_i.html#axzz3hNQ0ZArf)

<sup>12</sup> IDESCAT: Survey of Use of Time (Retrieved July 30<sup>th</sup>, 2015)  
<http://www.idescat.cat/pub/?id=eut&lang=en>

**Table 3.2 The normal chaos of Catalan schedules**

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Subdimension</b>	<b>Conflict</b>
<b>School</b>	<i>School hours</i>	Incompatibility between school hours and working hours
		Long lunch breaks
	<i>School calendar</i>	Mismatch between primary and secondary schedules
		Time differences between public and private schools
	<i>After-school activities</i>	Activity overload
<b>Work</b>	<i>Working hours</i>	Long working hours
		Poor flexibility
		Long lunch breaks
		Family care is not a priority for companies
	<i>Career</i>	Risk of losing job
		Ideal worker
		Organizational barriers
	<i>Discrimination</i>	Risk for women
New risk for active fathers		
Flexibility stigma		
<b>Family</b>	<i>Family time</i>	Bad habit of not having breakfast together
		Late dinner time
		Long lunch breaks
		Poor family time
	<i>Family life</i>	Together alone
		Tensions due to little time to children
		Tension due to little time to couple
		Insufficient sleep time
<i>Discrimination</i>	Women continue working a second shift	
	"Micromachismos" and symbolic power	
<b>Society</b>	<i>Shopping hours</i>	Catalan Law for opening hours (7am to 10pm)
	<i>Television Schedules</i>	Prime time (10:30pm)
		Football games
	<i>Time zone</i>	Wrong time zone
<b>Policies</b>	<i>Family policies</i>	Poor family policies
		Few public nurseries
		Little emphasis on fathers
<b>Economy</b>	<i>Informal economy</i>	Caregivers
	<i>Housing</i>	Housing prices and other economic pressures
	<i>Commuting</i>	Dormitory towns
	<i>Crisis</i>	Unemployment and precarious conditions

Source: Adapted from Cardús (2003)

The geographical location of Catalonia and the industrial revolution, which brought with it an significant migratory influx, have led Catalonia to become an open society (Giner, 1980). As Giner stated, modern Catalonia is the result of a complex past:

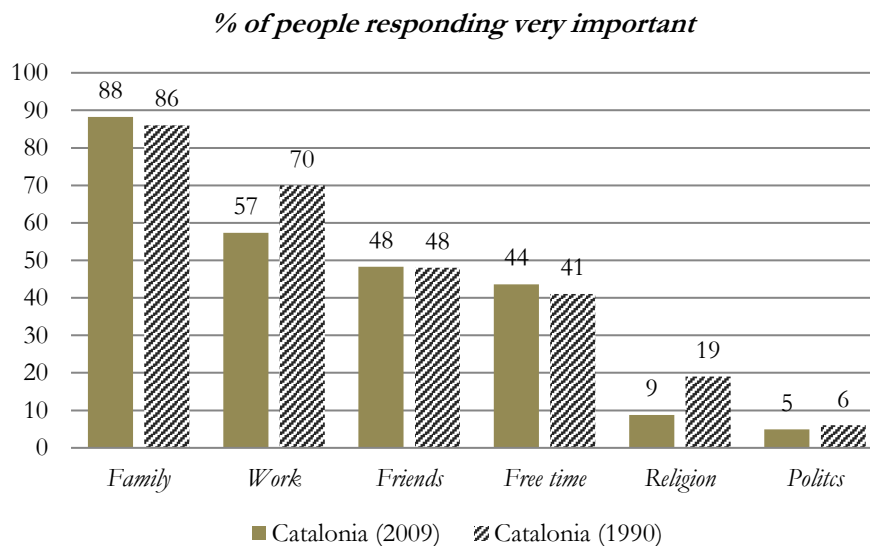
A very strong feudal past; and indigenous bourgeois industrial revolution; a quasi-permanent subordination of the country to wider political units; a strong degree of national consciousness; a very distinctive culture. There are embodied not only in the language, the literature and the arts, but also in the country's law, political institutions and the quality of its civic life; and a practically constant openness to the influences and migratory influx of neighbouring societies (Giner 1980, p. 4).

In addition to openness as a sense of identity, the self-image of Catalans is related to work and money. Spaniards seem to see Catalans as hard-working and thrifty. These “virtues” presumably come from their important industrial past. Devotion to work has been the norm for previous generations, and it seems that it remains an important source of self-identification. From its feudal past to its notable industrial revolution, Catalonia has been largely acknowledged as a nation of *botiguers* (shopkeepers), with references in the Catalan literature as well as in the media or political discourses. The Catalan poet Santiago Rusiñol wrote “la Auca del Senyor Esteve”, a well-known novel in Catalonia composed of 27 chapters, 27 illustrations and 27 rhymes, which describes the typical figure of the *botiguer*. It is not unusual to find newspaper articles analysing how political parties attempt to get “the vote of the *botiguer*”. “Shopkeeper” does not literally mean being a shopkeeper but is defined as a person who does not employ other employees and who works in his or her own shop, professional practice or small business. This image of a nation of *botiguers* has contributed to the image of Catalans as devoted to work, careful spending and profitable investment (Giner, 1980).

It is interesting to confront this self-image of devotion to work with the familialistic view of Southern European society. As figure 3.1 shows, the family is still a core value in Catalonia. According to the Catalan results in the European Values Study (Castiñeira & Elzo, 2009), 88% of the respondents reported that family was very important for them (86% in 1990). The second most important factor was work,

although its importance decreased from 70% in 1990 to 57% in 2009. The other variables that people considered “very important” were friends (48% in 2009), free time (44%), religion (9%) and politics (5%).

**Figure 3.1 The importance of the family in Catalonia**



Source: Castiñeira & Elzo (2009)

According to the authors of the Catalan report (Castiñeira & Elzo, 2009), the family is the only social institution of traditional character that continues to be a central value in the life of almost the entire population. However, the family has become more plural in its forms, less indissoluble and more democratic.

It is interesting and positive to see that families are becoming more democratic than before. In 2002, the Government of Catalonia published a report (Departament de Benestar i Família, 2002) about the attitudes and values of Catalans. This report shows a list of dimensions that Catalans think are necessary for a good family life. The most important aspect is dialogue (95.6%), followed by love (93.9%), tolerance (83.8) and respect for opinions (80.7%). The fifth item that Catalans reported as

important for a good family life was the distribution of household responsibilities (72.4%). Nevertheless, to confront values with reality, it may be interesting to examine the new results of the Catalan Youth Survey 2012.<sup>13</sup> The following tables show the current distribution of childcare and domestic responsibilities between men and women aged between 20 and 34 years old who live with a partner.

**Table 3.3 Distribution of childcare by sex**

	<i>I am doing almost everything</i>	<i>I am doing more than my partner</i>	<i>More or less the same</i>	<i>My partner is doing more than me</i>	<i>My partner is doing almost everything</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Women</i>	48.2%	22.1%	24.7%	4.7%	0.4%	100%
<i>Men</i>	6.9%	11.9%	23.7%	36.6%	20.8%	100%

Source: Enquesta de la Joventut de Catalunya (2012)

The previous table showed that 48.2% of the young women in Catalonia with at least one child and who lived with a partner reported that they did almost everything. Moreover, 22.1% of young Catalan women reported that did more than their partner. Thus, it is true that the family is more democratic than in previous decades (Castiñeira & Elzo, 2009), and it is true that Catalan respondents reported that family values are important (Departament de Benestar Família, 2002). However, if we analyse conduct (Dermott, 2008; LaRossa, 1988) -how men behave at home-, we see another story. In total, 70.3% of young women reported than they performed more or much more childcare than their partner did. So, although family is still the most important value in Catalonia, young women in Catalonia are not still finding equality at home. These results suggests that although work and family seems to be two cornerstones for the Catalan society, with no important differences between men and women, gender equality is still a pending task. In a context like that, it is particularly interesting to study working fathers.

<sup>13</sup> The Catalan Youth Survey (2012) has been conducted every 5 years since 2002.

However, as Giner (1979) stated decades ago, we cannot aspire to a “definitive” study of any society; we can only aspire to imperfect approaches or invitations so that other colleagues can shed light on the social world we try to understand. Today, we can find very few studies that analyse the role of the father in Catalonia and the benefits of an active fatherhood. For this reason, this thesis aims to provide an imperfect approach to understanding this issue in a particular, unstudied and interesting context, the Catalan context.

### **3.5 Summary**

The aim of this chapter was to present the analytical framework for this research. Drawing on the review of relevant theories, eight hypotheses have been developed for the first aim. The terms fathers, fathering, fatherhood and paternal time have also been defined. This chapter also presented the model of WFE, which frames the second and third aim of this thesis. Crucial terms like occupation and boundaries have been also presented here. Finally, this chapter presented the reasons why Catalonia is a good context to study working fathers.



# 4 Methodology

Let every man be his own methodologist,  
Let every man be his one theorist.

WRIGHT MILLS

The goal of this chapter is to explain the research methods used to answer the research questions of this thesis and to provide enough information to potentially replicate and ensure the validity of the study.

This chapter has been divided into three subsections. The first subsection presents the research methods used in this study. Then, the second subsection describes the quantitative analysis of the study, based on the Catalan Time Use Survey. This section describes how I got access to the survey, how the concepts “father” and “childcare” have been operationalized and the statistical analysis used in this quantitative approach. Then, the third subsection of this methodological chapter explains the qualitative approach used to gain more insight into the benefits of participating in multiple roles and to understand how occupation affects enrichment. This last subsection presents the benefits of using semi-structured interviews as well as information regarding the sampling and the analyses of the qualitative interviews.

## 4.1 Choosing appropriate methods

Triangulation is a military strategy that uses multiple approaches to identify the position of a particular object or person (Smith, 1975). Denzin (1978) described data triangulation as using different methods in order to understand the same social phenomenon. Campbell and Fiske (1959) were the first scholars to present the idea of using mixed methods to understand a particular phenomenon and Webb and his

colleagues (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1966) used the word “triangulation” for the first time in social science almost fifty years ago. During the last five decades, the use of triangulation in social sciences has been growing very quickly. One of the reasons for using triangulation in social science can be explained by its assets. According to Jick (1979) “although it has always been observed that each method has assets and liabilities, triangulation purports to exploit the assets and neutralize, rather than compound, the liabilities” (p. 604).

However, using a triangulation strategy to understand a particular phenomenon does not always lead to a clear explanation (Mathison, 1988). According to the author, using a triangulation strategy might provide three different outcomes: *convergence*, which occurs when different sources show the same result, *inconsistency*, which occurs when results from different methods are inconsistent - the results are not aligned but at the same time they are not contradictory-, and finally *contradiction*, when different methods present opposing results. According to Mathison (1988), all three of these outcomes must be explained and researchers should try “to construct meaningful explanations” (p. 16).

Triangulation does not necessarily mean using different methods to explain the same phenomenon; it may involve using different techniques of a particular method (Jick, 1979). While this latter type of triangulation is known as the “within-method” (Denzin 1978, p. 301), the former is known as “between methods”. Moreover, Jick (1979) noted that triangulation does not necessarily require a complex design (e.g., holistic description), simple designs (e.g., scaling) may also be used. There is no design that is better than another one; it simply depends on the purpose of study.

However, triangulation also has its limitations. The first type of limitation is the difficulty of replication (Jick, 1979). In general, qualitative studies are not easy to replicate, but replicating triangulation is even more difficult. According to Jick (1979), a second limitation of triangulation is choosing the proper method for each specific purpose. This is obvious, but a strategy that requires choosing multiple methods might become more complex than other strategies. Finally, a third limitation of triangulation is usually the high cost in terms of time and money.

In this particular thesis, I decided to choose mixed methods to try to answer the questions posed in the previous chapters. As presented previously and as table 4.1 shows, the first aim of this thesis was to identify the main determinants of fatherhood involvement with children. Due to the increasing amount of literature on parental time spent with children, and additionally, having access to large secondary datasets that can provide new insights into the literature, it seems that the best way to keep contributing to the understanding of the main factors influencing paternal time with children is by doing a quantitative analysis. Furthermore, one of the methodological novelties of this research is that it is the first study to use the Catalan Time Use Survey (2010-2011) for this purpose. The data was collected during 2010 and 2011 and it was not accessible until 2014. Examining this time-use data for a region in which there has been no empirical research until now was one of the motivations for this study. Little research has paid attention to the work-family enrichment experiences of working fathers. As there is no secondary data providing this type of information, and as this is a relatively new topic, the best way to explore these sources of enrichment was thought to be in-depth interviews with working fathers.

Can we consider my method to be triangulation? I am not hundred per cent sure because the phenomena under study are not exactly the same. On the one hand, this thesis explores the factors influencing fatherhood involvement and, on the other hand, it investigates the benefits of this fatherhood involvement for fathers themselves. Thus, we may conclude that this thesis has different aims that require different methods. For that reason, I feel more comfortable saying that I used different approaches or methods to answer the different research questions that are in the same line, rather than saying that I used triangulation in order to understand the same phenomenon using different approaches.

Trying to identify the main determinants of fathers' involvement with children is not the same social phenomenon as examining the benefits of participating in multiple roles for fathers themselves. If we consider the role of the father as the phenomenon under study, we might accept that there is triangulation in this study. However, if we understand that there are two main phenomena that are being studied, first the antecedents of fatherhood involvement and second the benefits of participating in

multiple roles for fathers themselves, we could definitely say that I used two different approaches to study the two different aims, which are in the same line. Table 4.1 summarizes the aims of this thesis and the selection of methods, sources and samples, which will be explained in more detail in the following subsections. The first aim of this thesis, as has already been presented, was to explore the contribution of Catalan working fathers at home with children under 10 years old and to identify the main determinants of fathers' involvement with their children.

The following subsection (4.2.) will explain in more detail what a time use survey is, how I got access to the Catalan Time Use Survey, how the father has been operationalized, and why I only consider fathers with children under 10 years old. This subsection also presents how I operationalized childcare, developmental care and basic care. The following subsection also aims to explain the statistical analysis of the time use survey, discuss the decision regarding whether to use OLS or Tobit regression and present the software used for this analysis. Finally, the limitations and shortcomings of this study are also presented. Finally, subsection 4.3 gives details about the sample, the interviews, the process of transcribing and anonymizing the interviews, the analysis of the interviews, the operationalization of WFE and FWE, the software used for this analysis and finally, the limitations of this analysis.

**Table 4.1 Selection of methods**

Aims	Methods	Source	Sample
To identify the <b>main determinants of fathers' involvement</b> with children	Quantitative analysis	Catalan Time Use Survey	471 Catalan fathers with children under 10 years old
To gain more insight into <b>the benefits of participating in multiple roles</b>	Qualitative analysis	Semi-structured interviews	20 Catalan fathers with children under 10 years old
To understand the relationship between <b>occupation</b> and enrichment	Qualitative analysis	Semi-structured interviews	20 Catalan fathers with children under 10 years old

## 4.2 A quantitative approach: Measuring time

### 4.2.1 Time-use surveys

Time has been considered a scarce resource (for some exceptions see Marks, 1977). As happens with all scarce resources (e.g., money), there are infinite demands on limited resources. In fact, this is a fundamental economic problem: having limited resources for infinite wants. This situation leads not only individuals, but also families, organizations and governments to choose how to spend their limited resources among an infinite number of alternatives. Time, as a scarce resource, is not an exception and this is probably one of the reasons why economists in particular have developed theories about the allocation of time (Becker, 1965).

Gershuny (2011) defined time-use as “the allocation of time among various circumstances and subjective states” (p. 4). People should decide how to *use* their limited time given the infinite number of options. Despite all of the difficulties of measuring time, today there are different methods to measure time-use. In particular, Gershuny (2011) highlighted four different types of time-use measurements.

The first type of time use measurement is “time-use items within conventional questionnaires” (Gershuny, 2011, p. 4). An example of this type of question could be: How much time do you usually spend with your children per day? However, this type of measurement has two important limitations. First, it is not easy for the respondent to calculate how much time he or she spends on a particular activity. Second, these types of questions may lead to significant social desirability effects (Grimm, 2010).

Another way to measure time-use is through the “Experience-sampling method (ESM)”, which was developed by Larson and Csikszentmihalyi (1987; 1983). The aim of this method is to know what the participant is doing at a specific moment in time and how he or she feels at that moment. In order to do that, the participants have an electronic device that sends random signals throughout a day or a week. When the

participants receive a signal, they should write what they are doing and their feelings at that moment. This method has two important shortcomings. On the one hand, the number of signals per day is limited, causing an interrupted observation. And on the other hand, there is significant intrusiveness into the respondents' lives (Gershuny, 2011).

A third way to measure time-use is "continuous observation". As its name implies, this method consists of doing an uninterrupted observation. For example, Hochschild conducted continuous observation in different households to understand how couples divided their time (Hochschild & Machung, 1989). The important limitations of this method are its high cost in terms of time and money and again intrusiveness into the participants' lives.

Finally, the fourth way of measuring time is through "time use diaries". Robinson and Godbey (1997) defined the time-use diary as:

A micro-behavioural technique for collecting self-reports of an individual's daily behaviour in an open-ended fashion on an activity- by-activity basis (Robinson & Godbey, 1997, p. 66).

Normally, time-diaries cover 24 hours in a random day with 144 cells of 10 minutes, which total 1,440 minutes (24 hours) of a day. In each 10-minute slot (e.g., 8:00 am - 08:10 am), respondents should record their activity just before that moment. Participants can freely express and write the activity in the 10-minute slots. It is usual to find three columns in time-use surveys, one for the primary activity, a second one for the secondary activity and finally a third one for indicating the presence of other people. These types of surveys have been used to examine different kinds of activities such as sleeping (Basner et al., 2007), physical activity (Ng & Popkin, 2012), healthy habits (Smith, Ng, & Popkin, 2013), working time (Frazis & Stewart, 2004), or the division of household responsibilities (Bianchi, 2000; Craig & Mullan, 2010).

From these four types of time measurements, this thesis draws upon time-use diaries. The reasons for choosing this type of measurement are basically three. First, it is relatively easy to compare the results with those of other studies. Second, it is relatively easy to get access to the data (see section 4.2.2) and third, although examining time-use surveys can be time-consuming it has no monetary cost, as the data is normally open to scholars.

Contrary to what we might expect, time use diaries have a long tradition. Russian researchers started to use this type of method to examine peasants' lives in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Gershuny, 2011). Later, in 1924, the Soviet economist Stanislav Gustavovich Strumilin used time-use diaries for the planned economy (Robinson, 2002). A colleague of Strumilin, the Russian sociologist Pitirim Sorokin, who was the founder of the sociology department at Harvard, was responsible for introducing time-use diaries to the United States and to social science in general with his book *Time budgets of human behavior* (Sorokin & Berger, 1939)

Without the support of computers, the analysis of time use survey was much more difficult than it is today. In 1972, the first attempt was made to harmonise time use survey data from 12 different countries (Szalai, 1972). Following the specifications of Szalai, Harvey (1993) included new countries, and this was the beginning of the Harmonised European Time-use Study<sup>14</sup> (HETUS) (Gershuny, 1995). MTUS<sup>15</sup> (the Multinational Time Use Study) is another important database, developed by Jonathan Gershuny in the seventies. Today, MTUS offers more than 60 datasets from 25 countries, including HETUS and ATUS<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> HETUS is a database with comparable data of fifteen European countries (Belgium, Bulgaria, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden). UK. HETUS has been developed by Sweden Statistics with a grant by Eurostat. <https://www.h2.scb.se/tus/tus/> Retrieved August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.timeuse.org/mtus/> Retrieved August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2015

<sup>16</sup> ATUS is the American Time Use Survey and its database contains over 159,000 interviews conducted from 2003 to 2014. <http://www.bls.gov/tus/home.htm> Retrieved August 27<sup>th</sup>, 2015

In Spain, the first time use survey (EET-*Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo*) was launched by INE in 2002-03. A second edition was launched in 2008-2009.<sup>17</sup> Both surveys allow researchers to distinguish between autonomous communities; however their comparison is not usual.

There are two other national statistical institutes in Spain that have also developed their own time use surveys: EUSTAT and IDESCAT. EUSTAT is the Basque Statistics Office of the Basque Country and has been a pioneer in Spain regarding time use diaries (EPT – *Encuesta de Presupuestos de Tiempo*). Currently, there are four datasets available (1993, 1998, 2003, 2008), two of which were developed before the first Spanish time use survey. IDESCAT conducted its first time use survey in conjunction with INE in 2002-2003. However, IDESCAT developed its own time use survey in 2010-2011 in order to improve the territorial significance and the content of the previous edition. As stated previously, due to the data not being accessible until 2014, there has been no empirical research until now on the role of fathers in Catalonia using this data. Thus, a novelty of this research is that it is the first study to explore this data for this particular purpose.

#### 4.2.2 Data access

Considering that one of the main aims of this study is to analyse how Catalan working fathers spend their time, the first idea was to do an analysis using the new time use survey (2010-11) produced by IDESCAT. The reason for choosing the Catalan Time Use Survey and not the Catalan sample of the Spanish Time Use Survey was basically the size of the sample and the territorial significance. Generally, access to the datasets from time use surveys is not a problem.

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<sup>17</sup> More information in [http://www.ine.es/en/prensa/eet\\_prensa\\_en.htm](http://www.ine.es/en/prensa/eet_prensa_en.htm). Retrieved August 27<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

As an example, anyone can get access to the microdata file of the time use survey produced by INE (Spanish Statistical Office) in Spain. Other sites like the Centre of Time Use Research, which provides access to the Multinational Time Use Study (MTUS) data, only require a scholar to register on its website in order to get access to the database. However, the process of accessing and using the Catalan data from IDESCAT was not as simple as expected. IDESCAT requires a letter to be sent to the general director of IDESCAT (see Appendix 6), together with a document (Appendix 7) explaining the aim of the study with the categories and variables that the researcher wants to use, a description of the statistical analysis and the future use of the results.

My first email to IDESCAT regarding this topic was sent on March 25<sup>th</sup> 2011, when they were still working on the project. Officially, I sent all of the documents by post in July 2013 and I finally got access to the data (on a CD with a password) in July 2014 from their offices in Barcelona, Spain (Appendix 8). Because I was not sure about getting the data on time and being able to proceed with my doctoral studies as planned, I started using the Catalan sample of the Spanish Time Use Survey. In order to get access, I registered as an MTUS user by completing the registration form, which is free of charge, in October 2013. As explained before, the main goal of MTUS is to offer harmonized time use data over 60 datasets from 25 countries. As an MTUS user, I got a dataset with more than 500,000 lines (N=513,927), corresponding to all countries.

Firstly, in order to work only with the Catalan data (Appendix 9), I selected only Spanish participants, who were identified by the label country (COUNTRY=34). The new sample comprised 81,347 participants from different editions (N=81,347). Due to my interest being only in recent data, I eliminated the participants from previous years and from The Basque Country (1993, 1998, 2003 and 2008). With this last step, the sample diminished to 17,859 participants. Secondly, because it was not possible to discriminate by region in the main dataset, I downloaded another file (*Region and Ethnicity Supplements*) in order to identify the Catalan participants. This second dataset contained information about the region (REGION), personal identification (PERSID) and household identification (HIDID). The code for

Catalonia was 9. Finally, I mixed both datasets in order to have a new dataset with the Catalan sample (N= 1,670).

In July 2014, IDESCAT informed me that my request had been accepted. So, although I did my first analysis with the Catalan sample of the Spanish Time Use Survey, I decided to start again with the new Catalan Time Use Survey (EUT10), which is basically a more accurate sample of the Catalan territory. More than 2,000 variables described how 6,259 participants spend their time during a specific day of their life in 10-minute slots and provided rich information about the participants.

### 4.2.3 Operationalization of fathers

For this study, and as presented in the previous chapter, a father is defined as the biological or social male parent who cohabits with his partner and children. The variables required to operationalize fathers were as follows: children under 10 years old at home (MENORS), type of household (T5\_TIPUS\_LLAR), family relationship (T4\_PARENTIU02\_1) sex (SEXE), and ID of the household (T1\_IDQUEST)

EUT10 has a sample of 6,259 participants. Contrary to what we might expect, there is no column indicating who is a father or mother of children under 10 years old. The reason why I choose the age of 10 was due to data limitations. As explained earlier, the database did not provide specific information about the ages of the children, but only whether they were younger or older than 10 years old. Fatherhood is important during all life-stages. However much research demonstrates that fatherhood involvement is especially important during the first years (Flouri, 2005). It is for that reason that I focus on fathers with young children. Without the data limitation, it would be interesting to think about other alternatives like children under 12 years old (before adolescence), or children under 5 years old (preschool children). However, focusing on fathers with children under 10 years old was a good option, not only due to the data limitation, but also because other studies have considered that same group of fathers (Gimenez-Nadal et al., 2010; Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010).

As we can see in the extract from a time use diary (Appendix 10), in each 10-minute cell the participant should indicate if they did the activity alone or with another person. If there was another person present during the activity they should indicate who this was. The options are as follows: partner, father or mother, children under 10 years old, children over 10 years old, other family members, or other people. Thus, in order to operationalize fathers with children under 10 years old, I went through the following steps.

### **1<sup>st</sup> step: Choosing households with children under 10 years old**

The first step in order to operationalize those fathers living with their partners and children under 10 years old was to select households with children under 10 years old. The variable used for this first step was MENORS:

Variable used: MENORS

- 0 = *No children under 10 years old at home (n=5,024)*
- 2 = *Children under 10 years old at home (n= 1,235)*

This variable indicates whether or not the participant lives in a household with children under 10 years old. 1,235 out of the total of 6,259 participants reported that they live in a household with children under 10 years old.

## **2<sup>nd</sup> step: Choosing fathers living with their young children and partners**

From the first step, we know that 1,235 participants live in a household with at least one child under 10 years old. This study is interested in fathers living with their young children and partners, especially with partners who work full time, in order to understand what happens at home when both have full-time jobs. In order to create an indicator for fathers living with their young children and partners, it was necessary to know the type of household in which they live. The variable used for this second step was *T5\_TIPUS\_LLAR* (*Type of household*). Although considering other types of fathers like single fathers or non-resident fathers is also very interesting (Milkie et al., 2004) and has also not received much academic attention, this study is interested in resident fathers living with a partner.

Variable used: *Variable T5\_TIPUS\_LLAR (Type of household)*

In order to operationalize this type of fathers I considered two types of household (3= Couples with at least one child under 25 years old, and 7= Couples with at least one child under 25 years old and other people). Applying this new restriction to the current sample of 1,235 participants living with at least one child under 10 years old, the new sample comprised 1,096 people, which represented 17.5% of the total sample. It is also true that the database contains some errors. For example, two participants reported that they live with children under 10 years old (*MENORS=2*), but at the same time they reported that they live alone (*T5\_TIPUS\_LLAR=1*). Because I could not know where the error was, I did not include these cases in the analysis. Apart from detecting these minor errors, this second step was necessary to select those fathers living with a partner and children.

### **3<sup>rd</sup> step: Understanding who is who.**

From the previous steps, we have a sample of 1,096 participants who live in a household with their partner and children (at least one of whom is younger than 10 years old). However, we still do not know who is who. In order to know who is who, it was necessary to consider the variable T4\_PARENTIU, which indicates the relationship between the household members.

Variable used: *Variable T4\_PARENTIU (Relationship between household members)*

We should also consider the variable sex (SEXE) in order to distinguish between son and daughter, father and mother, or brother in-law and sister-in-law. Taking into account these two variables (T4\_PARENTIU and SEXE), we know that the sample of 1,096 participants is distributed as follows: 487 fathers with children under 10 years old, 509 mothers with children under 10 years old, 89 children, 5 grandparents, 2 uncles or aunts, and 4 other family members.

So, after the third step we had a new sample of 996 participants (487 fathers and 509 mothers). Although this thesis focuses its attention on fathers I kept the data about mothers in order to understand whether mothers' characteristics have an impact on fathers' involvement. It is also true that the dataset reports a minimum level of information about the partner of each participant. However, as we might expect, if the partner also participated in the survey, the information available is much more detailed. This is the reason why I kept the data from mothers who also participated in the time-use survey.

#### **4<sup>th</sup> step: Understanding the role of the mother**

Although this study is interested in fathers, it is interesting to understand how mothers' characteristics affect fatherhood involvement. EUT10 provides very rich information about the participant. However little is known about the partner if he or she did not participate in the time-use survey. Because I am interested in mothers' characteristics such as education, income, number of hours worked, and occupation and this information is only available if the partner completed the time use diary, I only considered those participants whose partners had also completed the survey. In order to carry out this fourth step I used the variable related to Participant ID.

Variable used: T1\_IDQUEST (*Participant ID*)

Each participant has a unique ID (e.g., 3187801). The first five numbers (e.g., 31878) identify the household ID, while the last two numbers (e.g., 01) identify the person in the household. For instance, a household with a couple and a son have the following IDs: father (e.g., 3187801), mother (e.g., 3187802), son (e.g., 3187803). Then, the variable T4\_PARENTIU2\_1 indicates that person 02 is the partner of person 01 and T4\_PARENTIU3\_1 and T4\_PARENTIU3\_2 inform us that person 03 is a son or a daughter of person 01 and 02. As explained before, we need variable SEXE (sex) in order to identify whether the person is male or female.

The aim of this fourth step is to identify only those participants whose partners have also completed the survey. In the current sample (N=996) we have already deleted all of the rest of the family members and we only have fathers and mothers with children under 10 years old. What I did with this sample was to separate the participant ID (T1\_IDQUEST) into two new numbers. While the former new number identifies the household ID, the second new number identifies the person in the household. Once I had the two new columns I highlighted all of the duplicates (where both partners had completed the survey) and I deleted the rest of the participants. After this fourth step the final sample comprised 471 fathers and 469

mothers. The reason for having an unequal number of male and female parents was due to the presence of a couple who reported that both of them were males, and because I did not see any incompatibility with the requirements of the study, I included them in the sample. Thus, these participants met all of the requirements for this study: 1) they have children under 10 years old, 2) they are living with their partner and children, and 3) both partners completed the time-use survey.

#### **5<sup>th</sup> step: to copy info about the partner in new columns.**

Although this study is interested in fathers it is crucial to consider the mothers' characteristics such as employment status, educational level, income, occupation, and number of hours. As this data is only available if the partner has also completed the survey, I only considered those fathers whose partners had completed the survey. With the last step, we have a new sample that fulfils these requirements. This fifth step consisted of copying the mothers' characteristics into new columns.

Variable used: *T2\_OCUP* (*Type of Occupation*), *T2\_HORES\_TREB* (*Number of working hours per week*), *T6\_ESTUDI\_ALT* (*Educational level*), *REL\_ACT* (*employment status*), *T2\_JORNADA\_PRIN* (*full-time or part-time*)

#### **6<sup>th</sup> step: Creation of new variables for a better analysis**

There were some variables that I redefined. For example, participants reported more than 60 different types of occupations. Due to the unmanageable number of occupations, I reduced the types of occupation to nine, following a Catalan adaption of the Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO). ISCO describes occupation as "a set of jobs whose main tasks and duties are characterized by a high degree of similarity". The nine final categories are as follows: Occupation 1 (managers), Occupation 2 (professionals), Occupation 3 (Technicians and associate professionals), Occupation 4 (Clerical support workers), Occupation 5 (Service and

sales workers), Occupation 6 (Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers), Occupation 7 (Craft and related trade workers), Occupation 8 (Plant and machine operators, and assemblers), Occupation 9 (Elementary occupations), Occupation 0 (Armed forces occupations). In the Catalan sample, no-one reported being employed in Occupation 0. Apart from occupation, other variables redefined included:

Variable used: T2\_INGRES\_NET (*Income*), T2\_OCUP (*Type of Occupation*), T6\_ESTUDI\_ALT (*Educational level*), REL\_ACT (employment status), T2\_JORNADA\_PRIN (full-time or part-time)

EUT10 reported 12 levels of income (T2\_INGRES\_NET). Due to some levels having few participants and the fact that there was no significant difference between some of the levels, it was useful to reduce the variable income to five new levels.

Original variable: T2\_INGRES\_NET<sup>18</sup>

New variable: Newing

- 1 = Less than 1,300 € (old 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)
- 2 = From 1,301 € to 1,700 € (old 7, 8)
- 3 = From 1,701 € to 2,200 € (old 9)
- 4 = More than 2,200 € (old 10)
- 5 = No information (old 98 and 99)

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<sup>18</sup> 1 = 400 € or less / 2 = From 401 € to 700 € / 3 = From 701 € to 900 € / 4 = From 901 € to 1,000 € / 5 = From 1,001 € to 1,100 € / 6 = From 1,101 € to 1,300 € / 7 = From 1,301 € to 1,400 € / 8 = From 1,401 € to 1,700 € / 9 = From 1,701 € to 2,200 € / 10 = More than 2,200€ / 98 = He or she doesn't know / 99 = No answer

The variable educational level (T6\_ESTUDI\_ALT) was also reduced from 9 levels to 6. The name of the new variable was: newstudies.

Original variable: T6\_ESTUDI\_ALT<sup>19</sup>

New variable: Newstudies

- 1 = Primary or below (old 1, 2, 3)
- 2 = Lower Secondary (old 4)
- 3 = Upper Secondary (old 5)
- 4 = Post-secondary non-tertiary (old 6, 7)
- 5 = Bachelor (old 8)
- 6 = Master or PhD (old 9)

Finally, I computed two variables in order to identify whether the participant worked full time or part-time or was not working.

Original variables: REL\_ACT (employment status) and T2\_JORNADA\_PRIN (full-time or part-time)

New variable: newstatus

- 1 = Working full time
- 2 = Working part time
- 3 = Not working

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<sup>19</sup> 1 = Illiterate / 2 = Incomplete primary education / 3 = Primary education / 4 = Lower secondary education / 5 = Upper secondary education / 6 = Post-secondary non-tertiary education / 7 = Short-cycle tertiary education / 8 = Bachelor or equivalent / 9 = Master or PhD

#### 4.2.4 Operationalization of childcare

EUT10, as with other time use surveys, allows participants to freely express the activity that they are doing in 10-minute slots (Appendix 10). For that reason, the role of the institution in harmonizing the different types of activities is crucial. IDESCAT used the harmonized list of activities developed by Szalai (1972). This is extremely useful because it allows for comparisons with other studies. In this harmonized list of activities, we can find five activities related to childcare: “381” (supervising and physical activities like bathing, feeding and dressing), “382” (teaching and helping the child), “383” (playing, reading and talking to the child), “384” (accompanying the child), “389” (other childcare, not specified). For this study I did not consider the variable “389” for two reasons: First, because it is not possible to know what kind of activity was reported; and second, because it represents less than two minutes on average per day. On the other hand, I considered another activity (939 transporting children), which was not categorized as childcare but is totally related to children. As table 4.2 summarizes, I operationalized four types of childcare for this study. Before explaining them, it is important to highlight that the time use surveys offered the participants the possibility to report more than one activity at the same time. As the examples of time-use surveys (see Appendix A10) show, people must report their main activity during a specific moment, but they can also report a secondary activity. By a secondary activity, we understand this to mean that a “second” or another activity is being done while the participant is doing a main activity. A clear illustration could be cooking (main activity) while listening to the radio (second activity), or cleaning (main activity) while taking care of children (second activity). In the former example, childcare is considered by the respondent as a “passive” or secondary activity.

For that reason, my operationalization of childcare also considers childcare as a primary activity and childcare as a secondary activity. Moreover this study divided primary childcare into two new categories: *basic care* and *developmental care*. Basic care includes activities like feeding, dressing, bathing “381” and accompanying a child “384” and “938”. On the other hand, developmental childcare includes

activities such as teaching or helping “382”, and playing, reading and talking “383”. For sure, making this distinction into two types of childcare has important limitations. The main limitation is that activities such as feeding, dressing or accompanying can also be considered to be developmental activities, i.e. teaching. However, I finally decided to keep these two types of childcare because although it is possible that routine and physical activities can also be considered as developmental activities, it seems obvious to think that activities such as reading, playing and talking are developmental activities per se. Other authors have also tried to divide childcare into similar categories, which can be useful for future comparisons.

As it has been explained before, Gutiérrez-Domènech (2010) distinguished between quality care and basic care. Gracia (2014) distinguished between physical child care, interactive child care, and teaching childcare. And Gimenez-Nadal and Molina (2012) considered three types of childcare activities in their study: basic childcare, educational childcare, and supervisory childcare. I found it very useful to distinguish between basic childcare and supervisory childcare, because while the former seems to require a special action, the latter denotes a kind of passive childcare. . In this study, this type of care is calculated by the number of minutes of childcare reported as a secondary activity. Finally, after operationalizing 1) *basic care* (main activity), 2) *developmental care* (main activity) and 3) *passive care* (secondary activity), this study operationalizes total childcare as the sum of the three previous types of childcare.

**Table 4.2 Definition of childcare in the EUT10**

	EUT10 Codes	Description
<b>Basic care</b>	<b>381+938+384</b>	
<i>Feeding, dressing, bathing</i>	381	Supervising and physical activities
<i>Accompanying</i>	938, 384	Accompanying the child
<b>Development care</b>	<b>382+383</b>	
<i>Teaching, helping</i>	382	Teaching the child
<i>Playing, reading, talking</i>	383	Playing, reading and talking to the child
Secondary childcare	All childcare reported as secondary activity	
<i>Total Childcare</i>	<b>Basic care + developmental care + secondary childcare</b>	

#### 4.2.5 OLS vs Tobit regression

There is an important debate regarding whether to use ordinary least squares (OLS) or Tobit models for time use data (Foster & Kalenkoski, 2010; Stewart, 2009). One key feature of time use diaries is the amount of zeros in the database. This feature, together with the growing body of empirical studies using time-use data, generates an interesting debate about the best approach for this special data. In the recent literature, we can find researchers using both types of approaches, although Tobit has been the predominant approach (Stewart, 2009). Furthermore, Foster and Kalenkoski (2010) suggested that, “Tobit estimates appear to be more sensitive to window length than OLS estimates” (p. 12). On the other hand, Stewart (2009) carried out a very useful simulation. His simulations showed that “marginal effects from Tobit are biased” (Stewart, 2009, p. 11). In contrast, the OLS estimates were unbiased and robust. According to the author:

Given the robustness of OLS to alternative assumptions about the data-generating process and the ease of estimating OLS, it is hard to recommend either Tobit or the two-part model (Stewart, 2009, p. 14).

Other publications (Gershuny & Egerton, 2006) also showed that OLS may be a better estimation for this type of data than the Tobit model. Thus, according to the findings of Stewart, Gershuny and Egerton, I decided to use OLS for the analysis in this study.

#### 4.2.6 Software: Stata

Each statistical package has its own strengths and weaknesses<sup>20</sup>. However, I decided to use STATA for two reasons. The first reason was that I have used STATA since I moved from the business world to academic life and obviously I feel more

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<sup>20</sup> For a quick Package comparison see [http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/mult\\_pkg/compare\\_packages.htm](http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/mult_pkg/compare_packages.htm) Retrieved August 30<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

comfortable using STATA than other packages. Secondly, STATA seems to meet two important requirements at the same time: it is powerful and easy to use. It is also true that this package probably requires a bit more time than other packages in terms of familiarization, but once you know how it works and you are familiarized with the commands you need to use, it becomes an easy and powerful package to use. As noted at the beginning, there was no other rational reason for choosing this package over SPSS or SAS.

#### 4.2.7 Limitation of time use surveys

Finally, before moving on to the qualitative approach, it is important to highlight that time use surveys also have shortcomings. One of the most important limitations is that although the activity is recorded, there is no information about feelings. Spending 10 minutes reading a wonderful book to a child and feeling satisfied with family life is not the same as arguing with a child regarding bad behaviour at school and feeling frustrated. Both activities would probably be harmonized under the same code (383: playing, reading, talking), but they are totally different. Again, spending 8 hours at work feeling good is not the same as spending 8 hours at work feeling frustrated. With time use diaries, researchers can only know the distribution of time of a person in a specific day, but not how he or she feel doing these activities.

Another limitation of time use surveys is the huge volume of data. EUT10 has a sample of 6,259 people. For each participant (a row), there are more than 2,000 columns describing this person and his or her household and how this person spends 24 hours in a random day. So, it is really easy to get lost. For each 10-minute slot, there are at least 10 columns describing how this person spends these 10 minutes (primary activity, secondary activity, and the people present during the activity). This huge amount of data is obviously one of the most important strengths of this methodology. However, this strength can, at the same time, also be an important weakness.

Another shortcoming of time use diaries is misinterpretation of the results. As HETUS (Harmonized European Time Use Surveys) states<sup>21</sup>:

“Some years ago it was reported in the Swedish media that people in Sweden on average spent 2 minutes a day talking with children. The basis for this was a figure that had been found in a statistical table published in a report on the STUS (Swedish time use survey). The figure is in itself correct; however the interpretation of it is totally wrong. The correct interpretation rather is: when a random sample, drawn from the Swedish population, 20-64 years old, record in a time diary of the HETUS kind which activities they undertake and how much time they devote to them (during a randomly designated day), the result is that episodes of a total average duration of two minutes have been described in words that clearly state that the main activity was talking with children. Nonetheless, this does not imply that no other talking with children took place. If one wants to calculate the time people spend talking with their children, another approach is needed. In principle, each episode in the episode file should be analysed and classified according to whether or not talking with children is likely to occur. For example, assume a respondent is the mother of a child, the mother’s main activity is having a meal and the child is present, no secondary activity is recorded, then it is more likely that the mother talks with the child than that she does not. Hence, to estimate the time for talking with children, all episodes in which it is likely that talking occurs need to be identified, the durations added and the mean calculated”.

Finally, another limitation of time use surveys is that they typically cover 24 hours in a random day and researchers usually assume that this random day is normal. It is also true that the participant states whether or not the day was a normal day, but having information about a single day is another important limitation to consider. Despite these shortcomings, this thesis expects to contribute methodologically and empirically to the current empirical literature on parenting and work-family balance.

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<sup>21</sup> See <https://www.h5.scb.se/tus/tus/Introduction2.html>

### 4.3 A qualitative approach: Interviews with working fathers

While the first part of this chapter explained the methods used to identify the main determinants of fathers' involvement with children younger than 10 years old (why) in Catalonia (the first aim of this thesis), this second part presents the qualitative approach used to gain more insight into the benefits of participating in multiple roles (second aim) and to understand the relationship between enrichment and WFE (third aim).

#### 4.3.1 Qualitative research on calling

Eby and her colleagues (Eby et al., 2005) found that qualitative research only contributes around ten percent of the total work-family research. For that reason there has been a special call for more qualitative research in the WFB arena and in family studies in general (LaRossa, 2012; Matthews, 2012). Additionally, the growing body of work-family enrichment literature has mainly concentrated on quantitative studies with only a few exceptions (Hill et al., 2007; Kim & Las Heras, 2012; Lövhöiden, Yap, & Ineson, 2011; Shein & Chen, 2011) Due to the lack of qualitative research, and above all, the need to comprehend the mechanism/process of WFE and to answer new questions regarding work-family enrichment experiences among working fathers, the use of qualitative methods seems the most appropriate approach.

#### 4.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

Qualitative analysis is well suited to exploring (Dick, 1990), comprehending (Seale, Gobo, Gubrium, & Silverman, 2004) and answering *how* and *why* questions (Yin, 1993). Today, there are a variety of methods (Patton, 2002) for conducting qualitative research: participant observation (Jorgensen, 1989), a review of documents (Bowen, 2009), focus groups (Asbury, 1995), and interviews (Kvale,

1996). Among all of these data-collecting techniques, interviews are the most common technique for collecting qualitative data. The etymology of the “interview” is the French word “*entrevoir*”,<sup>22</sup> which means to start having an idea about something or to begin to perceive or anticipate something. The purpose of an interview is to talk with the interviewee/s to comprehend a particular phenomenon or issue. Today, we can find a growing body of literature about the benefits of interviewing and how to conduct “good” interviews (Creswell, 1994, 1998; Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Seidman, 2013).

Interviewing as a method of data collection has a number of advantages (Seidman, 2013). Barriball and While (1994, p. 384) summarized the following advantages: (1) interviews go beyond the answers to a survey (Austin, 1981), (2) interviews allow motives, values and attitudes to be explored and examined (Richardson, Dohrenwend, & Klein, 1965; Smith, 1975), (3) face-to-face interviews allow for observing non-verbal indicators (Gordon, 1975), (4) some types of interviews provide an easy comparison among the participants (Bailey, 1987), and (5) in an interview, the interviewee is the only one who can answer - he or she does not have any kind of support (Bailey, 1987).

In general, there are three main types of interviews: structured, unstructured and semi-structured. Dunn (2005) defined the three types of interviews as follows:

Structured interviews follow a predetermined and standardized list of questions. The questions are always asked in almost the same way and in the same order. At the other end of the continuum are unstructured forms of interviewing such as oral histories... The conversation in these interviews is actually directed by the informant rather than by the set questions. In the middle of this continuum are semi-structured interviews. This form of interviewing has some degree of predetermined order but still ensures flexibility in the way issues are addressed by the informant. (Dunn, 2005, p. 80)

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<sup>22</sup> Oxford English Dictionary: <http://www.oed.com/>. Retrieved September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2015.

For this thesis, semi-structured interviews were chosen as a technique to gain an insight into work-family enrichment among fathers. One of the key advantages of conducting semi-structured interviews is that this technique allows researchers to combine standardization with flexibility. On the one hand, semi-structured interviews require preparation (preliminary research, specific questions, guides, sampling, location, etc), but at the same time this type of interview provides enough leeway to ask new questions or to probe further into new issues that arise during the interview.

The following subsection will present the selection of the participants, locations and other logistical arrangements.

### 4.3.3 Sampling, place and other logistical arrangements

As noted before, this study is focused on working fathers for several reasons (see Chapters 2 and 3). However, one important reason is that the empirical evidence has so far focused on employed mothers, leaving questions concerning the benefits of multiple roles for working fathers unresolved (Gudmundsson, 2003). Furthermore, the limited existing research has been predominantly based on people in managerial positions. This situation has generated a call for more research on people in lower-level occupations (Perry-Jenkins et al., 2000). Thus, I chose to consider not only fathers in managerial positions, but also those in low-level occupations, who are underrepresented in the work family balance literature (for some exceptions see Henly & Lambert, 2005).

Before the individual interviews, I conducted a focus group with six people in order to explore and pre-test potential questions (Frey & Fontana, 1991) about WFB, WFE and WFC. My role in this focus group was relatively passive. The focus group was interesting in terms of exploring potential questions regarding work-family enrichment. After the focus group, I also conducted two pilot interviews in order to ensure the effectiveness of the final interviews. The first pilot interview was with a working father, and this was the first time that I had asked the potential questions in a semi-structured interview. Although my initial idea was to interview only working

fathers, I decided to conduct a second pilot interview with a couple at the same time. My goal was to see if interviewing both partners at the same time could provide added value to the research. In fact, this second pilot interview was really interesting and useful and it allowed me to understand better some dynamics that were not easy to see in an interview with a single person. However, I noticed that the working father did not feel completely comfortable talking about some topics, such as his contribution at home or how his family enriches his work. Perceiving that this working father did not feel comfortable talking about certain aspects in front of his wife gave me the feeling that I could gain more insight into his role as a father by talking with him alone. So, I decided to do semi-structured interviews with only working fathers, although an extension of the project, interviewing working mothers about their work-family enrichment experience, would be more than welcome.

Thus, the target sample for this research was established as follows:

- Males
- Living with a partner (married or de-facto)
- Living with at least one child (10 years old or younger)
- Working full-time
- Having a partner who also works full-time
- Living in Catalonia (see Chapter 2 for more explanation)

Having established these criteria, I proceeded to contact working fathers through three types of organizations: a chemical company, a public school and an advertisement agency. Contacting working fathers through three organizations from different sectors allowed me to access working fathers from different backgrounds.

While the chemical company and the advertisement agency were located in Barcelona, the public school was located in a small village in Girona province.<sup>23</sup> Having working fathers in the sample from another province and in particular living in a semirural area, provided added value to this study. Table 4.3 summarizes the profile (occupation, age and number of children) of the 20 working fathers in this study.

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<sup>23</sup> Catalonia has four provinces: Barcelona, Lleida, Tarragona and Girona.

**Table 4.3 Sample of working fathers**

Name <sup>24</sup>	ISCO occupation	Type of occupation	ISCO Group	Age	Number of children
Francesc	1120	Managing directors and chief executives	1. Managers	41	2
Òscar	1120	Managing directors and chief executives	1. Managers	48	1
Javier	1120	Managing directors and chief executives	1. Managers	50	2
Genís	1219	Business services and administration managers	1. Managers	31	2
Eduard	1221	Sales and marketing managers	1. Managers	38	2
Bernat	1330	Information and communications technology service managers	1. Managers	35	1
Carles	216	Architects, planners, surveyors and designers	2. Professionals	36	1
Oriol	242	Administration professionals	2. Professionals	36	3
Ignasi	243	Sales, marketing and public relations professionals	2. Professionals	32	2
Guillem	264	Authors, journalists and linguists	2. Professionals	50	4
Mario	2359	Teaching professionals not classified elsewhere	2. Professionals	34	1
Martí	2422	Policy administration professionals	2. Professionals	37	2
Jaume	331	Financial and mathematical associate professionals	3. Technicians and associate professionals	32	3
Sergio	3116	Chemical engineering technicians	3. Technicians and associate professionals	34	1
Joan	3122	Manufacturing supervisors	3. Technicians and associate professionals	43	3
Adrià	441	Other clerical support workers	4. Clerical support workers	54	2
Rubén	7126	Plumbers and pipe fitters	7. Craft and related trade workers	31	2
Enric	7131	Painters and related workers	7. Craft and related trade workers	44	2
Isaac	7131	Painters and related workers	7. Craft and related trade workers	33	1
Raül	9629	Other elementary service workers not classified elsewhere	9. Elementary occupations	33	1

<sup>24</sup> All names have been changed.

Regarding the number of interviews, saturation was a useful criterion for this study. Guest and his colleagues (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006) found with their study, which involved 60 interviews, that data saturation occurred after 12 interviews. After their first 12 interviews, they had created 88% of the total number of codes. In general, people tend to think that numbers are not important in qualitative research (Sandelowski, 1995). However, it is important to define a “good” sample size. The main problem with a “good” sample size is the lack of standardization. According to Sandelowski:

A good principle to follow is: An adequate sample size in qualitative research is one that permits -by virtue of not being too large- the deep, case-oriented analysis that is a hallmark of all qualitative inquiry, and that results in- by virtue of not being too small -a new and richly textured understanding of experience (Sandelowski, 1995, p. 183).

For my research, the sample consisted of 20 Catalan working fathers. With 20 interviews I had the opportunity to interview fathers with different backgrounds and to gain enough insight for the specific purpose of this study. In some senses, after 15 interviews, I started to experience data saturation, although each new interview contributed in a special way. As table 4.3 shows, the sample of working fathers was quite heterogeneous although all of them met the same requirements: full time workers, fathers of young children, living with a partner and children, and living in Catalonia. For instance, among these 20 fathers there were two painters, one in a rural area and another in a big city, an illustrator with 4 children who works from home with her partner, who also works from home, an architect with one daughter, a plant manager, two business owners, a Chief Information Officer and a parking guard, among others. This heterogeneity of the sample was especially useful for the analysis in Chapter 7, where the main goal was to understand how occupation affects enrichment.

Furthermore, among these fathers, 14 held a university degree and 6 had secondary education as their highest educational level. Their mean age was 38.6 and their average number of children was 1.95. As noted before, the first selection of the

participants was made through three different kinds of organizations: a chemical company, an advertisement agency and a public school. Then, snowball sampling (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; Noy, 2008; Snijders, 1992) was used to add working fathers from different backgrounds, who at the same time met all of the research requirements.

Choosing the most appropriate place to conduct the interviews was another important aspect that also required special attention (Elwood & Martin, 2000; Sin, 2003). Interview locations may be restricted by the participant or by the researcher. In my case, I decided to leave the decision about where to hold the interview to the participant. For sure, it was important to choose a quiet place but I left the final decision to the participant. Leaving the decision in the participant's hands has some advantages, such as empowering them in the relationship with the researcher and allowing the researcher to "examine the participant's choices for clues" (Elwood & Martin, 2000, p. 656).

Among the 20 working fathers, seven of them chose their workplaces as the site for the interview. Five of them offered their homes, two working fathers decided to do the interview in the university where I work and the remaining six fathers chose other sites (e.g., their parents' home, a quiet booth in a restaurant, or a relatively quiet bar). It is interesting that five out of the six managers interviewed in this study proposed their office as a place to have the meeting. Elwood and Martin (2000) suggested that "organizational directors who wanted to be interviewed in their offices emphasized their position as directors" (p. 655). On the other hand, there was no common profile regarding the people who offered their home as a place to conduct the interview (e.g., the painter, the illustrator, and the plant manager). Finding a "neutral place" is a common suggestion when conducting qualitative interviews. However, being in "his/her" place has enormous advantages such as enabling participant observation (Elwood & Martin, 2000). In my case, it was useful to interview a working father who worked as a parking guard in his home. I had the opportunity to walk around his neighbourhood before the interview and to better contextualize his case. It was also a good experience to interview an illustrator in his home in a rural area. During the time I spent with this working father, I had the

opportunity not only to conduct the interview, but also to observe where he lives, see where he works (because he works from home) and meet his wife. Obviously, all of this observation would not be possible in a “neutral place”. Nevertheless, I also think that there is an important difference between being in “his/her” place due to a research restriction and being in “his/her” place because this is the participant’s decision. For that reason, I decided not to restrict the interview sites.

Finally, in order to avoid a sample of “happy” fathers, I decided to provide very little information about the research aim. I prepared a letter informing the participants about the research topic (work-family balance) and describing the participant requirements. Before moving on to the interview structure, there is another topic that is crucial in qualitative interviews: social desirability bias, which is an old issue in social science (Edwards, 1957), especially with sensitive topics. In this case, I considered that fatherhood may be a “sensitive topic” and I was aware of potential social desirability bias in the fathers’ answers.

Moreover, I am a working father, and I was interviewing working fathers about fatherhood and work. On the one hand, this situation may have been positive because I could have more “empathy” or comprehend this specific sample. On the other hand, my situation may have increased any bias, which is far from desirable (Williams & Heikes, 1993). For that reason I was very conscious from the beginning about this potential weakness. In order to deal with the issue of social desirability bias I did the following in the interviews: (1) I did not talk about my family situation, myself or my work, (2) I tried to avoid questions about what he thought (e.g., subjective) and I focused on what he did (e.g. objective) and how he perceived enrichment, and (3) I tried to ask indirect questions when I noticed bias in the participants’ answers (Nederhof, 1985).

#### 4.3.4 Interview structure

The opening can be one of the most important parts of the interview and it may set the tone for the rest of the session. In my case, I decided to follow the following steps before starting with the questions:

- Providing a brief introduction about the research
- Sincerely thanking them for their contribution to the project
- Explaining confidentiality and anonymity
- Informing them that they can say “no”
- Asking permission to audio-record the session
- Asking them to sign the consent form (Appendix 11).

After these steps, I started the interview with an easy question (e.g., age, or occupation) in order to start getting data but at the same time to provide a comfortable atmosphere. The interview was divided into nine sections: (1) demographic data, (2) work, (3) family, (4) work-family conflict, (5) family-work conflict, (6) work-family enrichment, (7) family-work enrichment, (8) fatherhood, and (9) boundaries (see Appendix 12 for the original guidelines). In order to close each interview I asked the interviewee if there was anything else he wanted to add and I thanked him again for his participation.

##### 1. Demographic data

- Age
- Marital status
- Children
- Educational level
- Information about their partner

##### 2. Work

- Number of years
- Position
- Schedule
- Commuting
- Company
- The importance of work
- Tasks he likes and dislikes
- Contribution of work to his life
- Work satisfaction
- Learning at work

### 3. Family

- The importance of family
- Tasks (who is doing what)
- Tasks he likes and dislikes
- Free time
- Learning from his family
- Learning from his partner
- Learning from his children

### 4. Work-family conflict

- Working from home
- Work interference at home
- Stress situations
- Partner support

### 5. Family-work conflict

- Family interferences at work
- Stressful situations
- Organizational support
- Organizational culture

### 6. Work-family enrichment

- Sources of enrichment from work to home
- Skills, knowledge, mood
- Other positive things
- Fulfilment

### 7. Family-work enrichment

- Sources of enrichment from family to work
- Skills, knowledge, mood
- Other positive things
- Fulfilment

### 8. Fatherhood

- How fatherhood changes his life
- Professional aspiration
- Success
- Barriers

### 9. Boundaries

- Segmentation vs. integration
- Friends vs. enemies
- Suggestions

#### 4.3.5 Transcription and anonymization

All of the interviews were conducted face-to face by me over a one and a half year period from November 2012 to March 2014. Each interview lasted for about one hour and was conducted in Catalan or Spanish, depending on the mother tongue of the participant. All of the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed by me in the same language in which they were conducted. Furthermore, I made an English summary of each interview following the same format as the interview itself: (1) demographic data, (2) work, (3) family, (4) work-family conflict, (5) family-work conflict, (6) work-family enrichment, (7) family-work enrichment, (8) fatherhood, and (9) boundaries (see Appendix 12 as an example). Finally, in order to ensure confidentiality and anonymization all names and other relevant information were changed.

#### 4.3.6 Analysis of semi-structured interviews

The data from the interviews were analysed in three stages. First, I produced a summary for each working father (Appendix 13). This stage helped me to understand the story (Riessman, 1993) of each working father, his main contribution and his uniqueness. Although the transcription was made in the original language (Catalan or Spanish), as stated previously the analysis was done in English. Consider the following lines, which exemplify the task done at this first stage:

**Personal data:** Francesc was born in 1971. He is married to Rosa since 1997. They have two children: Laura (11 years old) and Pep (7years old). He started informatics at the University of Barcelona but never finished.

**Working experience:** Francesc is the Chief Information Officer (CIO) of a company with more than 15.000 employees. He has worked in this company for 4 years. Before, he worked as an IT manager at the biggest bank in Spain, as IT manager of a public administration, and as IT manager of a global conglomerate. Nowadays, he supervises a team of more than 100 employees located in 7 countries. He spends 15% of his time travelling around the world. Francesc normally starts work at 8:30 a.m. and finishes at 20 p.m. with a break to have lunch from 1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

**Gender ideologies:** They really seem like a traditional couple. They don't receive domestic help. Rosa takes care of 95% of the domestic duties, although she works freelance from home. Rosa said that she decided to stay at home and take on the household and childcare responsibilities, while Francesc takes responsibility for providing a good income.

The second stage consisted of conducting a thematic analysis on enrichment through the transcriptions. Regarding WFE and FWE, I conducted a line-by-line codification, generating a codebook with common categories and subcategories and with some of the descriptions given by the working fathers. A generic qualitative analysis (Rossman & Rallis, 2003) was used in order to analyse the interviews. Consider the following example, which illustrates the second phase of the analysis:

For Ignasi, work has a positive impact on their family:

- 1) Money/Lifestyle > **MATERIAL RESOURCES**
- 2) How to get things done > **ORGANIZATION**

*Note:* he admitted that he was not the same person at work (serious, organized) as at home (funny, chaotic).

Based on the codebook generated at the second stage, the third part of the data analysis consisted, first, of rechecking all of the categories and subcategories with the original transcriptions and, second, of grouping all of the categories and subcategories into the work-family enrichment construct (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). Coding helped to relate categories and subcategories among the core categories of the work-family enrichment construct (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). Here, I clearly distinguished between the skills, resources and gains obtained at home (FWE)

and those developed at work (WFE), in order to be loyal to the bidirectionality of the construct.

#### 4.3.7 Software: Atlas.ti

I used a qualitative data analysis package<sup>25</sup> to code the seven potential categories of WFE and FWE. Those seven categories were the five described in the work-family construct of Greenhaus and Powell (2006), others and no enrichment. Once the main category had been defined, I reviewed the field notes and transcriptions to determine new subcategories.

I also distinguished between working fathers in the three groups according to their occupation: high occupational level (n=6), which is composed of top managers (ISCO group 1), middle occupational level (n=9), which is composed of professionals and technicians and associate professionals (ISCO group 2 and 3), and low occupational level (n=5), which is composed of a clerical support worker, craft and related trade workers and one father with an elementary occupation (ISCO group 4, 7 and 9). The qualitative data analysis software allows the user to create different families to see if there are common patterns. Each occupational level was a family and this helped me to obtain the results, which are described in the next section.

#### 4.3.8 Limitation of semi-structured interviews

Qualitative interviews are one of the most common sources of data collection because they have a number of advantages. However, it is important to highlight that interviews also have limitations. One limitation is that “asking questions and getting answers is a much harder task than it may seem at first” (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 645). According to Cloke and his colleagues:

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<sup>25</sup> ATLAS.ti (version 7.5.2)

Key skills for interviewing will therefore include: listening sensitively; remembering what has already been said; achieving an effective balance between listening and speaking out (with questions, prompts and responses to questions from the interview subject); sensitivity to unspoken signals, particularly in the area of body language and demeanor; and technical response in tape-reporting or note-taking” (Cloke et al., 2004, p. 159).

Another limitation that I experienced was that not all of the working fathers could explain their feelings and answers equally well. The third limitation of qualitative studies is that they cannot be easily replicated. Finally, the fourth limitation of qualitative interviews is their cost in terms of time (preparing the interview, sampling, carrying out the interviews, transcription, and coding, to name several) and money (the researcher’s time, transcription, and transport, among others).

#### **4.4 Values, position and ethics**

The task of the teacher is to serve the students with his knowledge and scientific experience and not to imprint upon them his personal political views (Weber, 1946, p. 146).

Applying the idea of Weber, we might say that the task of the researcher is to serve the academic community with his knowledge and scientific experience and not to imprint upon his works his political and religious views. With this research, I want to state my intention clearly in order to be as objective as possible. In order to do that, Becker (1967) suggested:

Using our theoretical and technical resources to avoid the distortions that might introduce into our work, to limit our conclusions carefully and to recognize the hierarchy of credibility for what it is. (Becker, 1967, p. 247)

Finally, I can confirm that all of the working fathers signed a consent form (Appendix 11) with regard to ethical issues. All of the participants were informed that there was no risk of harm associated with this study. I also informed them that

their names and other relevant information would be changed in order to ensure confidentiality. Finally, I informed them that they could freely decide whether to participate in the project or not and they could also freely decide whether or not to answer all of the questions.

The methodological contribution of this thesis is twofold. On the one hand, it is the first study to use the Catalan Survey on the Use of Time to understand which factors are positively related to fatherhood involvement. On the other hand, this research is also one of the first qualitative studies to examine the WFE process, and the first to focus only on fathers in Catalonia.

Having explained the research methods used to answer the research questions in this thesis and provided enough information to replicate and ensure the validity of the study, the following three chapters present the main findings. Chapter 5 identifies the main determinants of fathers' involvement with their children using the Catalan Time Use Survey, which was described in the first part of this methodological chapter, and chapters 6 and 7 present the main results of the qualitative interviews with Catalan working fathers. Chapter 6 shows how the rewards perceived by working fathers fit with the theoretical model of Greenhaus and Powell (2006) and distinguishes between the rewards generated from work to home and the rewards perceived from home to work. In contrast, chapter 7 examines the relationship between occupation and WFE and tries to shed light on the mechanism of enrichment between work and family and vice versa.



# 5 Explaining paternal time with children in Catalonia: Associations with demographic variables and working conditions

## 5.1 Introduction

Due to the potential impact of fatherhood involvement on children, couples and fathers themselves, it is necessary to continue shedding light on why some fathers are more involved than others. This chapter presents two models to illustrate how demographic variables and working conditions might have a positive relationship with paternal time devoted to children. The focus of this study is on paternal time as it has been presented before. Lamb and his colleagues (1985, 1987) made an important effort to operationalize the construct of fatherhood involvement during the eighties. According to the authors, the construct has three dimensions: engagement, accessibility and responsibility. It might be interesting to analyse these three dimensions.

However, due to methodological limitations, this chapter focuses only on paternal time, which in part is arguably one of the most crucial dimensions of fatherhood involvement, but obviously not the only one. For this article, I developed my own measure of paternal time, using the Catalan Time Use Survey (2010-2011), which has not been used until now for this purpose. In particular, I analyse the time that fathers with children younger than 10 years old devote to four types of childcare: total care, basic care, developmental care and secondary care (see chapter 3 and 4).

Drawing on the review of previous literature, this study had eight different hypotheses that will be tested in this chapter: Hypothesis 1a: Well-educated fathers are more likely to devote more time to their children than other fathers, Hypothesis 1b: Fathers with a high income are more likely to devote more time to their children than other fathers, Hypothesis 2a: Well-educated fathers are more likely to devote more “developmental care” time to their children than other fathers, Hypothesis 2b: Fathers with a high income are more likely to devote more “developmental care” time to their children than other fathers, Hypothesis 3a: The number of (paid) working hours is negatively related to fatherhood involvement, Hypothesis 3b: The partner’s number of (paid) working hours is positively related to fatherhood involvement, Hypothesis 4a: Fathers with managerial occupations are more likely to devote less time to their children than other fathers in high-occupations, and Hypothesis 4b: Fathers with partners in high occupations are more likely to devote more time to their children.

As we have presented previously, the contribution of this study to the growing literature on fatherhood involvement is twofold. First, despite the existence of empirical evidence on how the mother’s characteristics (Gracia Molina & Esping-Andersen, 2015; Koslowski, 2010; Raley et al., 2012; Schober & Scott, 2012; Zick, Bryant, & Österbacka, 2001) play an important role in fatherhood involvement, very few papers have directly analysed the role of occupation (Shows & Gerstel, 2009). Second, this paper analyses specifically a context with few empirical studies: Catalonia. Access to the new Catalan Time Use Survey (2010-2011) developed by IDESCAT is a good opportunity to reduce this gap.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 5.2 presents summary statistics of this study. Section 5.3 presents the descriptive analysis. Section 5.4 presents the results in two subsections: the association between demographic characteristics and time devoted to children (5.4.1) and the association between demographic characteristics and time devoted to children (5.4.2). Finally Section 5.5 discusses the contributions and limitations of this study and concludes.

## 5.2 Summary statistics

As table 5.1 shows, 76 per cent of the total sample of fathers were between 30 and 44 years old, while only two percent were younger than 30 and 22 per cent were older than 45. Furthermore, 86 per cent of the sample of working fathers worked full time, three per cent worked part time and 11% were not working. In the qualitative analysis, I only examined Catalan fathers working full time. However, here I decided to include other employment statuses in order to examine how this variable affects the involvement of fathers at home. This table also shows the distribution of fathers according to partner status, educational level and income (see A14 for occupation).

**Table 5.1 Summary statistics. Parents with children under 10 years old**

	Fathers	Mothers
<i>Age</i>	%	%
15-29 years old	0.02	0.07
30-44 years old	0.76	0.83
More than 45 years old	0.22	0.10
<hr/>		
<i>Employment</i>		
Full time	0.86	0.49
Part time	0.03	0.20
Unemployed	0.11	0.31
<hr/>		
<i>Partner status</i>		
Full time	0.49	0.86
Part time	0.20	0.03
Unemployed	0.31	0.11
<hr/>		
<i>Education</i>		
Primary or below	0.06	0.05
Lower Secondary	0.25	0.20
Upper Secondary	0.14	0.13
Post-secondary non-tertiary	0.27	0.27
Bachelor	0.10	0.14
Master	0.19	0.20
<hr/>		
<i>Income</i>		
Less than 1300€	0.26	0.50
Between 1301-1700€	0.21	0.13
Between 1701-2200€	0.16	0.11
More than 2.200€	0.13	0.06
No information	0.24	0.19
<hr/>		
Observations	471	469

### 5.3 Descriptive analysis: Time devoted to children

The goal of this section is to detail the average of minutes per day that fathers (see Appendix 15 for a reconstruction of a random day), and in some cases mothers, devoted to their children younger than 10 years old<sup>26</sup>. As noted before, this childcare has been divided into two main categories: primary childcare (when the person fulfilling the survey reported childcare as the main activity) and secondary childcare (when the person fulfilling the survey reported childcare as a secondary activity). At the same time, primary childcare is divided into *basic care* and *developmental care* (see table 4.2 in Chapter 4).

This section describes the minutes devoted to childcare according to employment status, partner employment status, educational level, income and occupation. Before beginning the description, figure 5.1 shows the distribution of time among Catalan working fathers. For instance, this figure shows that 90% of working fathers reported that they were sleeping (in blue) from 6:00 am to 6:10 am. At 9:00 am only 20% of fathers reported sleeping as the main activity. On the other hand, we can see how a small proportion of the sample (around 10%) had a *siesta* at 4:00pm.

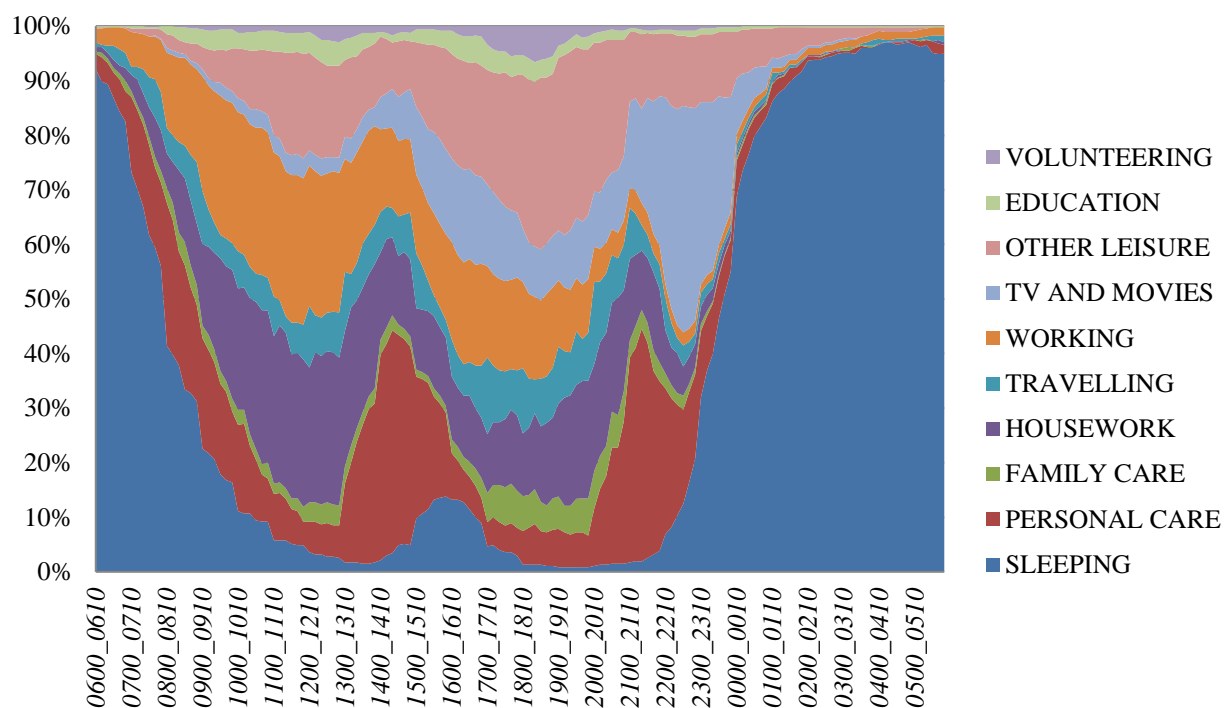
Regarding family care (childcare and adult care), only a small proportion of working fathers reported that they were doing this activity as a main activity in the afternoon. Other activities like working, travelling (commuting), other leisure or even housework were reported more frequently than family care.

Starting with a descriptive analysis, table 5.2 revealed that mothers spent almost twice as much time (216 minutes) on basic care (feeding, dressing, bathing, accompanying and others) than fathers (119 minutes).

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<sup>26</sup> From Appendix 16 to 22 the reader will find the descriptive analysis of father's contribution to household duties such as cleaning, cooking or ironing among others

**Figure 5.1 Distribution of time among Catalan working fathers**



Source: Own calculation

**Table 5.2 Minutes devoted to childcare, with children under 10 years old**

	Fathers		Mothers	
	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev
<b>Basic care</b>	<b>59.32</b>	74.43	<b>126.78</b>	110.75
<i>Feeding, dressing, bathing</i>	41.38	60.69	88.68	94.97
<i>Accompanying</i>	17.94	39.94	38.10	59.83
<b>Developmental care</b>	<b>33.76</b>	57.65	<b>37.38</b>	52.17
<i>Teaching, helping</i>	4.42	17.47	8.74	24.63
<i>Playing, reading, talking</i>	29.34	54.33	28.64	46.24
Secondary childcare	25.97	58.40	51.81	82.79
<b>Total Childcare</b>	<b>119.04</b>	123.44	<b>215.97</b>	156.16
Observations		471		469

On the other hand, it is true that there were no important differences in developmental care. While fathers reported 33 minutes per day, mothers reported 37 minutes per day. Taking in consideration the total time (119 minutes for fathers, and 215 minutes for mothers), the percentage of developmental care out of the total childcare was higher for men than women. So, mothers, as Craig (2006a) suggested, are still doing more physical and basic care than fathers.

Regarding employment status, we can see (table 5.3) that developmental care is very similar across the three categories. Fulltime working fathers spent around 34 minutes per day on developmental care, which is quite similar to the average for part-time fathers (32 minutes) and fathers who were not currently working (33 minutes). However, for basic care there were substantial differences across employment status. Part-time fathers, who devoted the same time to developmental care of their children as full-time workers, spent 70 minutes more on basic care than full-time fathers and 40 minutes more than fathers who were not working.

**Table 5.3 Minutes devoted to childcare according to employment status**

	Fulltime		Fathers Part time		Not working	
	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev
<b>Basic care</b>	<b>55.18</b>	69.34	<b>112.86</b>	103.95	<b>78.00</b>	95.45
<i>Feeding, dressing, bathing</i>	39.51	56.64	73.57	73.86	47.60	83.29
<i>Accompanying</i>	15.68	37.24	39.29	55.12	30.40	51.66
<b>Development care</b>	<b>33.93</b>	59.69	<b>32.14</b>	36.83	<b>32.80</b>	44.68
<i>Teaching, helping</i>	3.86	17.09	2.86	8.25	9.40	21.42
<i>Playing, reading, talking</i>	30.07	56.54	29.29	35.18	23.40	38.21
Secondary childcare	23.88	56.41	43.57	84.91	38.00	64.55
<i>Total Childcare</i>	<b>113.00</b>	121.30	<b>188.57</b>	123.59	<b>148.80</b>	132.66
Observations	407		14		50	

We observed that employment status affects the number of minutes devoted to children considered as basic care. However, there are no significant differences in terms of developmental care. It is also interesting to analyse whether the partner’s employment status affects the father’s time devoted to his children. Table 5.4

summarizes the average minutes per day that fathers devote to childcare activities depending on the employment status of their spouses or partners. Interestingly, the average time devoted to developmental care is again similar across partners' employment status. Therefore, fathers with full-time spouses or partners devote more basic time to their children (65 minutes), than those fathers with partners working part-time (59 minutes) or not working (50 minutes).

**Table 5.4 Minutes devoted to childcare according to partner employment status**

	<b>Fathers</b>					
	when partners work full time		when partners work part time		when partners don't work	
	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev
<b>Basic care</b>	<b>65.17</b>	76.95	<b>59.25</b>	75,49	<b>50.07</b>	69.02
<i>Feeding, dressing, bathing</i>	43.66	63.14	44.41	61,53	35.82	56.06
<i>Accompanying</i>	21.51	42.04	14.84	33,28	14.25	40.15
<b>Development care</b>	<b>33.49</b>	56.34	<b>31.94</b>	66,52	<b>35.34</b>	53.87
<i>Teaching, helping</i>	5.13	19.63	2.15	11,21	4.73	17.07
<i>Playing, reading, talking</i>	28.36	51.72	29.78	64,71	30.62	51.45
Secondary childcare	25.13	57.55	25.16	61,97	27.81	57.78
<i>Total Childcare</i>	<b>123.79</b>	117.75	<b>116.34</b>	133,78	<b>113.22</b>	125.98
Observations	232		93		146	

In general, the academic literature on paternal involvement found that fathers' time devoted to their children depends on their education level (McLanahan, 2004). The next table 5.5 shows that fathers with a higher level of education allocate much more developmental care time to their children under 10 years old than fathers with a lower level of education. For example, a father with a postgraduate degree devotes on average almost 45 minutes per day to developmental care, while a father with lower secondary education devotes about 28 minutes.

**Table 5.5 Minutes devoted to childcare according to educational level**

	Primary or below		Lower Secondary		Upper Secondary		Post-secondary non-tertiary		Bachelor		Master	
	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev
<b>Basic care</b>	<b>67.14</b>	78.73	<b>52.61</b>	76.17	<b>49.22</b>	59.96	<b>67.72</b>	84.27	<b>73.33</b>	85.39	<b>53.98</b>	56.25
<i>Feeding, dressing, bathing</i>	36.07	52.87	35.71	67.66	34.06	37.74	46.85	67.81	52.22	69.67	42.61	49.82
<i>Accompanying</i>	31.07	62.08	16.89	37.43	15.16	43.61	20.87	40.28	21.11	42.86	11.36	27.21
<b>Development care</b>	<b>29.64</b>	55.94	<b>28.24</b>	53.64	<b>30.16</b>	49.94	<b>30.55</b>	49.51	<b>43.56</b>	69.09	<b>44.77</b>	71.16
<i>Teaching, helping</i>	3.21	13.62	4.71	17.79	0.31	1.75	5.12	17.77	7.56	20.58	4.77	21.65
<i>Playing, reading, talking</i>	26.43	54.92	23.53	48.69	29.84	49.81	25.43	45.40	36.00	69.03	40.00	66.30
Secondary childcare	42.14	74.45	18.74	45.07	19.84	47.99	29.69	58.73	25.33	53.75	30.00	74.88
<i>Total Childcare</i>	<b>138.93</b>	144.31	<b>99.58</b>	117.09	<b>99.22</b>	104.45	<b>127.95</b>	126.75	<b>142.22</b>	131.70	<b>128.75</b>	126.07
Observations	28		119		64		127		45		88	

Surprisingly, we cannot observe the same trend in terms of basic time. Parents with a bachelor degree are devote more basic time to their children, followed by parents with primary education. It would be interesting to analyse how employment status may affect this situation. Another interesting observation is that we cannot confirm that there is a clear trend in terms of basic and total time devoted to children according to education level. In fact, an *excess* of education level could have an opposite effect.

Empirical evidence normally shows that income is positively related to time devoted to children (Fernández & Sevilla-Sanz, 2006; Guryan, Hurst, & Kearney, 2008; Suárez, 2013). In this case, although we observe in table 5.6 that developmental care is higher for parents with a higher income, it is not true when we analyse basic time. In fact, fathers with a higher income devote less basic time to their children. There are multiple factors that could explain this situation. For example, fathers with more income are more likely to have domestic help.

**Table 5.6 Minutes devoted to childcare according to income**

	Fathers							
	Less than 1300€		Between 1301-1700€		Between 1701-2200€		More than 2.200€	
	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev
<b>Basic care</b>	<b>56.06</b>	71.87	<b>61.03</b>	76.31	<b>55.67</b>	60.66	<b>53.21</b>	60.03
<i>Feeding, dressing, bathing</i>	40.46	57.14	47.36	66.79	38.66	48.96	37.50	38.91
<i>Accompanying</i>	15.60	37.00	13.68	31.11	17.01	33.21	15.71	38.08
<b>Development care</b>	<b>31.47</b>	55.56	<b>36.90</b>	68.54	<b>29.70</b>	51.55	<b>38.04</b>	60.80
<i>Teaching, helping</i>	1.65	8.87	1.61	8.05	3.58	15.05	1.79	10.11
<i>Playing, reading, talking</i>	29.82	55.26	35.29	67.87	26.12	50.57	36.25	57.73
Secondary childcare	28.26	58.83	26.21	55.49	18.51	49.03	24.82	69.75
<b>Total Childcare</b>	<b>115.78</b>	124.45	<b>124.14</b>	134.07	<b>103.88</b>	108.77	<b>116.07</b>	116.71
Observations	109		87		67		56	

Finally, I consider occupation as a key independent variable in that process as I highlighted during the previous chapters. People with the same educational level, and

even with the same income, can have different occupations. An occupation, as ISCO described, “is a set of jobs whose main tasks and duties are characterized by a high degree of similarity”. Normally, these sets of jobs share not only tasks and duties, but also working schedules. It seems obvious to state that occupation 1 (managers) will have more flexibility in their working day but at the same time will experience a work overload. At the same time, people with elementary occupations (occupation 9) may be more likely to have a fixed or compressed working week with less flexibility but also with less work overload. These two factors, flexibility and workload, could determine the way in which fathers spend their time.

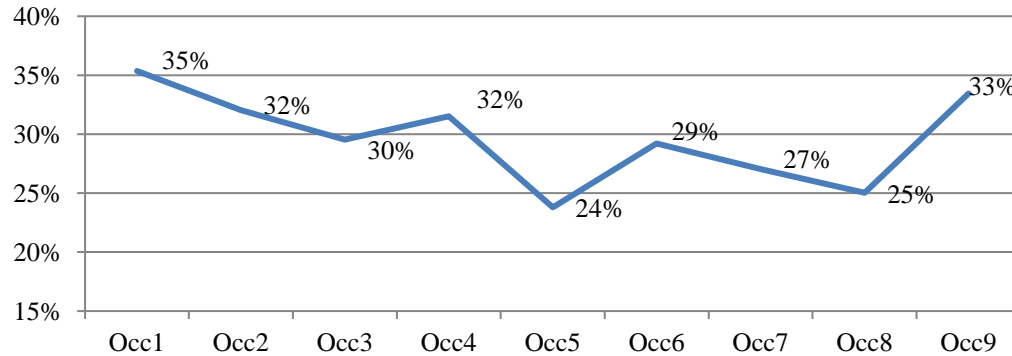
To investigate this possibility, table 5.7 shows the average number of minutes that fathers devoted to their children according to their type of occupation. We may think that fathers with a higher occupational level will devote more time than other fathers. Interestingly, this is not always the case. We can observe that fathers in occupation 1 (117 minutes), occupation 2 (137 minutes) and occupation 3 (133 minutes) devote more total time than fathers in occupation 8 (111 minutes) and occupation 9 (94 minutes). However, as the descriptive analysis also illustrates, fathers in occupation 2 (professionals) spent more time with their children than those in occupation 1 (managers). So again, an *excess* of a high occupational level could have an opposite effect. These descriptive results are partially in line with Gerson (1993) who found that fathers in professional jobs are more involved at home than fathers employed in managerial positions.

Additionally, figure 5.2 shows that fathers in managerial occupations (occupation 1), followed by working fathers in occupation 9, devote proportionally more developmental care time to their children, 35% and 33% respectively. These results are in line with previous studies that report that the time fathers spend with their children includes a higher *proportion of play* or fun activities than the time mothers spend (Bianchi, 2000; Gershuny & Robinson, 1988; Sayer, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004). What is interesting here is to observe this trend at both extremes (managerial occupations and low-skilled occupations).

**Table 5.7 Minutes devoted to childcare by occupation**

	Fathers																	
	Occupation 1		Occupation 2		Occupation 3		Occupation 4		Occupation 5		Occupation 6		Occupation 7		Occupation 8		Occupation 9	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>Basic care</b>	<b>55.00</b>	67.85	<b>56.30</b>	56.58	<b>69.31</b>	72.16	<b>55.77</b>	50.37	<b>50.54</b>	85.28	<b>52.94</b>	83.42	<b>62.36</b>	86.33	<b>55.45</b>	60.06	<b>40.31</b>	61.30
<i>Feeding, dressing, bathing</i>	32.50	39.65	43.33	49.68	57.41	64.66	37.31	39.04	29.46	62.14	42.35	82.88	43.48	67.17	42.18	53.74	25.63	46.14
<i>Accompanying</i>	22.50	51.07	12.96	20.15	11.90	26.52	18.46	36.19	21.08	54.56	10.59	26.33	18.88	41.84	13.27	30.86	14.69	37.33
<b>Development care</b>	<b>41.61</b>	76.84	<b>43.89</b>	63.14	<b>39.31</b>	61.67	<b>33.46</b>	56.21	<b>22.70</b>	43.18	<b>34.71</b>	69.38	<b>30.79</b>	57.53	<b>28.00</b>	50.35	<b>31.56</b>	44.58
<i>Teaching, helping</i>	4.11	16.49	5.37	26.83	5.52	17.19	3.46	10.93	2.97	12.44	1.18	4.85	4.16	17.83	0.91	6.74	5.31	17.78
<i>Playing, reading, talking</i>	37.50	76.54	38.52	54.86	33.79	57.76	30.00	55.06	19.73	42.20	33.53	69.82	26.63	51.89	27.09	49.09	26.25	43.16
Secondary childcare	21.07	39.30	36.85	88.14	24.48	58.58	16.92	37.18	22.16	60.24	31.18	61.53	20.79	44.60	28.36	61.55	22.50	57.25
<i>Total Childcare</i>	<b>117.68</b>	128.93	<b>137.04</b>	125.35	<b>133.10</b>	129.77	<b>106.15</b>	99.56	<b>95.41</b>	118.76	<b>118.82</b>	155.84	<b>113.93</b>	129.94	<b>111.82</b>	107.36	<b>94.38</b>	99.71
Observations	56		54		58		26		37		17		89		55		32	

**Figure 5.2 Percentage of developmental care of total care**



One of the main explanations might be that working fathers in managerial positions, with important time constraints, tend to only spend “quality moments” with their children, because they *know* (cultural capital gradient) that these are the crucial activities for child development, but they leave the basic care to their partners or other carers. Another explanation could be that these working fathers see “basic care” as an onerous activity (like household duties) that can be delegated to another person, as we will see in the findings from the semi-structured interviews conducted with working fathers. A marketing manager clearly stated that, “he only does what has a value for the child”. In contrast, we can see similar findings at the other extreme. As a father in a low-skilled occupation explained in the qualitative part, “basic” tasks are totally delegated to his partner. These attitudes might reveal that working fathers not only discriminate between childcare activities and household duties, but also between types of childcare. According to the theory of power relations (Emerson, 1962; Hiller, 1984), working fathers with more power are more likely to choose the type of childcare activity they do.

## 5.4 Results

I run a model for four types of childcare: total childcare, basic childcare, developmental care and secondary care. As discussed in Chapter 4, there is an important debate regarding whether it is better to use ordinary least squares (OLS) or Tobit model for time use data. Recent evidence (Gershuny & Egerton, 2006; Stewart, 2009) shows that OLS may be a better estimation for this type of data. So, I used OLS techniques with STATA for the following estimations.

**Table 5.8 OLS regressions. Demographic variables**

	<b>Fathers</b>							
	Total care		Basic care		Developmental care		Secondary care	
	Mean	Std. Error	Mean	Std. Error	Mean	Std. Error	Mean	Std. Error
<i>Age</i>								
Less than 29 years old	0.00	(omitted)	0.00	(omitted)	0.00	(omitted)	0.00	(omitted)
From 30 to 44 years old	-116.52***	36.40	-135.34***	26.10	-7.17	20.06	-9.22	16.81
More than 45 years old	-136.17***	38.01	-147.50***	27.25	-12.54	20.95	-15.48	17.55
Weekday	-17.13	10.87	7.22	7.79	-21.07***	5.99	-12.22**	5.02
Health	2.08	16.70	-19.36	11.97	-10.03	9.20	5.20	7.71
<i>Number of household</i>								
3 members	0.00	(omitted)	0.00	(omitted)	0.00	(omitted)	0.00	(omitted)
4 members	6.19	11.40	9.01	8.17	3.23	6.28	9.27*	5.26
5 members	8.61	19.04	8.15	13.65	-.43	10.49	14.93*	8.79
Adult dependent	-7.12	13.18	-29.44***	9.45	15.04**	7.26	-6.00	6.09
External help	10.60	12.05	-.26	8.64	2.91	6.64	1.50	5.57
Nationality	12.37	16.86	2.46	12.09	2.06	9.29	1.76	7.79
Urban	-0.40**	0.16	1.53***	.11	.31***	.08	.04	.07
<i>Educational level</i>								
Primary or below	0.00	(omitted)	0.00	(omitted)	0.00	(omitted)	0.00	(omitted)
Lower Secondary	8.17	24.64	-21.62	17.67	-17.61	13.58	-24.03**	11.38
Upper Secondary	1.27	26.21	-25.81	18.79	-10.03	14.44	-22.79*	12.10
Post-secondary non-tertiary	31.37	24.75	-4.13	17.74	-23.07*	13.64	-17.45	11.43
Bachelor	49.84*	27.92	2.12	20.01	2.33	15.38	-16.39	12.89
Master	48.41*	25.49	-17.79	18.27	-9.17	14.05	-10.34	11.77
Constant	181.95***	44.87	215.21***	32.17	73.55***	24.72	45.41**	20.72
R2	0.0748		0.3337		0.0948		0.0515	
Number of Observations	471							

\*p <0.1. \*\* p<0.05. \*\*\* p>0.01

#### 5.4.1 The association demographic characteristics and time devoted to children

The independent variables used in the model are: *age* (three dummy variables); *weekday* (from Monday to Friday); *health* (1=good health); *adult dependent* (1=if yes); *nationality* (1=if the respondent is of Spanish nationality); *number in household* (three dummy variables<sup>27</sup>); *urban* (1=if the respondent lives in an urban area), and *educational level* (six dummy variables). Table 5.8 shows the results of the analysis for working fathers for the four independent variables described previously. Each unit of the coefficient means minutes per day. The results show that educational level has a strong positive effect on fathers' time devoted to children. For instance, other things held constant, a father with a bachelor's or masters degree spends around 49 minutes more per day than other fathers. Therefore, we find support for Hypothesis 1a, which assumes that well-educated fathers are more likely to devote more time to their children than other fathers. However, the results between education and developmental care are not significant. These results confirm a weak association between these two variables. Hypothesis 2a is therefore rejected. In addition, table 5.8 shows that having an adult dependent is negatively associated with fathers' time devoted to children. For instance, a father with an adult dependent at home, all other variables being equal, devotes 29 minutes less per day to basic care for their children than fathers with no adult dependent. We found the same results for developmental care. Fathers with an adult dependent spend around 15 minutes less per day than the rest of the fathers.

The OLS regression of table 5.8 also indicates that weekdays are negatively associated with developmental care. This means that fathers tend to do more developmental care on weekends than on weekdays. As the table shows, on weekdays fathers spend 21 minutes less on developmental care of their children than at weekends. Finally, the results show that age is also strongly associated with time devoted to children. Fathers younger than 29 years old, all other variables being equal, devote much more time to their children than parents aged 30 and older.

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<sup>27</sup> IDESCAT excluded from the sample those families with more than five members.

#### 5.4.2 The association of working conditions and time devoted to children

The independent variables used in the second model are: *number of hours*; *public sector* (if the respondent works in the public sector); *income* (four dummy variables); *occupation* (9 dummy variables); and two more variables related to the partner: *number of hours (partner)* and *occupation (partner)*. We can observe in table 5.9 that number of hours is strongly negatively associated with fathers' time (total care and basic care). Therefore, we find support for Hypothesis 3a. As we might expect, the results show that as more time is devoted to home less time is devoted to children. For instance, these results mean that an increase of one working hour per week, all other factors being equal, implies a reduction in total childcare of one and a half minutes per day. However, we also tested the number of working hours (partner) but found no significant association. The results in this model confirm a weak association between number of working hours (partner) and parental time. Therefore, hypothesis 3b is rejected.

On the other hand, we find no significant result in terms of the relationship between income and childcare. Therefore, hypothesis 1b is also rejected. The only significant result is with developmental care. As table 5.9 shows, fathers with a high income (more than 2,200 euros) spend on average about 25 minutes less than fathers with lower incomes, which is the opposite of our hypothesis 2b. Additionally, fathers' occupation seems to be positively associated with the time devoted to children. However, these results are not significant. Therefore, hypothesis 4a is rejected. In contrast, partners' occupations are strongly positively associated with fathers' time devoted to children and these results are significant. These results confirm a strong association between partner's occupation and paternal time. Therefore, we find support for hypothesis 4b. For instance, fathers with partners employed as professionals, technicians and clerical support workers (occupations 2, 3, and 4) spend more minutes more per day on total childcare than fathers with partners employed in other categories, except category 8.

**Table 5.9 OLS regressions. Working variables.**

	<b>Fathers</b>							
	Total care		Basic care		Developmental care		Secondary care	
	Mean	Std. Error	Mean	Std. Error	Mean	Std. Error	Mean	Std. Error
Number of hours	-1.40**	.64	-1.12**	.55	-.59	.40	-.36	.29
Public sector	-7.04	22.17	-22.19	19.03	1.76	13.84	-15.62	10.17
Income (more than 2200€)								
Income 1	8.19	16.74	-1.60	14.37	5.54	10.45	5.70	7.68
Income 2	15.33	17.33	4.50	14.87	1.74	10.81	.86	7.94
Income 3	-12.26	19.60	-15.02	16.82	-11.40	12.23	-7.05	8.99
Income 4	-4.55	19.83	4.17	17.02	-25.09**	12.38	3.52	9.09
<i>Occupation</i>								
Occ 1	40.07	28.64	25.70	24.58	29.39	17.88	11.10	13.13
Occ 2	41.74	30.49	26.43	26.17	32.87*	19.03	23.27*	13.98
Occ 3	25.56	28.38	40.50*	24.36	24.02	17.72	6.94	13.01
Occ 4	8.85	33.03	23.44	28.35	.50	20.62	6.02	15.15
Occ 5	14.29	31.61	32.48	27.13	10.44	19.73	9.74	14.49
Occ 6	25.50	41.04	9.08	35.23	13.44	25.62	40.64**	18.82
Occ 7	24.48	25.09	25.66	21.53	15.15	15.66	2.79	11.50
Occ 8	8.94	26.76	25.11	22.97	-9.88	16.70	16.25	12.27
Occ 9	0.00	(omitted)	0.00	(omitted)	0.00	(omitted)	0.00	(omitted)
Number of hours (partner)	.99	.65	.045	.56	-.69*	.41	.40	.30
<i>Occupation (partner)</i>								
Occ 1	39.75	37.43	-30.86	32.12	2.07	23.36	-21.49	17.16
Occ 2	59.81**	27.84	-66.17***	23.89	24.15	17.38	-4.59	12.76
Occ 3	62.10**	28.42	-44.16*	24.39	16.57	17.74	-8.39	13.03
Occ 4	62.75**	29.42	-40.17	25.25	7.35	18.37	-8.03	13.49
Occ 5	31.50	31.46	-59.92**	27.00	19.39	19.64	-27.94*	14.42
Occ 6	6.16	114.48	-70.89	98.26	-10.49	71.46	-32.66	52.49
Occ 7	33.44	41.08	-35.09	35.26	-21.89	25.64	-17.76	18.84
Occ 8	105.82**	48.02	-32.66	41.22	24.14	29.98	13.12	22.02
Occ 9	55.20*	33.26	-46.07	28.54	4.14	20.76	-10.36	15.25
Constant	66.60*	36.64	136.38***	31.45	62.61***	22.87	24.78	16.80
R2	0,1811		0,0989		0,0756		0,0759	
Number of Observations	356							

\*p <0.1. \*\* p<0.05. \*\*\* p>0.01

## 5.5 Discussion

This chapter has analysed how paternal time differs across different variables such as educational level, income and occupation. The methodological novelty of this study is that for the first time it uses the Catalan Time Use Survey (2010-2011), to understand how Catalan fathers spend time with children. We can find empirical evidence about how Spanish fathers spend their time (Ajenjo Cosp & García Román, 2011; Gracia Molina, 2014; Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010; Sevilla-Sanz & Gimenez-Nadal, 2010), but very few studies in Catalonia (MacInnes & Solsona, 2006; Marí-Klose et al., 2008).

The first main finding of this study is that fathers devote significantly less time to basic care (feeding, dressing, bathing, accompanying) than mothers. On the other hand, the results show that fathers devote similar time to developmental care (playing, reading, talking) than mothers. This implies that fathers devote a higher proportion of time to developmental care than mothers. These findings are in line with previous studies (Bianchi, 2000; Gershuny & Robinson, 1988; Sayer, Bianchi, et al., 2004), which reveal that fathers are doing a higher *proportion of play* in their total childcare. At the same time, these results imply that mothers continue to do more physical, routine and basic care than fathers, which is in line with the previous findings (Craig, 2006a).

This high proportion of “fun” care is especially true at both extremes of fathers’ occupation. More research is needed to understand why these opposite occupational groups have more in common than we might expect. Two potential explanations might come from the cultural capital gradient and from the power-dependence theory. According to the Cultural Capital gradient (Bourdieu, 1986), fathers with more cultural capital are more likely to devote developmental care time to their children because they *know* the benefit of this type of involvement and therefore, they act according to this assumption. However, power-dependence theory (Emerson, 1962; Hiller, 1984) may also play a part here. According to this theory, the partner with more power is more likely to choose the type of domestic chores he wants to do. In general, household activities like ironing or cleaning have been

considered onerous or unappealing in contrast with childcare activities (Hallberg & Klevmarken, 2003), and therefore partners with more power do less of these “unappealing tasks”. My assumption (see theoretical framework) is that some fathers are also able to discriminate between unappealing and appealing tasks in childcare. If this is true, fathers with more power will be able to choose what type of childcare activities they do and delegate the rest to their partners or other carers. Fathers with greater time constraints and more power (basically in the form of income) may presumably only do the most appealing childcare activities, like playing or reading, which are part of the developmental care activities. However, this first quantitative study is not able to shed light in this sense. Further studies are needed to understand this. Additionally, as the descriptive data shows, fathers with managerial occupations (occupation 1) do not spend more time to their children, leaving this honour to professional fathers (occupation 2). These descriptive results are in line with Gerson (1993), who found that fathers in professional jobs spent more time doing childcare activities than fathers middle management positions. Moreover, a very interesting study by Shows and Gerstel (2009) compared two different groups of fathers, physicians and emergency medical technicians (EMTs), and revealed that while physicians emphasized "public fatherhood", they also showed low levels of engagement during the workweek. In contrast, EMTs were involved in public events as physicians but also demonstrated a "private fatherhood", which means showing high levels of involvement during the workweek. Apart from these studies, little is known about how occupation shapes fatherhood. The following qualitative chapters also attempt to fill this gap.

The second main finding of this chapter is the importance of educational level in relation to paternal time. Previous empirical evidence shows that there is a strong association between educational level and childcare (Gracia Molina, 2014; Guryan et al., 2008; Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010; Sayer, Gauthier, et al., 2004). Other studies have suggested that what really matters in determining fathers’ time devoted to children is the educational level of the mother (Gimenez-Nadal & Molina, 2012). This chapter shows that fathers’ educational level is strongly associated with more

total time spent with children. However, there were no significant results in term of fathers' educational level and developmental care.

The third main finding of this analysis is related to working variables. This study found that working hours was negatively associated with the total time devoted to children, as other studies have also revealed (Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010). On the other hand, one of the novelties of this research is the importance of mothers' occupation in relation to the time devoted to children by fathers. Previous studies have revealed how mothers characteristics (Gracia Molina & Esping-Andersen, 2015; Koslowski, 2010; Raley et al., 2012; Zick et al., 2001) play an important role in fatherhood involvement, but very few papers have analysed the role of partners' occupation. The results of this research found that fathers with partners employed at high occupational levels spent more time with their children.

Several recommendations for future research emerge from the results of this study. Scholars should examine occupational homogamy to understand whether this increase in fathers' numbers of hours is due to occupational homogamy or the lack of it. Additionally, it would be interesting to understand how parents bargain and negotiate in their paid and unpaid roles regarding their occupation. Finally, this study suggests that income and educational level are not enough to understand how couples divide their paid and unpaid roles. Examining occupation might contribute to shedding light on parenting behaviours. In particular, the results of this study suggest that scholars should examine the differences in paternal behaviours between two groups of occupations with similar levels of income and education: managers (occupation 1 in this study) and professionals (occupation 2).

## **5.6 Limitations**

This research is not exempt from limitations. As discussed before, the first limitation is regarding the distinction between basic care and developmental care. By making this distinction it could seem that a physical activity like bathing cannot be considered as developmental care, which is not true. However, the reason for keeping

this distinction between basic and developmental care is that activities included in developmental care are considered as having an impact on children's intellectual, physical and social development per se. The second reason for having this distinction between these two types of care is to compare the results with other recent findings (Gimenez-Nadal & Sevilla, 2014; Gracia Molina, 2014; Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010). Another limitation of this study is the lack of information about feelings. Time use surveys allow researchers to have a rich database on activities, but we have no clues about how the participants feel. As illustrated before, spending 10 minutes reading a wonderful book to a child and feeling satisfied with family life is not the same as arguing with a child regarding their bad behaviour at school and feeling frustrated. Both activities would probably be harmonized under the same code (383: playing, reading, talking), but they are totally different.

Another limitation of time use surveys is that they cover 24 hours in a random day. It is also true that the participant states whether the day was a normal day or not. However, having information about a single day is another important limitation that should be considered. Finally, there is also a limitation in terms of the classification of occupations. As Bourdieu stated, "highly detailed classifications may not perfectly identify sets of agents who are placed in homogeneous conditions of existence" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 101). For instance, Esping-Andersen (1993) exemplified that an unskilled worker in a factory and a fast-food counter boy, or a skilled hairdresser and a skilled metal worker have little in common regarding factors such as autonomy, discretion and the link between performance and rewards. Probably, all of them would fit into the same occupational category, but their autonomy and lifestyles could differ substantially.

Despite this limitation, doing an analysis according to occupation can shed light on how certain types of occupations shape parenting behaviours. Overall, this study contributes to the literature about fatherhood in two ways. First, it is the first study to use a time-use survey to examine how Catalan working fathers spend their time. Second, this research contributes to the literature by examining how mothers' occupation affects the time devoted to children by fathers.

# 6 Invisible rewards: The benefits of multiple roles among working fathers.

## 6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter revealed that different independent variables such as age, number of working hours, occupation and partner's occupation were positively related to paternal time with children. At the same time, the academic literature has systematically demonstrated that paternal time is positively associated with children development (Flouri, 2005) and gender equity (Coltrane, 1996). However, as we have seen in previous chapters, little is known about the benefits for fathers themselves. This chapter aims to understand what do working parents learn at home that enriches work and what do working parents learn at work that enriches home, using the model of WFE developed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006). As presented in chapter 2, the authors proposed in their model that five different types of resources might be generated in domain and positively transferred to another one. These five resources are (1) skills and perspectives, (2) psychological and physical resources, (3) social-capital resources, (4) flexibility, and (5) material resources. However, little is known about them and intriguing questions like the following ones:

- *Do the rewards and benefits perceived by working fathers fit into the categories proposed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006)?*
- *Are there other types of resources that have not been considered by Greenhaus and Powell (2006)?*
- *Can we distinguish different rewards in the different directions (enrichment from work to home and enrichment from home to work)?*

These research questions have been almost ignored in the academic literature. Thus, in order to reduce this research gap this thesis aims to gain more insight into the specific sources of enrichment involved in combining multiple roles. As discussed in chapter 4, the most appropriate method for answering these types of questions seems to be in-depth interviews. Additionally, due to the secondary dataset being focused on fathers with children younger than 10 years old, I applied the same requirement to the (social) fathers interviewed in the qualitative part. Thus, the sample for the in-depth interviews was fathers living with young children (under 10 years old), living with their partner, and working full-time.

A total of 20 working fathers participated in this study. As table 6.1 shows, the average age at the time of the interview was 38.6 years. Among all of the working fathers, 30% had completed secondary school, 30% had a bachelor's degree and 40% had a masters degree. Regarding the number of children, 7 of them had one child, 9 had two children, and 4 had more than two children.

**Table 6.1 Sample description**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Median (range)</b>
<i>Educational level</i>				
Secondary school	6 (30.0)			
Bachelor	6 (30.0)			
Master	8 (40.0)			
<i>Age at interview (in years)</i>		38.6	7.2	36 (31-54)
<i>Number of children</i>				
One child	7 (35.0)			
Two children	9 (45.0)			
More than two children	4 (20.0)			

For the main interviews, as explained in more detail in Chapter 4, I conducted one in-depth interview with each working father. Every interview had nine sections: (1) demographic data, (2) work, (3) family, (4) work-family conflict, (5) family-work conflict, (6) work-family enrichment, (7) family-work enrichment, (8) fatherhood, and (9) boundaries. Regarding the data analysis, the semi-structured interviews were analysed in three stages (see chapter 4). Firstly, I wrote a summary for each working father (Appendix 13) The second stage consisted of conducting a thematic analysis on enrichment through the transcriptions. Regarding WFE and FWE, I conducted a line-by-line codification, generating a codebook with common categories, subcategories and some of the descriptions given by the working fathers. Based on the codebook generated in the second stage, the third part of the data analysis consisted of first, rechecking all of the categories and subcategories with the original transcriptions and, second, grouping all of the categories and subcategories in the WFE construct (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). Here, I clearly distinguished the skills, resources and gains obtained at home (FWE) from the ones developed at work (WFE), in order to be loyal to the bidirectionality of the construct.

To do this analysis, I used a qualitative data analysis package<sup>28</sup> to code the seven potential categories of WFE and FWE. Those seven categories were the five described in the work-family construct of Greenhaus and Powell (2006), others and no enrichment. Once the main category was defined, I reviewed the field notes and the transcriptions to determine new subcategories. The following section presents the main results of this study.

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<sup>28</sup> ATLAS.ti (version 7.5.2)

## 6.2 Results

### 6.2.1 Enrichment from work to home

The data analysis revealed that the working fathers identified specific skills, resources and gains developed in both domains, which had a positive impact on the other domain. To illustrate this, I organized the categories and subcategories into two domains (WFE and FWE) following the five types of resources identified by Greenhaus and Powell: (1) skills and perspectives, (2) psychological and physical resources, (3) social capital resources, (4) flexibility and (5) material resources. I also added two other categories and no enrichment. As table 6.2 shows, the working fathers identified nine aspects of work that have a positive impact at home.

As noted before, *Skills* are defined by the authors “as a broad set of task-related cognitive and interpersonal skills, coping skills and knowledge and wisdom derived from role experiences” (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006, p. 80) and *perspectives* involve ways of dealing with different situation and expanding one’s world view. The working fathers varied in terms of the type of skill or perspective that positively influenced home. Hence, five different subcategories emerged within the category skills and perspectives. These subcategories were: (1) organization, (2) technical skills, (3) people management, (4) new perspectives, and (5) other skills.

Organization refers to the act of organizing and seven of the twenty working fathers stated that having a job helps to be more organized and to get things done, which has a clear impact at home. Enric, a painter with two children stated:

When I am working, I think that I should do this first, and then that, and at home I am doing exactly the same. Work helps me to manage better my time, and that it is positive at work and at home.

In the same line, Jaume, a working father of three daughters working as a financial professional said:

Having work helps to have discipline. Without a job, I would wake at 10am, I would do nothing during the day. I know myself. So, having a job gives me discipline.

According to Jaume, it seems that working or having a job gives him discipline, which is very useful at home. He stated that without this discipline generated at work, he would make even less of a contribution than he does now. He strongly believes that his work keeps him awake and “ready for action” and in some sense he keeps this predisposition at home.

The second most frequently mentioned types of skills were technical skills, which are defined as the knowledge and ability needed to accomplish specific technical tasks. Rubén, a technician working in a school, said:

Here at the school I am learning a lot; before I was only an apprentice electrician, and I fixed electrical problems. Now I also solve problems related to the gas, water and building maintenance, which is also useful to solve similar problems at home.

Raül, a parking guard, said the following about the technical skills he had learned at work:

All I know about computers, I learned here [parking]. Now, I feel more comfortable when I work with the computer at home and I can help my wife if she needs it.

In this sense, five working fathers reported that they were developing technical skills at work, which in turn had a positive impact at home. Technical skills were not only related to physical activities such as solving problems related to gas or water maintenance. They were also related to ability with computers, as the last example illustrated, or ability developed at home with finance and numbers, which is useful for domestic accounting.

People management refers to the ability to deal with different personalities and to be tolerant of others that have another point of view. This skill was reported in both directions (WFE and FWE). In this direction (from work to family), Oriol, a purchasing manager of a multinational company and father of three children reported:

A problem between two employees is very similar to a problem between two sons. Obviously, you will not do exactly the same in both cases, but there is a common way to solve this kind of problem. For example, listen carefully to both parts, being a mediator but not a judge... and I have learned all of this in my work.

So, Oriol reported that he had learned how to deal with conflict between his sons through his experience as a manager. Other fathers stated that understanding that each employee is different helped them to understand that each child is also different and needs to be treated differently in order to be treated equally.

The fourth type of skill identified in the first category (skills and perspectives) of sources of enrichment from work to family was “new perspective”. This subcategory could be defined as acquiring a new way of understanding a particular thing in one role that could have an impact on another role. For instance, Enric, one of the two painters interviewed, stated that visiting different homes every day he sees situations and behaviours he likes and situations and behaviours he dislikes. According to him, he tries to imitate the ones he likes and avoid the one he dislikes.

Finally, the fifth subcategory in skills and perspectives is “other skills”. Here there are basically two skills developed at work, which according to working fathers are very useful at home. The first is being “solution-oriented” and the second is “brainstorming”. Eduard, a marketing manager, explained that in a seminar years ago he learned that it is more beneficial to be solution-oriented than problem-oriented. According to him, this new way of managing situations is very useful not only at work but also at home, where he has started to explain this orientation to his children (9 and 7 years old). On the other hand, Oriol, the purchasing manager employed in a multinational firm, and father of three children, stated that brainstorming has become

the norm at home. In his work, it is very common to do a brainstorming before starting a project. Now, in his home, something similar happens. His children have the opportunity to say something regarding different family issues.

The second category of sources of enrichment from work to family is *psychological and physical resources*. These types of resources presumably include physical health, mood, self-esteem and positive emotions such as hope and optimism. In this research, two subcategories emerged within this second group: positive mood and identity. Positive mood refers to the state of feeling happiness or joy. In this case, positive mood as a resource of WFE refers to the transfer from work to home of a particular positive emotional state developed at work. Five working fathers stated that their work makes them happy and that this happiness is transferred to home. On the other hand, the second subcategory was *identity*. Ibarra (2003) defined working identities as what people do, the professional activities that engage them, the company for which they work, and the professional groups to which they belong. One father explained how this working identity had an impact on him.

In my small village, everyone knows me as Enric the Painter. It gives me an identity. I have a role in my small world, and from that point everything flows.

On the other hand, no working fathers mentioning *social-capital resources* as sources of enrichment between work and family. According to the model of Greenhaus and Powell (2006), there are two types of social-capital resources: influence and information. An example of a social-capital resource in work-family enrichment would be work contacts that can exert a positive influence on family life, for instance, by helping to find a doctor for an ill relative. Probably, the reason why no working fathers mentioned this type of resource is because it is very specific. On the other hand, it is possible that the working fathers assumed that networking and information are beneficial for work itself, but not directly for the family.

*Flexibility* refers in their model to “discretion to determine the pace, timing and location at which role requirements are made” (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006, p. 80). Flexibility, together with social-capital resources, has not been mentioned as a source

of enrichment. It is possible that flexibility *allows* enrichment, but it is not necessarily a source of enrichment as Greenhaus and Powell indicated in their model.

*Material resources*, which include money and gifts, are the most frequently mentioned category related to work-family enrichment. Material resources refer to the money obtained at work, i.e. salary. Salary has a positive direct impact at home as one father, who worked freelance, clearly stated:

My salary allows me to choose the best education, health system, and doctors for my son and I appreciate that.

**Table 6.2 Sources of Work-Family Enrichment**

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Subcategory</b>	<b>Working fathers (N=20)</b>
Work (WFE)	<b>Skills and Perspectives</b>	Organization and time management	7
		Technical skills	5
		People management	5
		New perspectives	4
		Other skills	2
	<b>Psychological and physical resources</b>	Positive mood	5
		Identity	2
	<b>Material resources</b>	Money	7
	<b>Other</b>	Cultural capital	3
		Values	2
	<b>Nothing</b>	No WFE	5

Apart from the five sources of enrichment based on the theoretical work of Greenhaus and Powell (2006), two other categories were coded: other and no enrichment. Other was coded five times and two new subcategories emerged from other: cultural capital and values. Following Bourdieu's forms of capital, cultural capital is a third form of capital, in addition to economic and social capital (both considered as sources of enrichment), that is related to the level of culture and cultivation. Cultural capital was coded three times. Following the fathers' arguments and explanations, their jobs and occupations can generate cultural capital (embodied capital) for their children. Consider the following statement from a marketing manager, who understands cultural capital as a source of work-family enrichment:

There is a part of your job, which can be explained. You can explain to your child that a new product will be launched to the market; you can explain the content of your work. They understand what a business is, what is meant by selling; inventing, patenting, going to the market...I think that you can transmit this idea to your children. I remember that my father did it with me. He explained to me what a balance sheet was, and I am doing the same with my children.

Finally, "no work-family enrichment" was also coded. It is also interesting to examine the cases who reported no enrichment, to really understand the work-family role system. In total, 5 fathers perceived no enrichment from work to home. For them, work-family enrichment does not exist, as Javier, the owner of a Brand firm illustrated:

I'm not sure. I do not think I would be a worse father if I had another job with less intellectual requirements. If I were a dustman, I would probably be a better father. So, having a better job is not giving me more resources that help me to be a better father. I do not see a direct impact. It is my opinion.

In this line, a purchasing manager for a fashion firm said:

I am able to organize and coordinate my purchasing department, but at home I am not able to plan when I am going to do the shopping.

The WFE construct is bidirectional, meaning that work can provide resources that increase the quality of family life (WFE) and family can provide resources that increase the quality of work life (FWE). For that reason, it seems quite obvious to think that the resources developed in the two domains will not be the same. The following section presents the sources of enrichment from home to work.

### 6.2.2 Enrichment from home to work

The working fathers identified eleven aspects developed at home (see table 6.3) that have a positive impact at work and these can be classified into five types of resources according to Greenhaus and Powell (2006). The working fathers also varied in terms of the type of skill or perspective that positively influenced their work. Hence, eight different subcategories emerged within the skills and perspectives category. These subcategories include: (1) sensitivity, (2) patience, (3) responsibility, (4) people management, (5) new perspectives, and 6) other skills.

*Sensitivity* was the most frequently mentioned category related to family-work enrichment. Sensitivity includes aspects like “express your feelings”, “be understanding in a relationship”, “learn to love in a profound way”, “be *soft* as a manager”. Six of the 20 working fathers stated that having a family helps them to be more *sensible, or human* at work. A freelance journalist, Guillem, who draws weekly for a famous Catalan newspaper stated:

Having a family helps you when you have a sensitive job like mine. In this sense, if I was single I would be financially stronger, I would have more energy to work and to find new clients, and I would produce more. However, at a qualitative level, I think that I would not be as good as I am now. This is thanks to the patience,

empathy, and humility developed at home with my four kids and my wife. Living in a family is a very enriching thing for my job. I try to transmit the humanism learned at home into my drawings.

Patience, which in some sense is related to sensitivity, was reported by six working fathers. According to them, caring for a child requires patience. For sure, it is not easy to measure patience, but six fathers stated that they are more patient now than before having their first child. At the same time, they reported that they are not only more patient at home, but also at work.

Responsibility is another of the subcategories of *skills and perspectives*. Responsibility refers to the fact of being responsible. A comment from a parking guard clearly illustrates this:

When I was young, I was not a responsible guy. My wife has helped me to change myself. My daughter has done the same; she has given me a good sense of responsibility. As I said before, some days I don't want to clean the parking; nonetheless, if I think of my daughter then I feel the energy to do it.

People management is also a subcategory of skills and perspectives as it was in the previous section. It refers to the ability to deal with different personalities and to be tolerant of others who have a different point of view. Three working fathers reported that having a family is a source of enrichment for managing people in their organizations. On the other hand, two more subcategories emerged in this first group: new perspectives (having the ability to understand things in another way) and other skills (negotiation skills).

More than half of the working fathers interviewed for this study stated that their family was an important emotional support for them, which in turn had a positive impact at work. An engineer said that his family is the ultimate support that he has and it has a positive effect on his work. In contrast, none of these working fathers reported social-capital resources, flexibility or material resources as enrichment from family to work. An example of social-capital resources from home to work could be when a family member provides information about a particular job.

Flexibility was not considered by these working fathers to be a source of enrichment. That is an interesting point because almost all of the fathers mentioned the support of different family members (especially their parents or parents-in-law), which help them when it is necessary. The role of grandparents is especially interesting in Catalonia and Spain (see Chapter 2). However, flexibility was not considered by these working fathers to be a source of enrichment. Obviously, flexibility may lead to enrichment but according to them flexibility was an *enabler* to achieve balance but not a source of enrichment per se. Finally, material resources were also not reported as a source of enrichment. An example of material resources from family to work would be when parents pay a master degree for a son or a daughter, which will help the person to have a better job. Nonetheless, none of the fathers in this study reported this type of enrichment.

**Table 6.3 Sources of Family-Work Enrichment**

Domain	Category	Subcategory	Working fathers (N=20)
Family (FWE)	Skills and Perspectives	Sensitivity	6
		Patience	6
		Responsibility	3
		People management	3
		New Perspective	2
		Other skills	2
	Psychological and physical resources	Support	12
	Other	Values	3
		Long term project	1
	Nothing	No FWE	2

Apart from the five sources of enrichment based on the theoretical work of Greenhaus and Powell (2006), of which three have not been mentioned, two other categories were coded: other and no enrichment. Other was coded four times and two new subcategories emerged from it: values and long-term project. Three working fathers reported that they had developed key values in their respective families, which shape their attitudes and behaviours at work. Across the twenty interviews, “no family-work enrichment” was only coded twice. One of these fathers reporting “no enrichment from family to work” argued that he was not sure whether the enrichment was due to the family or to his age and maturity.

### 6.3 Discussion

According to the model of Greenhaus and Powell, there are five types of resources that might be developed indistinctly in one role and have a positive impact on a second role. The main novelty of this research is that it shows (1) how the resources generated at work are not the same as the resources generated at home, (2) that not all of the resources proposed in the model of Greenhaus and Powell are considered sources of enrichment, and 3) that new sources of enrichment were identified.

Enrichment may be bidirectional (e.g., from work to home and from home to work) (Chen, Powell, & Cui, 2014; Chen & Powell, 2012; Masuda, McNall, Allen, & Nicklin, 2012). According to the model of Greenhaus and Powell (2006), there are five types of resources that may be generated indistinctly in one domain and have a positive impact on the other one. The model does not give any clue about the *distinctiveness* of the rewards generated in one role or another one. The model (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006) and the valid measure of WFE (Carlson et al., 2006) assume that in each domain skills and knowledge are generated but there is no research about *which* particular skills/resources of enrichment are generated in each domain. The aim of this research is to gain more insight into the specific sources of enrichment involved in combining multiple roles.

Our results suggest that the sources of enrichment from work to home are different from the sources of enrichment from home to work. Regarding WFE, working fathers identified three types of sources of enrichment, which are in line with the theoretical model proposed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006), and they added two more categories to be considered. On the other hand, two categories were proposed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006) that were not reported in this research: flexibility and social-capital resources. Working fathers did not consider flexibility as a source of enrichment. They considered working flexibility as a condition to spend more time at home, but not as a category itself. On the other hand, none of the working fathers reported social-capital resources (information and networking) as a source of enrichment from work to home. They considered that social capital resources are normally useful for improving quality of life in the same domain, but not for improving quality of life in another one. An example of a social-capital resource in work-family enrichment would be work contacts that can exert a positive influence on family life, for instance, by helping to find a doctor for an ill relative. Probably, the reason why no working fathers mentioned this type of resource is because it is very specific.

As noted before, three categories were identified as sources of enrichment from work to home: skills and perspectives, psychological and physical resources, and material resources. Five different subcategories emerged within the first category, skills and perspectives. These subcategories were: (1) organization, (2) technical skills, (3) people management, (4) new perspectives, and (5) other skills. In general, work helps working fathers to be more organized at home, to have more discipline, to learn technical skills that are very useful at home (e.g., domestic accounting) and to deal with different personalities and to be tolerant of others that have a different point of view. On the other hand, working fathers also reported material resources as an important source of enrichment from work from home. I call this type of enrichment *visible rewards*. I understand visible rewards to be all of the resources generated in one domain that have a positive and visible impact on another domain. For example, as one father stated, his job allows him to choose the best schools and doctors for his child. It is true that not all of the resources generated from work to home are visible,

but in some sense they are more *visible* (e.g., organization, technical skills) than the ones developed from home to work, which I consider to be *soft* skills (e.g., sensitivity or patience).

Eight different subcategories emerged within the category skills and perspectives from home to work. These subcategories include: (1) sensitivity, (2) patience, (3) responsibility, (4) people management, (5) new perspectives, and (6) other skills. As explained before, *Sensitivity* was the most frequently mentioned category in relation to family-work enrichment. Sensitivity includes aspects like “express your feelings”, and “be *soft* as a manger”. Other skills like empathy, responsibility and people management are in the same line. I call this type of skills *invisible rewards*. I understand invisible rewards to be all of the resources generated in one domain that have a positive and invisible impact on another domain. A very interesting case was one father who was also a manager, who stated that having a child had led him to become a “soft” manager. For him becoming a soft manager was a positive thing, because now he is able to be understood and to be tolerant with his colleagues.

On the other hand, it is also interesting to compare the psychological resources generated in both domains. *Positive mood* was the most frequently mentioned resource from work to home, whereas family support was the most frequently mentioned resource from home to work. On the one hand, fathers stated that work can have a positive impact at home due their job satisfaction, which permeates at home. On the other hand, working fathers reported family support as a source of enrichment from home to work. While the former is a mental state (positive mood), the latter implies more than that (family support).

Finally, two new categories were identified from work to home, cultural capital and no enrichment, and two new categories were also identified from home to work, values and no enrichment. Little is known about how cultural capital is transmitted (Bourdieu, 2000b; Sullivan, 2001). We have evidence of how economic and social capital produce inequality among children. However the role that cultural capital has remained unknown. Parents’ work might be a source of cultural capital for the children, but this remains understudied.

Finally, “no work-family enrichment” was also coded. It is interesting to examine the cases where the fathers reported no enrichment, to really understand the work-family role system. In parallel to the publication of the WFE model (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006), the same authors argued in another conceptual article (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006) that not only does a resource need to be generated in one role to have a positive impact on another role, but also this new resource needs to be applied successfully to the other role. According to the authors, enrichment might not occur along the instrumental mechanism under three different conditions that will be discussed in the following chapter.

# 7 Fathers' occupation and Work-Family Enrichment

## 7.1 Introduction

The results in Chapter 6 show that the majority of fathers reported some kind of work-family enrichment (WFE) as well as family-work enrichment (FWE). However, little is known about which type of fathers reported more WFE and FWE. The research questions that guide this last analytical chapter are:

- *Do all working fathers experience the same level of WFE?*
- *Under what circumstances does WFE really exists?*

More precisely, I am interested in understanding the relationship between fathers' occupational level and work-family enrichment. In chapter 5, we have also analysed the relationship between occupation and paternal time. It seems also interesting to understand here the relationship between occupation and enrichment.

- *Do fathers employed in higher-level occupations experience more work-family enrichment than fathers employed in middle- or lower-level occupations?*

As explained in Chapter 4, this study on the relationship between occupation and WFE is also based on semi-structured interviews with Catalan working fathers. I used a qualitative data analysis package to code the seven potential categories of WFE and FWE. Those seven categories were the five described in the work-family construct of Greenhaus and Powell (2006), together with others and no enrichment. Once the main category was defined, I reviewed the field notes and transcriptions to determine new subcategories.

I also divided the working fathers into three groups according to their occupation: high occupational level (n=6), middle occupational level (n=9) and low occupational level (n=5). The qualitative data analysis software allows the user to create different families to see if there are common patterns. Each occupational level was a family and this helped me to produce the results, which are described in the next section.

As table 7.1 shows, six working fathers were employed at a high occupational level. All of these fathers were top managers in their organizations (e.g., a CIO with a team of more than 100 people, or an MBA from Harvard leading a team in an important consultant firm). According to the ISCO classification, these 6 working fathers are in group 1 (managers). At the middle occupation level, we found nine fathers employed in occupations 2 (professionals) and 3 (technicians and associate professionals), according to ISCO.

One important limitation is that more than one father may be classified in the first group (e.g., journalists). However I found it more interesting to keep this distinction between managers (high) and professionals/technicians (middle) for two reasons. First, fathers employed in managerial positions have common patterns (very long working days, integrators, high income, career focus, partner characteristics). Second, ISCO also distinguishes managers as a different group. Finally, five working fathers were classified in the last category: low occupational level. Among other occupations, there were two painters and one parking guard in this group.

**Table 7.1 Working fathers by occupational level**

Name	ISCO occupation	Type of occupation	ISCO Group	Classification for this study
Francesc	1120	Managing directors and chief executives	1. Managers	High occupational level
Òscar	1120	Managing directors and chief executives	1. Managers	High occupational level
Javier	1120	Managing directors and chief executives	1. Managers	High occupational level
Genís	1219	Business services and administration managers	1. Managers	High occupational level
Eduard	1221	Sales and marketing managers	1. Managers	High occupational level
Bernat	1330	Information and communications technology service managers	1. Managers	High occupational level
Carles	216	Architects, planners, surveyors and designers	2. Professionals	Middle occupational level
Oriol	242	Administration professionals	2. Professionals	Middle occupational level
Ignasi	243	Sales, marketing and public relations professionals	2. Professionals	Middle occupational level
Guillem	264	Authors, journalists and linguists	2. Professionals	Middle occupational level
Mario	2359	Teaching professionals not classified elsewhere	2. Professionals	Middle occupational level
Martí	2422	Policy administration professionals	2. Professionals	Middle occupational level
Jaume	331	Financial and mathematical associate professionals	3. Technicians and associate professionals	Middle occupational level
Sergio	3116	Chemical engineering technicians	3. Technicians and associate professionals	Middle occupational level
Joan	3122	Manufacturing supervisors	3. Technicians and associate professionals	Middle occupational level
Adrià	441	Other clerical support workers	4. Clerical support workers	Low occupational level
Rubén	7126	Plumbers and pipe fitters	7. Craft and related trade workers	Low occupational level
Enric	7131	Painters and related workers	7. Craft and related trade workers	Low occupational level
Isaac	7131	Painters and related workers	7. Craft and related trade workers	Low occupational level
Raül	9629	Other elementary service workers not classified elsewhere	9. Elementary occupations	Low occupational level

## 7.2 Results

The aim of this chapter is to understand how occupation affects the form and strength of work-family enrichment. 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted with Catalan Working fathers to explore the aim of this chapter.

### 7.2.1 Enrichment from work to home

The analysis of the semi-structured interviews found a variety of forms and strengths of WFE and FWE among the working fathers. Table 7.2 illustrates the categories and subcategories of work-family enrichment (WFE) by type of occupation. Categories with less than 2 cases were not included (social capital and flexibility).

**Table 7.2 Categories and subcategories of WFE by type of occupation**

Domain	Category	Subcategory	<i>n</i> =6 High occupational level	<i>n</i> =9 Middle Occupational level	<i>n</i> =5 Low Occupational level
Work (WFE)	Skills and Perspectives	Organization		3	4
		Technical skills		2	3
		New perspectives		3	1
		People management	3	2	
		Other skills		2	
	Psychological and physical resources	Positive mood	2	3	
		Identity		1	1
	Material resources	Money	2	3	2
	Other	Cultural capital	2	1	
		Values	2		
	Nothing	No WFE	2	2	1

As explained throughout this thesis, five types of resources were identified in the work-family enrichment construct of Greenhaus and Powell (2006). These five types are the following (1) skills and perspectives, (2) psychological and physical resources, (3) social capital resources, (4) flexibility, and (5) material resources. However, little is known about the specific skills that can be transferred from one domain to another. Chapter 6 shed light on understanding which particular skills are developed at work that can have a positive impact in the family. In this section, we distinguished between the participants according to three types of occupational level (high, medium and low) to examine whether the form and strength of enrichment differs across occupation. The working fathers reported different types of skills and perspectives that positively influence home. Hence, the same five different subcategories emerged within the category skills and perspectives. These subcategories were: (1) organization, (2) technical skills, (3) new perspectives, (4) people management, and (5) other skills. However, the contribution of this chapter is to understand if people with homogenous occupations experience similar levels of enrichment.

Organization refers to the act of being organized and the ability to manage one's time (time management). Four of five working fathers employed in lower-level positions (i.e., parking guard) reported that "organization" has positively influenced their role as a father. In their workplaces they are learning new ways of organizing themselves that are having an impact on their homes. Three out of nine working fathers in middle-level occupations also stated that organization is a source of work-family enrichment. For instance, organization is also highlighted in this statement made by a working father, Sergio, who is in charge of a warehouse:

My job is to organize the warehouse; at home I also try to organize everything. I'm pretty methodical and I like to see things in their place. Here in the warehouse everything must be in its place, and also at home.

However, none of the six working fathers at a high occupational level reported organization as a source of enrichment. In fact, the only dimension of skills and

perspectives that fathers at a high occupational level reported was people management. People management refers to the ability to deal with different personalities and to be tolerant of others who have a different point of view. As three of these six working fathers stated, having a top position allows them the opportunity to improve their ability to manage a team and that has a direct positive impact at home. They argued that managing a team and a family is almost the same.

You learn a lot about being a boss and the thing I like the most about being a boss is to manage people and to modify certain behaviours and this is what I am doing with my children. What you learn in your work about how to treat people, how to be honest, how to be strict enough, how to explain the goals and how to challenge your team, you can apply it at home. At home it is the same. The way I behave as a boss and as a parent is quite similar, and you learn how to be a boss at home, and how to be a father at work.

Technical skills are another subcategory of skills and perspectives. Technical skills refer to the knowledge and ability needed to accomplish specific technical tasks. While three of the working parents with low occupations stated that technical skills are a source of enrichment, none of the fathers working in higher-level occupations reported this type of enrichment. Rubén, a technician working in a school, explained this particular source of enrichment, as we have seen before:

Here at the school I am learning a lot. Before I was only an apprentice electrician and I fixed electrical problems. Now I also solve problems related to the gas, water and building maintenance, which is also useful to solve similar problems at home.

Nevertheless, it was not only fathers employed in lower-level occupations who reported technical skills as a source of enrichment. Two working fathers with middle-level occupations also reported these types of positive spillover between the two domains. Jaume, a father of three daughters working in an accounting department clearly explained:

Working with numbers helps me a lot. Now, I am more meticulous than before with the domestic accounting. I guess this is because I am working with numbers the whole day.

*Psychological and physical resources* are resources such as self-esteem, health or support. The subcategory that emerged in this category in this analysis was positive mood. Positive mood refers to a positive emotional state that in this case positively influences another role. It is interesting to highlight that we only find this subcategory in fathers employed in higher-level occupations. These working fathers argued that they are happy with their jobs and that has an impact on their family. The Chief Information Officer (CIO) of a gambling company stated:

My job enriches me. I am good, I am happy with the work I am doing. So, if I am happy and motivated, this is positive for my family.

There were no significant differences in considering material resources as a source of enrichment between work and family. Across the three occupational levels, material resources was coded seven times, twice in working fathers in higher-level positions, three times in fathers employed in middle-level positions, and twice in fathers working in lower-level occupations.

Apart from the five sources of enrichment based on the theoretical work of Greenhaus and Powell (2006), two other categories were coded: other and no enrichment. Other was coded five times and two new subcategories emerged from other: cultural capital and values. Following Bourdieu's forms of capital, cultural capital is a third form of capital, in addition to economic and social capital (both considered as sources of enrichment) that is related to the level of culture, cultivation, *bildung*. Cultural capital was coded three times, twice in working fathers in higher-level occupations, and once in fathers employed in middle-level occupations. Following their arguments and explanations, their jobs and occupations can generate cultural capital (embodied capital) for their children. Consider the following statement from Bernat, who started up his high-tech company after being employed in the aeronautical sector, stated:

Our jobs influence our children. The nature of work, the culture, the language have an influence. Sometimes it has a negative impact, but sometimes it has a positive influence. Specifically, I teach my son [7 years-old] a lot of things about my work, electricity, I show him new machines that we develop...So, my job influences him, as a son of a doctor, or a lawyer or an entrepreneur... they are influenced by their father's work. So, the profession has an influence on the family.

As this illustrative example shows, the nature of work can be a source of cultural capital for children but this remains understudied.

Finally, “no work-family enrichment” was also coded. It is also interesting to examine the cases who reported no enrichment to really understand the work-family role system. Across the three occupational levels “no work-family enrichment” was coded five times, twice in working fathers in higher-level positions, twice in fathers employed in middle-level positions, and once in fathers working in lower-level occupations. Like other fathers, Ignasi stated that work and family are two domains with two different logics:

The truth is that I think it is easier to convince people at work than at home. My persuasion techniques are not working at home. For instance, I can convince all the people that work with me, but I am not able to convince my wife. It is not the same. You can't apply the same techniques in both domains. Apart from that, I am different at work than at home. At work I am organized, structured, I have a clear schedule. At home it is different. I am less serious, chaotic, funny. At work, you are serious for too many hours.

### 7.2.2 Enrichment from home to work

The analysis of the semi-structured interviews also found a variety of forms and strengths of family-work enrichment across the three types of occupational levels. Table 7.3 illustrates the categories and subcategories of family-work enrichment (FWE) by type of occupation. Categories with less than two cases were not included.

**Table 7.3 Categories and subcategories of FWE by type of occupation**

Domain	Category	Subcategory	<i>n</i> =6	<i>n</i> =9	<i>n</i> =5
			High occupational level	Middle Occupational level	Low Occupational level
Family (FWE)	Skills and Perspectives	Sensitivity	4	2	
		Patience	1	5	
		Responsibility		1	2
		People management	3		
		New Perspectives	1		1
		Other skills	1	1	
	Psychological and physical resources	Support	5	6	1
Other	Values		2	1	
	Long term projects	1			
Nothing	No FWE		1	1	

While the results for work-family enrichment seem to show a variety of forms across occupational levels, the results for family-work enrichment show a variety of forms, but also strengths, across the three occupational levels. Fathers employed in high and middle-level occupations reported more sources of enrichment than fathers in lower-level occupations.

As in the previous section, seven potential categories were selected: five categories described in the work-family construct of Greenhaus and Powell (2006), others and no enrichment. Social capital, material resources and flexibility were not reported as a source of family-work enrichment across the 20 semi-structured interviews. An example of material resources in this direction (family > work) would be when a family member gives money to fund some studies that lead to better job perspectives. An example of social capital would be when a family member informs another family member about a potential position in a particular organization. However, neither material resources nor social capital have been mentioned in this section.

Six subcategories emerged from the *Skills and perspectives* category: sensitivity, patience, responsibility, people management, new perspectives and other skills. Sensitivity refers to the ability to treat others or consider others' opinions with more empathy and affection. Sensitivity was coded six times, four times in fathers in higher-level positions and twice in fathers employed in middle-level positions. A business owner, Javier, stated that having a child had changed him as a manager:

It softens you. I am more empathic, more open to admit errors. It softens you. Managers without kids seem Attila.<sup>29</sup>

None of the five working fathers employed in lower-levels occupations reported sensitivity as a source of enrichment. Similarly, patience was not coded across this group. However, they reported other forms of family-work enrichment. Responsibility was coded three times, twice in fathers working in lower-level occupations, and once in fathers employed in middle-level occupations. To understand what responsibility means for them, consider this statement as an example:

You become more responsible at work. Personally, I take my job more seriously. Now, I can't afford to lose my job.

People management is also a subcategory of skills and perspectives, as it was in the previous section. It refers to the ability to deal with different personalities and to be tolerant of others who have a different point of view. Again, only fathers in higher-level occupations reported this type of enrichment. In this case, they argued that having a family is a source of enrichment for managing their teams better. New perspectives (i.e. taking things less seriously) and other skills (i.e. negotiation ability) also emerged from skills and perspectives and were each coded twice.

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<sup>29</sup> Attila the Hun. Leader of the Hunnic Empire, who was known for his cruelty and barbarism.

*Psychological and physical resources* were coded eleven times. The subcategory that emerged in this category was family support. It is interesting to see that only fathers employed in higher and middle-level occupations reported this type of enrichment.

Due to my responsibility, people tell me different problems during the day. It is useful to arrive at home, and Mònica [his wife] listens to me. It allows you to de-stress yourself.

Apart from the five sources of enrichment based on the theoretical work of Greenhaus and Powell (2006), two other categories were coded: other and no enrichment. Other was coded four times and two new subcategories emerged from other: values and long-term projects. Across the twenty interviews, “no family-work enrichment” was only coded twice. One of these fathers who reported “no enrichment from family to work” argued that he was not sure whether the enrichment was due to the family, or due to his age and maturity.

### 7.2.3 A qualitative portrait of working fathers by occupation

According to the classification of working fathers into three groups of occupations, the following patterns were found. As table 7.4 summarizes, working fathers employed as managers are a relatively homogeneous group. Almost all of them had a master degree and they were employed as managers, executives or business owners of different organizations. Without exception, they had long working days. Normally, they worked from 9am to 8pm. Francesc stated that he worked from 8:30am to 1pm and from 3pm to 7:30pm/8pm with a lot of exceptions and extra hours. In the same line, Òscar highlighted that he used to work until 9:30pm, but now with the arrival of his baby he finishes at 8pm. Genís also stated that his normal schedule is from 9am to 8pm with a lot of extra hours and with an hour and a half for commuting from his work to his house.

Their participation at home is relatively low, especially with household chores. They are interested in *quality* moments with their children, but household chores and the rest of childcare are not a priority. Take this quotation from Javier as an example:

I would say that we [he and his wife] are very involved in our careers and not involved in our homes, if home means housework. We are not interested; in fact, it is a disaster, a mess. We earn a lot of money, but sometimes our fridge is empty. My children are still laughing because I decided to do the grocery shopping online. We have an online list with the last items we bought. I accepted the last list but nothing happened, I clicked again and the same...finally it worked. The thing is that every time that I clicked I added a new list, so when we received our order, there was a truck in front of our door...with at least 32 packs of toilet tissues...my kids are still laughing.

Work was very important to all of them, not for the money, but for the possibility of self-fulfilment and fun and in some cases because it was a *vocation* or a *calling*. In fact, we can consider that in these cases there is an important devotion to work. Blair-Roy found that the work –devotion schema (Blair-Loy, 2003) “is both coercive -many workers feel forced to comply- and seductive -workers may also believe that a strong work ethic helps form their sense of self and self-worth” (Williams, Blair-Loy, & Berdahl, 2013, p. 211). In general, they consider themselves more integrators at home and segmentists at work (Ashforth et al., 2000; Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2009), meaning that they prefer to separate work and family when they are working, but there is no problem with work when they are at home.

They tend to experience a high level of enrichment in both directions, but at the same time they experience conflict. Again, Javier explained how his wife’s work interferes at home. According to him, “she is on two or three boards of directors, she owns 25% of a family business, she is doing some consulting with a finance department and she has her own clients”. He stated:

She doesn’t have a fixed schedule. At 9pm she is talking with a client and doing the homework with the children at the same time. It doesn’t work.

In general, these managers experience high levels of enrichment but at the same time high levels of conflict. These results are in line with the findings of Innstrand and her colleagues, who showed that church ministers experience more enrichment but also more conflict (Innstrand et al., 2010). According to the authors, they experience the best and the worst between work and family because they are always “on duty”. Something similar happen with managers, who are also always “on duty”.

Surprisingly, managers were the group of fathers who reported more free time for themselves, although they were also the group that reported longer hours and more work devotion. Four out six reported that they were able to find free time for themselves. Genís, who worked from 9am to 8pm and commuted for one and a half hours per day, reported that he ran two days per week, he played soccer on Friday and he rode every Sunday. Bernat also reported that he ran for three or four hours per week, and he also read for an hour every day.

In contrast, fathers working at a low occupational level reported different stories. They normally had a fixed working day, with few extra hours but also with poor flexibility and autonomy. Furthermore, they reported low levels of conflict, but also low levels of enrichment, which is again in line with the results of the study by Innstrand and her colleagues (Innstrand et al., 2010). Their contribution at home was also quite low, although there were some exceptions. One of these fathers, for example, stated that ironing is a task that “is delegated to my wife”. On the other hand, they made some effort to spend more time with their children. Isaac, one of the two painters, said that he left his job at 4pm two days per week in order to accompany his child to soccer training. In general, they spent more time with their children in the afternoon than fathers employed at a high occupational level; however they did not highlight the concept of *quality* moments. Finally, work was important for basically one reason: money. However there were a couple of exceptions, a painter, who was fully motivated by his work, and Rubén, who stated that working was important for three “E” reasons: economy, entertainment and emotional reasons.

Finally, fathers employed at a middle occupational level reported a higher contribution at home compared with the other two groups. In this group, there was an

architect and a journalist among other professionals and technicians. In this group, almost all of the fathers had a bachelor's degree and although their work was important to them, they defined their life priorities as family focused or career-family focused. They normally had standard working days (from 9am to 6am), with some exceptions and extra hours but on average a shorter day than the managers and a more flexible day than the fathers employed in low occupational level positions. Their partners normally worked full-time and had a standard schedule. In contrast, the fathers at a high occupation level had partners who also worked full time but with compressed weeks or full flexibility, which allowed them to have more time with their children in the afternoons. Finally, in this third group (middle occupational level) the average number of children per couple was higher (2.6). One couple had four children, three couples had three children, three more couples had two children, and finally two couples had one child. In contrast, in the rest of the groups all of the couples had one or two children.

**Table 7.4 Summary of in-depth interviews with working fathers.**

	High occupational level (n=6)	Middle occupational level (n=9)	Low occupational level (n=5)
<i>Occupation</i>	Top Managers, business owners	Middle managers, professionals	Craft workers, clerical and elementary workers,
<i>Education</i>	High education (e.g., MBA in Harvard)	Tertiary education	Secondary Education
<i>Working day</i>	Long working day (from 9am to 8pm)	Standard working day (from 9am to 6pm), extra hours and flexibility.	Fixed working day, compressed week. Few extra hours, poor flexibility.
<i>Participation at home</i>	Low	Moderate/high	Low/moderate
<i>Life priority</i>	Career focused, career and family focused	Family focused, career family focused	Family focused, career and family focused
<i>External help</i>	Yes	Yes/No	No
<i>Number of children</i>	1, 2,1,2,2 (average 1.6)	4,2,2,3,3,1,3,2,1,3 (average 2.6)	1,1,2,1,2 (average 1.4)
<i>Typology of division of labour</i>	Dual earners, neo-traditional by choice	Dual earners, Egalitarian arrangements	Dual earners, neo-traditional by necessity
<i>Women employment status</i>	Working full time (compressed week), freelance (full flexibility), or not working (by choice)	Working full time (normal and compressed week).	Working full time (Compressed/normal week), or not working (due to circumstances)
<i>Reasons why work is important</i>	Vocational, self-fulfilment, fun	Economic, emotional, vocational in some cases	Economic reason. Identity.
<i>WF conflict</i>	High	High/medium	Moderate
<i>FW conflict</i>	Medium/high	Moderate	Moderate
<i>WF enrichment</i>	High (no direct)	High (direct/indirect)	Moderate (Money, technical skills)
<i>FW enrichment</i>	High	High	Moderate
<i>Boundaries</i>	Segmentist at work, Integrators at home	Not a common pattern	Segmentists

## 7.3 Discussion

The aim of this chapter was to examine how occupation affects the form and strength of work-family enrichment. The findings from this analysis suggest that occupation might be associated with the variety of forms and strengths of enrichment. However, not all of these findings are in line with previous studies.

### 7.3.1 Understanding the mechanism: Why some fathers report enrichment while others do not

As shown previously, one quarter (n=5) of the working fathers reported no sources of enrichment from work to home. It is interesting to see how these five working fathers are distributed between the three types of occupational level. Two out of six working fathers (33%) at the high occupational level reported no WFE, while only two out of nine (22%) and one out of five (20%) working fathers in middle-level and low-level occupations, respectively, reported no WFE.

As discussed in the previous chapter, it was a surprise to find a substantial number of working fathers reporting “no enrichment”. This is even more surprising because all of these fathers reported in previous questions that they had learned new things at work. So, why did they report “new learning” at work but “no enrichment” from home to work? In parallel to the publication of the WFE model (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006), the same authors argued in another conceptual article (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006) that not only does a resource need to be generated in one role to have a positive impact on another role, but also this new resource needs to be applied successfully to the other role. According to the authors, enrichment might not occur along the instrumental mechanism under three different conditions.

The first case is when role A does not generate any resource. The second case is when a resource is generated in role A but is not applied in role B (Powell & Greenhaus 2006, p. 653). For example, a person learns a lot about electronics at work but this is not useful at home. The third and most important case for this discussion is when a resource is developed in role A but unsuccessfully transferred to role B. In this case, the resource developed in role A might be positively transferred to role B, but for different reasons it is not applied to role B. What is interesting is to understand the reason behind this “inappropriate application”.

For a better understanding of the causes of “inappropriate application” of learning from one domain to another, we can take the example of the marketing manager who argued that:

My persuasion techniques are not working at home. For instance, I can convince all the people who work with me, but I am not able to convince my wife. It is not the same. You can't apply the same techniques in both domains.

When Ignasi, the marketing manager, argued that, “it is not the same”, he was referring to the two domains (work and family) having different logics. In line with this, in a study with male executives, Bartolomé (1983) found that incorrect assumptions are one of the important factors that hurt and negatively affect executives' private lives. According to Bartolomé, one of the most dangerous assumptions that male executives often make is that managing a family is easy. Some of the managers in his study were extremely competent at work but not at home. As Bartolomé suggests one of the problems that these managers faced was trying to apply their work attitudes (authoritarian, short term focus) at home, where family members probably desire less direction and more affection (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006). Returning to the quote from the marketing manager, he confessed that he was not able to apply the same techniques in both domains, because in fact, each domain has different norms and requirements.

Little attention has been paid to the norms and requirements of both realms. Contemporary scholars often fail to integrate classical philosophical contributions in their work-family balance studies. For example, the German philosopher Tönnies (1887/1963) distinguished between community (*Gemeinschaft*) and society (*Gesselschaft*) and tried to understand the different logics and dynamics of the two types of associations. Family is one of the best examples of *Gemeinschaft*, and a capitalist firm is a good example of *Gesselschaft*. While the relationships in the former type of association are old and intimate relations normally based on solidarity, love and the long term, the latter involves new and public relationships normally based on own interest, utilitarianism, and the short term. Humans often participate actively in both domains. When these two domains require contrasting norms and behaviours, behaviour-based conflict might occur (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Greenhaus and Beutell argue that the behavioural styles of male executives at work (power, aggressiveness) may be incompatible with desires in the family realm (Beutler, Burr, Bahr, & Herrin, 1989). That could be one of the reasons why a surprising number of the working fathers admitted having no enrichment from work to family. It might also be possible that fathers employed in “soft organizations” (e.g., schools, cooperatives, NGOs), where the norms, requirements and behaviours are less “aggressive” are more likely to experience less behaviour-based conflict and have the possibility of generating enrichment from work to family.

On the other hand, it is interesting to see that the majority of the fathers (18 out of 20) reported enrichment from home to work. Sennett (1998), in his book *Corrosion of the character*, highlighted that the parameters and premise of the new capitalism (no long term, no loyalty) seems to affect family relations. According to the author, the logic of the market is permeating into the logic of the family. However, is it also possible that the logic of the family permeates into the logic of the market? Òscar, the owner of a branding agency, explained how his family had helped him to create a new environment in his own company. His family had helped him to create his company as a long-term project, to treat people as unique individuals, and in general, to apply the behaviours expected at home (warmth, nurturance, care) at work.

### 7.3.2 Enrichment is not the opposite side of conflict

The overall reading (Grzywacz et al., 2002; Grzywacz & Butler, 2005; Innstrand et al., 2010) seems to support that fathers employed in complex jobs tend to experience more enrichment and also more conflict. Our findings suggest that the strength of work-family enrichment does not differ substantially across occupational level, but work-family enrichment was experienced in a variety of forms. While fathers in higher-level occupations reported people management and positive mood (emotional enrichment) as a source of enrichment (work > family), fathers employed in middle and lower-level occupations reported technical enrichment (organization and technical skills). The results in the other direction (family to work) of enrichment are in line with previous findings (Grzywacz et al., 2002; Grzywacz & Butler, 2005; Innstrand et al., 2010). Fathers in complex jobs experience more family to work enrichment than fathers in lower-level occupations, as well as more conflict. So, with some exceptions, fathers employed in high level occupational positions seem to experience more enrichment but also more conflict.

It is interesting to highlight that enrichment and conflict are not the opposite sides of the same coin (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006) as we might think. Enrichment and conflict seem to be the opposite ends of the same continuum, but in fact, the opposite of enrichment is “no enrichment” and the opposite of conflict is “no conflict”. Grzywacz and Marks (2000) analysed whether enrichment and conflict were isomorphic or orthogonal constructs. Their empirical evidence showed “that negative spillover from work to family, positive spillover from work to family, negative spillover from family to work, and positive spillover from family to work were four distinct dimensions of work-family balance” (p. 122). The authors concluded that each dimension was orthogonal with regard to the rest of dimensions. Greenhaus and Powell (2006) also concluded that work-family enrichment and work-family conflict were independent constructs after reviewing several studies that measured both dimensions.

These conclusions are in line with the results of the Norwegian study (Innstrand et al., 2010), where WFE and WFC were measured across eight different occupational groups. Counterintuitively, the authors also found that bus-drivers were the group with the lowest scores on work-family enrichment but also on work-family conflict. Moreover, church ministers were the group with the highest level of WFE and one of the highest levels of WFC, together with lawyers and advertising workers. According to the authors, boundary theory (Hall & Richter, 1988; Kreiner et al., 2009; Rothbard, Phillips, & Dumas, 2005) may explain this situation. People who completely separate their work and family domains (low levels of permeability and flexibility) are called “segmentors” or “separators” (Ammons, 2013), while people who completely integrate work and family life (high levels of permeability and flexibility) are known as “integrators”. Kossek and Lautsch (2008) added a third type of boundary strategy, which consists of switching between separating and integrating the roles. It is also possible that some people could define themselves as integrators at work (family can enter), but segmentors in their families (work cannot enter), or vice versa, segmentors at work (family has no space) and integrators at home (work can easily enter). Returning to the Norwegian study (Innstrand et al., 2010), church ministers were found to be the group with more permeability and flexibility; they are always “on duty”, and the fact of being “on duty” and open to frequent transitions, physical and psychological, between both domains, might generate high levels of enrichment, but high levels of conflict as well.

Similar to church ministers, executives also reported always being “on duty” and defined themselves as “integrators”, above all when they were at home. This could be one of the reasons why fathers in high occupational positions, especially when they have a managerial position, reported high levels of enrichment but also high levels of conflict. On the other hand, fathers employed in low-level jobs could be in a similar situation to the bus drivers, where due to their lack of flexibility and permeability, enrichment might not occur, but nor does conflict.

Another counterintuitive result is the finding that low levels of family to work enrichment were experienced by fathers employed in low-level positions. We might expect to find no significant levels of enrichment from work to home due to the

nature of these particular jobs, but not in the other direction (family to work). In this case, we should again distinguish between enrichment and learning. All of the fathers reported that they learn new things from their wives/partners, and from their children. However not all of the fathers reported the same level of enrichment from family to work. This is not due to lack of learning, but rather it is due to “inappropriate application” of this new learning in a particular job. Some fathers reported that having children had helped them to enhance their people management skills. However, only a few reported people management as enrichment, and those were the fathers in managerial positions. So, it is crucial not to confuse enrichment with learning. Fathers learn constantly from their families, but this learning does not always become enrichment between the two domains.

### 7.3.3 Sensitivity and other “soft” abilities

The academic literature has often oversimplified the role of men and fathers as pure breadwinners. It is obvious that the contribution of men at home has been generally poor, even compared with mothers working full time. This asymmetry regarding the contribution at home or lack of domestic democracy has led to a significant number of scholars thinking and writing about this disproportionate contribution at home, and in general, this unfair masculine domination (Bourdieu, 2000a). These works have played a crucial role in identifying the inequality at home and fostering more gender equity.

However, the same literature that has fostered gender equity has often failed to give a complete picture of men, reducing them to the classical masculine attributes such as power, authoritarianism and virility, and reducing fatherhood to breadwinning, which in part was true. However, as Lamb (2008) suggests, “social scientists ignored not only the others features of fatherhood, but also subcultural variations in the definition and conceptualization of fatherhood (p.25).

A recent article (Bailey, 2010) from the historical association shows that the ideal father in England in the period c.1750-1830 was also “tenderly affectionate,

sensitized and moved by babies, he provided hugs, material support and a protective guiding hand” (p. 267). Thus, is new fatherhood really new? It seems that there is a consensus that the dominant (not unique) ideal of fatherhood during recent decades has shifted from the moral teacher, to the breadwinner, to the sex-role model to the new nurturing father of today (Lamb, 2000). Currently, there is a growing interest in understanding the benefits of “involved fathers” not only for their children, but also for their wives and partners. However, little attention has been paid to the benefits of fatherhood for fathers themselves (Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001) and their jobs. In particular, one of the aims of this study was to understand the benefits of an active fatherhood in the fathers’ workplaces. Through the model of WFE, we have analysed the sources of enrichment that fathers develop at home, which have a positive impact at work. Surprisingly, sensitivity was the dimension that was reported most by work fathers as a source of enrichment from home to work followed by patience and responsibility. Today, there is a special call for workers and managers to develop soft skills (Duncan & Dunifon, 2012) such as empathy, working in a team, or communication with others, for “long-run labour market success”. One of the novelties of this research is that it shows that the soft skills that employees of the 21<sup>st</sup> need are developing closer than we think: in their homes.

## 8 Conclusions

While fatherhood has become a hot topic in academia and in the political arena during recent years, fathering is becoming a central part of the lives of many fathers in post-industrial societies. Empirical evidence suggests that a growing number of fathers want to be actively engaged with their children (Ellison et al., 2009) and at the same time a growing body of studies regarding contemporary fatherhood seem to suggest that there has been “an irrevocable change across discourse, practice and policy” (Dermott & Miller, 2015, p. 190).

Without any particular intention to study a hot topic, I have elaborated this thesis at a very interesting and changing time. On the one hand, journals regarding men (e.g., *Men and Masculinities*), fathers (e.g., *Fathering*) and households (e.g., *Review of Economics of the Household*) are gaining notoriety in the academic world, as well as new special issues (Miller & Dermott, 2015) and books (Ruspini & Crespi, 2016) about fatherhood, while on the other hand, some countries have developed and successfully implemented very interesting parental leave policies and other programmes to foster fatherhood involvement (Moss & Deven, 2015), not only in Nordic countries (Brandth & Kvande, 2016), but also in liberal welfare countries (Baird & O’Brien, 2015). In Catalonia, there has also been a governmental effort to promote fatherhood involvement (Grau-Grau, 2014) and responsible organizations towards parents (Chinchilla & Grau-Grau, 2015).

In addition, men and fathers seem to be in transition. Although hegemonic masculinity (Jewkes et al., 2015) and the low participation of men at home is still an enduring challenge for many societies, empirical evidence shows that something is changing (Parker & Wang, 2013): men have increased their participation at home, either by necessity or by choice during the last decades (Gauthier et al., 2004), more fathers have decided to stay at home (Stevens, 2015) and fathers are doing childcare

and household activities that before were done mainly by women (Craig & Mullan, 2010).

It is also true that all of the empirical evidence reveals that women continue to devote much more time to childcare and household activities than men, and the results of this thesis are not an exception. However, in a changing environment like this one, it seems very interesting and challenging to study men, and particularly, fathers. Thus, this thesis has three different aims that have been tackled using mixed methods. The first aim was to explore the contribution of Catalan working fathers at home with children under 10 years old and to understand the factors explaining fatherhood involvement. Intriguing questions that guided this aim were: How much time do working fathers devote to their young children in Catalonia? Why are some fathers more involved than others? Does educational level affect the time devoted to children? Does a father's occupation affect the time he devotes to his children?

Using for the first time the Catalan Time Use Survey (EUT10) for that purpose, the results showed that Catalan mothers spend more than twice as much time on basic care than Catalan fathers, which is nothing new. However, this study has attempted to comprehend which factors are associated with a high level of fatherhood involvement. Understanding these factors might give some clues with regard to reducing gender inequality.

In order to examine the predictors of fatherhood involvement, this thesis developed the measure of paternal time, which was divided into four types of activities: total care, basic care, developmental care and secondary care. Drawing on the previous literature on the "cultural capital" argument, I assumed that well-educated fathers are more likely to integrate equality norms (Sayer, Gauthier, et al., 2004) and consequently devote more time to their children. For that reason, hypothesis 1a stated that well-educated fathers are more likely to devote more time to their children than other fathers. To empirically test this hypothesis, education was used as a categorical variable with six categories: primary or below (1), lower secondary (2), upper secondary (3), post-secondary non-tertiary (4), bachelor's (5), and Masters or PhD (6). Using OLS regressions, this research showed that educational level is positively

related to fathers devoting more time to their children. Therefore, this thesis finds support for hypothesis 1a. This finding is in line with previous empirical studies examining the relationship between education and fathers' time spent with children (Craig, 2006b; Gimenez-Nadal & Molina, 2012; Gracia Molina, 2015; Sayer, Gauthier, et al., 2004). Thus, education seems to be a key predictor of fatherhood involvement.

Drawing on previous literature that suggests that fathers with a high income are more likely to have a job which offers flexible arrangements, and the possibility to delegate household duties in order to spend more time with their children (Bianchi, Cohen, Raley, & Nomaguchi, 2004; Sayer, Gauthier, et al., 2004), hypotheses 1b of this thesis stated that fathers with a high income are more likely to devote more time to their children than other fathers. In order to test this hypothesis, I reduced the number of income categories from 10 to 4: less than 1,300 € (1), from 1,301 € to 1,700 € (2), from 1,701 € to 2,200 € (3), and more than 2,200 € (4). In this case, the OLS regression did not find any significant result in terms of the relationship between income and childcare. Therefore, hypothesis 1b was rejected. In fact, these results are in line with the results of the qualitative analysis. The working fathers employed in high-level occupations, who presumably earn more money, worked without any exception from 9am to 8pm, leaving little free time for family demands, especially in a family with small children. They also emphasized the idea that household chores were not important to them, or at least not a priority. One of the managers stated that he only does what adds value. For example, for him sweeping added no value; "anyone can do this task" he added. So, when he is at home, he prefers to devote his time and energy to things that have a *meaning*. What it is interesting in this case, is that this couple decided not to have domestic help, although both work full-time and earn enough money to delegate some of these tasks. As a consequence, the responsibility for doing the *no-meaning* tasks like sweeping fell to his wife. Examples like this show that despite important advancements in men's participation at home, men still seem to decide in which activities they will participate, and in which not.

In this line, relative resources theories (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Brines, 1993; Emerson, 1962) assume that the partner with more resources (i.e., money, education, occupation) in the relationship will show more power and that this power will be translated into more power in the decision making, and consequently less time devoted to domestic activities. According to this theory, we might assume that fathers with more power at home are more likely to be less domestically involved. Drawing on this argument, we might also expect that fathers with more power in a relationship will be more likely to spend less time on less prestigious or unappealing childcare activities. In other words, fathers with more power are more likely to decide which type of childcare activities they do. Empirical evidence suggests that working fathers tend to do the “fun part” of childcare (Gracia, 2014; Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2010). Drawing on these arguments, hypothesis 2a of this thesis stated that well-educated fathers are more likely to devote more “developmental care” time to their children than other fathers, and hypothesis 2b stated that fathers with a high income are more likely to devote more “developmental care” time to their children than other fathers.

The descriptive analysis revealed that fathers with a high educational level devoted more developmental care time than their counterparts. Additionally, fathers with a higher educational level (masters and PhD) devoted a considerable proportion of their time to developmental childcare. In fact, fathers with postgraduate level education devoted 20 minutes less of basic time (53 minutes) to their children than fathers with a bachelor’s degree (73 minutes). As some scholars have revealed, this difference could be explained by the delegation of basic or unappealing activities in order to focus on the *fun* or developmental part. Regarding income, the descriptive analyses did not reveal any interesting pattern. Using an OLS regression to test both hypotheses (2a and 2b), the results confirmed a weak association between education and developmental care. Therefore hypotheses 2a and 2b were rejected. However, these results together with the results from the in-depth interviews with working fathers seem to suggest that fathers are in some sense choosing which activities they want to be involved in.

The relative resources theories assume that the partner with more power in a relationship is more likely to do less domestic duties than the other partner. In fact, I think that the correct axiom should be that the partner with more power in a relationship is more likely to do less unappealing tasks. For example, traditionally these unappealing tasks have been mainly household duties, as well as childcare activities. Today, childcare is important for many fathers, because they are aware of the positive benefits of parental care for their children. Thus, they devote more time to their children than previous generations (Sayer, Bianchi, et al., 2004). However, the results of this study lead me to think that contemporary fathers are in some sense choosing which kind of childcare activities they do. Obviously, my results are not conclusive and my sample only examined a small number of fathers in a particular context. Nevertheless, some evidence like the high percentage of “fun” activities from the total care in the quantitative analysis, and some comments from the in-depth interviews with Catalan working fathers have led me to think that fathers have some margin to decide which activities they want to be more involved with, and that continues to perpetuate gender inequality.

On the other hand, drawing on a time-availability perspective and the previous literature we might expect fatherhood involvement to be explained by a lack of time constraints (Drobnic & Guillen Rodriguez, 2011; Hiller, 1984). For that reason, we may expect number of working hours to be negatively related to fatherhood involvement and partner’s working hours to be positively related to fatherhood involvement. Following this rationale, hypothesis 3a stated that number of (paid) working hours is negatively related to fatherhood involvement and hypothesis 3b stated that partner’s number of (paid) working hours is positively related to fatherhood involvement. The OLS analysis revealed a significant negative relationship between number of hours and childcare. Therefore, we find support for Hypothesis 3a. These findings mean that all of the remaining variables being equal, an increase of one working hour per week implies a reduction in total childcare of one and a half minutes per day. In contrast, we also tested the number of working hours (partner) and found no significant association. The results in this model

confirm a weak association between number of working hours (partner) and parental time. Therefore, hypothesis 3b was rejected.

Finally, also drawing on a time-availability approach, we might expect type of occupation to have a clear impact on the number of hours devoted to work and consequently to home. I assume that this is especially true for managers, who are always “on duty” (Innstrand et al., 2010). However, for other fathers in high-occupations (i.e. doctors, university professors) I assumed that the cultural capital argument would be more powerful than the time-availability rationale. Thus, these fathers will make an extra effort to devote more time to their children. On the other hand, we might assume that mothers with high-level occupations will be more likely to be highly committed in their jobs and therefore this will be positively related to fatherhood involvement. With regard to that, hypothesis 4a stated that fathers with managerial occupations are more likely to devote less time to their children than other fathers in high-level occupations and hypothesis 4b stated that fathers with partners in high-level occupations are more likely to devote more time to their children.

The findings of this study showed that a father’s occupation seems to be positively associated with the time devoted to children. However, these results were not significant. Therefore, hypothesis 4a was rejected. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see the difference between occupation 1 (managers) and occupation 2 (professionals like doctor or university professor) in the descriptive analysis. Fathers employed in occupation 2 are devoting 20 minutes more per day to their children than fathers employed in occupation 1 (managers). In addition, the fun proportion of total care in fathers employed in occupation 1 (35%) is higher than the fun proportion of total care in fathers employed in occupation 2 (32%). It is also interesting to see how this proportion declines in other occupations (see occupation 5: 24%). From these results, although as I said before they are not significant, new intriguing questions arise. On the one hand, more research distinguishing between fathers employed in high-level occupations is required. These results seem to suggest that managers deserve special attention and that more disaggregate results are needed. Empirical evidence suggests that fathers with more education or income are more likely to devote more time to

their children. However, the results of this study suggest that we can find interesting differences among fathers with similar levels of education and income. One way to understand the differences between fathers with the same education and income is to examine them by occupation. Occupation, despite having its own limitations (see chapter 3), can give important information about working conditions, level of autonomy and in some sense, priorities. Understanding partners' occupations might be also useful to understand fatherhood involvement.

In this thesis, partners' occupations were strongly positively associated with fathers' time devoted to children and these results are significant. These results confirm a strong association between partners' occupation and paternal time. Therefore, we find support for hypothesis 4b. This finding is one of the novelties of this research. Despite the existence of empirical evidence on how the mother's characteristics (Gracia Molina & Esping-Andersen, 2015; Koslowski, 2010; Raley, Bianchi, & Wang, 2012; Schober & Scott, 2012; Zick, Bryant, & Österbacka, 2001) play an important role in fatherhood involvement, very few papers have directly analysed the role of occupation (Shows & Gerstel, 2009). The results of this thesis seem to suggest that the role of partner's occupation matters more than we might expect on the level of fatherhood involvement.

Despite several strengths, this study is not exempt from shortcomings. The first limitation is that it reduces fatherhood involvement to paternal time. Involvement is more than *devoting* minutes, even time is a crucial dimension of involvement. According to Lamb and his colleagues (1985, 1987), fatherhood involvement is a multidimensional construct with at least three dimensions: engagement, accessibility and responsibility. This study seems only to shed light on the former dimension (engagement). New methods are required in order to capture a full understanding of fatherhood involvement.

Another limitation of all studies that use a time-use survey is the lack of information about feelings. It would be important for future research to link time and feelings, not only information about how the person felt during the activity, but also after doing such an activity. Another potential limitation of this type of study is that they are

based on the data of a particular random day. Participants have the possibility to report whether this particular day was a normal one or not; however, it is *only* a day.

Apart from the empirical contribution with regard to the first aim of this thesis, the methodological novelty of this thesis is twofold. First, it is one of the first studies to examine the factors predicting paternal time in the Catalan context and second it is the first study to use the Catalan Time Use Survey (2010-2011) developed by the IDESCAT for that purpose. Methodologically speaking, one of the strengths of this thesis is that it used mixed methods to shed new light on contemporary fatherhood. The second and third aims of this thesis are related to the benefits of fatherhood involvement for fathers themselves. As I argued before, there has been an intense scholarly debate on the conflict between work and family, but a relatively small amount of attention on the positive side of combining work and family responsibilities. More specifically, the second aim of this thesis was to gain more insight into the specific sources of enrichment involved in combining multiple roles among working fathers. The following intriguing questions helped me to guide this research: Do the rewards and benefits perceived by working fathers fit into the categories proposed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006)? Are there other types of resources that have not been considered by Greenhaus and Powell (2006)? Can we distinguish rewards from different directions (enrichment from work to home and from home to work)? What do working parents learn at home that enriches work? What do working parents learn at work that enriches home?

The results from the 20 in-depth interviews with working fathers suggest that not all of the rewards and resources perceived by working fathers fit into the model developed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006). While it is true that fathers reported different skills, psychological and physical resources and material resources as the model describes, working fathers did not consider either flexibility or social capital resources as a source of enrichment in either direction (WFE, FWE). The reason for not considering flexibility as a source of enrichment is because flexibility is seen as an important *enabler* of the process of enrichment, but it is not a source in itself. On the other hand, social capital resources were not mentioned during the interviews. An example of social capital resources could be when a colleague (work) recommends a

doctor for a child (home), or when a family member (home) provides information about an available position (work) to another family member. However, this source of enrichment was not mentioned in any case.

In addition, two other categories of sources of enrichment appeared during the interviews: cultural capital and values. Following the fathers' arguments, their jobs might generate cultural capital for their children. For example, one father stated that his father used to talk to him about balance sheets and how companies work, and this has helped him in his working life and he is doing the same with their children. This is a source of enrichment between work and family that has not been considered in the model developed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006) and it seems that this deserves more scholarly attention.

On the other hand, and following the research questions, the sources of enrichment from work to home (WFE) were different than the resources from home to work (FWE). In general, work seems to help working fathers to be more organized at home, to have more discipline, to learn technical skills and to deal with different people. Additionally, working fathers reported material resources (income) as one of the most important sources of enrichment. I call this type of enrichment *visible rewards*. On the other hand, fathers seem to benefit from *invisible rewards* from home to work. Above all other sources of enrichment, *sensitivity* was the dimension that was reported most by working fathers as a source of enrichment from home to work. Shedding more light on *invisible rewards* could be a way to foster more fatherhood involvement and to offer another perspective beyond the image of the *ideal worker*. According to these results, fathers who actively engaged at home did not necessarily become worse workers; rather they developed new abilities that are totally necessary for companies in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century such as sensitivity, patience and empathy.

The image of the *ideal worker* is not helping men to participate at home, because if they participate at home they violate this image, and consequently they are seen as less serious and committed. Contemporary companies should make an extra effort to go beyond the traditional image of the ideal worker and to encourage fathers (and

mothers) to fully develop themselves in all of their roles, instead of continuing to ask for exclusivity, which in the long term is not beneficial either for the employees (Blair-Loy, 2009) or for the companies (Kelly, Moen, & Tranby, 2011).

On the other hand, one of the contributions of this thesis is that it sheds more light on each specific category of resources proposed in the model of WFE (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). As far as I know, there is no research that has examined which specific skills, knowledge and resources are hidden in each category. This thesis has attempted to reduce this gap. As an example, from the first category of sources of enrichment from home to work (skills and perspectives), this study found five new interesting subcategories: organization and time management, technical skills, people management, new perspectives and other skills.

These subcategories give some clues as to what working fathers learn at work that can have a positive impact at home. As an illustration, a working father employed as a manager stated that leading a team with people with different needs helps him to be a better father, because he had learned at work that everyone has different needs and should be treated differently, in order to be treated equally in the end. According to him, this is applicable at home, especially with children. This thesis offers the reader other illustrations of sources of enrichment generated at work that are positively transferred at home. However, it is important to highlight that this study was conducted with a small sample in a particular place, i.e. Catalonia. Therefore, more research in this line is needed in order to confirm these new types of sources of enrichment. On the other hand, this study also presents interesting sources of enrichment from home to work. As an example, this study presents 6 new subcategories in the category skills and perspectives. After analysing the interviews with working fathers, the following sources of enrichment appeared: Sensitivity, patience, responsibility, people management, new perspective and other skills. The example of the freelance journalist is very illustrative. According to him, if he were single he would probably have more energy to work and find new clients, but at a qualitative level he thinks that he would probably not be as good as he is now, because through being involved with his four children he has developed a special sensitivity that he transmits into his drawings. Again, these results are preliminary

and it is not possible to generalize them to other working fathers. Nevertheless, these findings could serve as a starting point and might encourage further research on the relationship between fatherhood involvement and job performance.

At this point, it is interesting to answer other intriguing questions: if enrichment exists, do all working fathers experience the same level of WFE? Under what circumstances does WFE really exist? Do fathers employed in higher level occupations experience more work-family enrichment than fathers employed in middle or lower level occupations? These research questions helped me to guide the third and final aim of this thesis: to examine the relationship between fathers' occupation and WFE enrichment.

The results of chapter 7 revealed that not all fathers experience the same level of WFE and interestingly occupation again plays an important role. To investigate this, I divided the working fathers into three groups according to their occupation: high occupational level, middle occupational level, and low occupational level. It is very interesting to see how each group reported different types of sources of enrichment. As an illustration, while fathers employed in low and middle occupational level positions reported skills like organization, technical skills or new perspectives, fathers employed in higher-level positions were the only ones who reported new sources of enrichment that were not considered in the original model of WFE developed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006) such as cultural capital and values. According to this group of fathers, having this type of job could be beneficial for their children because whether intentionally or not, these children are in some sense familiarized with their fathers' jobs and this increases their embodied cultural capital (i.e., linguistic capital, socialization). An engineer explained that he talked with his son about the new products he was going to launch and that might have a positive impact on him. According to this father, his young son learns new words, new knowledge and has a new perspective that could make a difference in the future.

Interestingly, and counterintuitively, this thesis also found that fathers in low-skilled positions reported poor levels of family to work enrichment (FWE). What is surprising is that almost all of these fathers reported during the interviews that they

learn things from their wives and children and through the process of being a father. However, probably due to “inappropriate application” of this new learning to their jobs, they reported low levels of FWE. In contrast, fathers in higher-level positions reported high levels of family to work enrichment. Almost all of them reported sensitivity, patience, people management or new perspectives. They learned these skills at home and they applied them at work. The difference with fathers in lower-level occupations is that although they learn these new abilities they are not able to apply them at work due to the idiosyncrasy of their jobs.

Another important contribution of this thesis is that enrichment was not the opposite side of the coin to conflict. As one theoretical article has suggested (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006), this study found that the opposite of enrichment was no-enrichment, which is not the same as conflict. In the same line, the opposite of conflict was no-conflict. So, according to these findings, every working person with a family can experience four different situations: (1) No-enrichment and no-conflict, (2) No-enrichment and conflict, (3) enrichment and no-conflict, and (4) enrichment and conflict. The results of this thesis seem to suggest that fathers employed in lower-level positions experience low levels of conflict, but at the same time low levels of enrichment. For example, a painter stated that he did not experience work-family conflict because, first, he works freelance and he has enough autonomy and control of his work to manage unexpected situations and, second, he has a good schedule (8am to 4pm), which allows him to spend the time he wants with his family. At the same time, he experienced no enrichment (in either direction). According to him, his job does not enrich his family life. In addition, he stated that the learning developed at home cannot be applied in his job due to its idiosyncrasy. These results are in line with the findings of Innstrand and her colleagues (2010), who revealed that bus-drivers compared with people in other occupations experienced less conflict but at the same time less enrichment. Furthermore, this thesis found that fathers in higher-occupational positions were the group who reported more enrichment, but at the same time more conflict. This group, composed of managers, was characterized by having work overload and long working days, which did not allow for spending all of the time they wanted with their families, although they had the proper tools and

resources (e.g., policies, autonomy) to revert the situation. At the same time, this group reported higher levels of enrichment. This could be explained by boundary theory, which examines how people segment or integrate different roles. According to this theory, high levels of permeability and flexibility across roles may cause enrichment, but at the same time conflict. Managers tend to be integrators, at least while they are working, and that could help to increase the levels of conflict and enrichment at the same time.

Interestingly, two managers reported no enrichment. That could be explained by having opposite behaviours in different roles. As one marketing manager stated, while he is warm, close and funny at home, he is cold, distant and serious at work. Having a behavioural conflict between different roles (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) could be the reason for not experiencing enrichment.

Again, despite its strengths, the qualitative analysis of this study has limitations that should be highlighted. Firstly, the results are based on 20 interviews with working fathers from a particular context in a particular region of a particular country. The results should only be used as a starting point to keep examining specific resources and subdimensions of work-family enrichment among fathers, or for rebuilding the current dimensions of the model of WFE, if that is the case. However, the purpose was never to extrapolate the current results of this study to a broader sample. Finally, a third limitation of this study is that because I interviewed fathers with different backgrounds in order to have a bigger picture, I noticed that not all of them had the same ability to talk about and express their feelings, learning process and experiences about this intimate topic. Not expressing your feelings or not being able to describe your learning processes and experiences in relation to a particular topic does not automatically mean that these feelings, processes and experiences do not exist, but it is the work of the researcher (and it really is hard work) to decipher this.

On the other hand, this thesis assumed in the analytical chapter that three types of fathers coexist and have coexisted for many years. Following the categorization of other scholars (Eerola & Huttunen, 2011; Kaufman, 2013; Kekäle, 2007; Marks &

Palkovitz, 2004), I distinguished the following types of fathers: *the real man*, the *I want, but I can't*, and the *involved father*. *The real man* can be defined as the father who does not want to be involved at home, does not show affection or signs of being soft, and demonstrates very residual participation at home. In contrast, the two remaining groups of fathers have in common that they want to be involved at home. However the difference between these two groups lies in their conduct (LaRossa, 1988) and behaviours (Dermott, 2008). The *I want, but I can't* father is characterized by stating that he wants to spend more time at home, for contributing at home with childcare activities and household duties that the previous generations did not contribute to, but with the important limitation of time together with cultural and organizational barriers. This type of father, as Kaufman (2013) stated, is able to make minor adjustments (e.g., ask for a permission for a specific day), but not major adjustments (e.g., looking for a new job or a new sector) to devote more time to his family. This group of fathers, who in fact were the most common in my analysis, is still dominated by the image of the *ideal worker*, and is not able to violate this image because it might have important consequences for their careers.

Finally, the *involved father* can be defined as a father who wants to be involved with his family, as a father who equally shares the household duties, as a man who does not fit the hegemonic masculinity ideal, as a man who is able to make major adjustments if the situation so requires, and as a man who is aware that being an involved father, apart from the benefits for his children and himself, contributes to reducing gender inequality.

Achieving a sane, fair and equal society is only possible if men understand that their contribution at home and in the workplace is crucial for reducing gender inequalities; if governments understand that contemporary families need policies that allow them to fully balance their work and family needs; if organizations take seriously the need to provide a healthy environment for their employees; and if scholars continue to shed light on issues that can improve the daily lives of human beings.

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# Appendix

## A1. Distribution of “normal” working weeks (1914-1930)

	42h	48h	54h	60h	66h	Total
1914		14.7	11	69.3	5	100
1920	3.2	86	6	4.3	0.5	100
1925	2.9	94.3	1.3	1.5		100
1930		97.7	1.3	1		100

Source: Llonch Casanovas (2004)

## **A2. A multidimensional scale of perceived work-family positive spillover**

“My involvement in my work...

Work to family development

1. Helps me to understand different viewpoints and this helps me be a better family member
2. Helps me to gain knowledge and this helps me be a better family member
3. Helps me to acquire skills and this helps me be a better family member

Work to family affect

4. Puts me in a good mood and this helps me be a better family member
5. Makes me feel happy and this helps me be a better family member
6. Makes me cheerful and this helps me be a better family member

Work to family capital

7. Helps me feel personally fulfilled and this helps me be a better family member.
8. Provides me with a sense of accomplishment and this helps me be a better family member.
9. Provides me with a sense of success and this helps me be a better family member.

My involvement in my family...

Family to work development

10. Helps me to gain knowledge and this helps me be a better worker
11. Helps me acquire skills and this helps me be a better worker
12. Helps me expand my knowledge of new things and this helps me be a better worker

Family to work affect

13. Puts me in a good mood and this helps me be a better worker
14. Makes me feel happy and this helps me be a better worker
15. Makes me cheerful and this helps me be a better worker

Family to work efficiency

16. Requires me to avoid wasting time at work and this helps me be a better worker
17. Encourages me to use my work time in a focused manner and this helps me be a better worker
18. Causes me to be more focused at work and this helps me be a better worker”

(Carlson et al., 2006, p. 147)

### A3. An Overview of Catalonia

Today, Catalonia is officially an autonomous community, *Comunidad Autónoma*, of Spain. This region has a triangular extension of more than 32,000 km<sup>2</sup> in the northeast of Spain, and is bordered by the Pyrenees in the north, the Mediterranean Sea in the east, Aragon in the west and Valencia in the south. Thanks to its geographical location, Catalonia has been a gateway to Europe. Its official population is 7,518,903, which represents 16% of the total population of Spain and 1.5% of the total population of the European Union (see table A3). The contribution of the Catalan economy to Spain is 19% of the Spanish GDP (OECD, 2010). The Catalan capital is Barcelona and the official languages are Catalan and Spanish.

**Table A3 Population in Catalonia**

	Catalonia	Spain	EU28	% Catalans in Spain	% Catalans in EU28
Population (2014)	7,518,903	46,771,341	506,824,509	16.1	1.5

Source: IDESCAT, INE, EUROSTAT (2014)

The Catalan territory has been home to Iberians, Greeks, Romans, Visigoths, Muslims and Franks.<sup>30</sup> However, the notion of a Catalan culture started under the hegemony of the Counts of Barcelona in the Middle Ages. The historical elements that enhanced the sense of a national personality were the internal political unification around the county of Barcelona, the consolidation of the Catalan language, and the creation of a different legal system and certain political institutions that tended to unify the country (Sobrequés, 2007). The first representative and legislative bodies in Catalonia, *assemblies de pau i treva*, were established in 1027 by Abbot Oliva to limit the violence of feudalism. Two institutions established in Catalonia during the thirteenth century showed the openness of Catalonia: the Parliament of Catalonia, which originated in 1283 (*Les Corts Catalanes*), and the

<sup>30</sup> For more about the history of Catalonia, see Soldevila (1962)

*Consell de Cent*, a governmental institution of the city of Barcelona (1249) with a structure of one hundred individuals. However, the Parliament and *Consell de Cent* were abolished in 1714.

During the twentieth century, there were two important efforts to return Catalonia to autonomous status: *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* (1914-25) and the Statute of Autonomy in 1932. After forty years of Franco's dictatorship, the 1978 Constitution and the new Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia in 1979 finally offered a new political framework for the Spaniards and Catalans. The first session of the new Parliament of Catalonia was held on April 10, 1980. In 2006, the Statute was modified to give more autonomy to the Catalan institutions.

#### **A4. The normal chaos of the Catalan schedules**

*School.* There is an incompatibility between school hours and working hours. A normal schedule in primary education is from 9am to 12:30pm and from 3pm to 4:30pm in public schools<sup>31</sup>. At the same time, a *normal* working day in Catalonia is from 9am to 2pm and from 3pm to 6pm, although a significant part of the working population has a non-standard schedule (Craig & Powell, 2011). However, a *normal* working day makes it difficult for working parents to leave their children at school at 9am, have lunch with them and pick them up again on time. It is for this reason that many Catalan working parents decide to leave their children before normal school hours, feel obligated to leave their children to have lunch at school or with grandparents, and organize after-school activities, not only because of the benefit of these extracurricular activities but also due to a lack of time. At the same time, the lunch break in primary education is extremely long; the lunch break in public schools lasts for two and a half hours. The majority of working parents, despite also having long lunch breaks, are not able to organize their time to have lunch with their children.

Another important source of conflict with school hours is the mismatch between primary and secondary education schedules<sup>32</sup>. While children in primary education have a two-and-a-half-hour lunch break and finish school at 4:30pm, children in secondary education have a shorter school day. A normal school day in secondary education starts at 8am and finishes at 2:30pm, adding more complexity to this situation. Moreover, there is another issue regarding school hours: the time difference between public and private schools. Private schools teach for one more hour per day than public schools. The normal schedule in primary education is from 9am to 1pm and from 3pm to 5pm instead of 9am to 12:30 and 3pm to 4:30pm.

Another source of incompatibility between school and work is students' long summer breaks. While students in Germany (6 weeks), England or Wales (6 weeks),

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<sup>31</sup> Government of Catalonia (ORDRE ENS/59/2015, Article 4).

<sup>32</sup> Government of Catalonia (ORDRE ENS/59/2015, Article 5).

or Norway (8 weeks) have a reasonable summer break,<sup>33</sup> the summer break in Catalonia and Spain is 12 weeks long. In 2015, the course officially finished on June 19, and the next course began on September 14<sup>34</sup>.

*Work.* One of the main characteristics of the Catalan working day is its length. This does not necessarily mean that Catalans spend more hours working than their neighbours; it simply means that the working day (the difference between the time people start working and the time people complete their work) is quite long. The main reason for this long working day is, again, the long lunch break. It is normal to have 2 hours for lunch, even in large multinational and companies. Additionally, shops normally close from 1pm to 5pm and reopen in the afternoon from 5pm to 8:30pm, with the exception of large malls, which do not close during lunch time. This long lunch break inevitably affects the time people that finish their working day. There are three main reasons for the long lunch break in Catalonia and the rest of the Spain. The first reason is the climate. Peasants and people working in the agricultural sector used to have long lunch breaks normally accompanied by a *siesta* during summertime, due to the adverse climate conditions. The high temperature during summertime did not allow peasants and agriculture workers to be in the field. The second reason is a historical reason. After the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the situation was almost as bad as during the war. This is what we know as the postwar period, *Postguerra*. Salaries were so low that people had to have two full-time jobs in one day (Romero, 1999), one in the morning and another in the afternoon (*pluriempleo*). In these precarious conditions, a break for lunch and rest was needed. The third reason is a cultural reason. As Mediterranean people, Catalan people like to eat well (Ribas-Barba et al., 2007) and relatively slowly. It is a cultural characteristic to eat a first course, a second course, a dessert and coffee or tea. There is nothing wrong with eating well and slowly, but it obviously has an impact on the length of the working day.

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<sup>33</sup> European Commission. Organisation of school time in Europe. (Retrieved June 20<sup>th</sup>, 2015). [http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/facts\\_and\\_figures/school\\_calendar\\_en.pdf](http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/facts_and_figures/school_calendar_en.pdf)

<sup>34</sup> Government of Catalonia. Retrieved June 20<sup>th</sup>, 2015 [http://ensenyament.gencat.cat/ca/arees\\_d\\_actuacio/centres\\_i\\_serveis\\_educati/centres/calendari\\_escolar/curs\\_2015\\_2016/](http://ensenyament.gencat.cat/ca/arees_d_actuacio/centres_i_serveis_educati/centres/calendari_escolar/curs_2015_2016/)

The lack of flexibility of Catalan organizations is another factor that makes Catalan schedules slightly more chaotic. The rigidity of many Catalan and Spanish organizations does not help working parents organize themselves. According to a study on employees' perspectives of their quality of employment (Grau-Grau, 2010), almost 70% of Spanish employees reported that they have fixed start and finish times for work. In Europe (EU27), 60% of employees have fixed start and finish times for work, so we can consider Catalonia and Spain less flexible than average EU countries. However, the same report found that although 44.5% of European employees can take breaks when they wish, only 39.7% of Spanish employees reported the same. Finally, this report found that only 30% of employees in Spain - there is no data available from Catalonia - are free to choose when to take holidays.

*Family.* With this lack of flexibility and the long working day that Catalans normally experience, it is obvious that there is room for improvement in the quality and the quantity of family time. Due to the length of the working day, Catalans have a late dinner. Restaurants normally open from 8:30pm to 11:00pm, and people have dinner together at home between 9:00pm and 10:00pm. This is an exception in Southern Europe, where even Italians, who have a similar lifestyle, have dinner almost two hours before Catalans and Spaniards. Moreover, another habit is that Catalans do not have breakfast with the rest of their family members. There are certainly exceptions, but in general, Catalans have a quick breakfast with few interactions with family members. The fact of not having breakfast together is another lost opportunity for family time. Thus, if Catalans do not normally have breakfast together and working parents, despite having a long lunch break, are not going home for lunch, family time is often reduced to the (late) afternoons. This situation generates considerable tension between couples due to little time for children and for themselves. However, there is no significant research examining this conflict in Catalonia.

Although Catalonia could be considered an open society due to its geographical location and its old industrial sector, it can also be defined as a traditional society. Catalan households, as will be discussed in this section, still have a traditional gendered division of work. Even though dual-earner couples are becoming the norm, women continue to work the second shift (Hochschild & Machung, 1989) at home.

According to Bourdieu (2000a), male dominance is sufficiently well ensured to not require justification. As Bourdieu noted, symbolic power is an unconscious domination within everyday life. The dominant vision of sexual division is expressed in different ways. For instance, this unconscious domination could be expressed as the structuring of space, the organization of time, or the division of household responsibilities. This unconscious domination may be seen as “natural”, but it is still domination.

Catalonia and Spain are, in some sense, traditional societies with a clear division of work despite women working in the (paid) labour market. Bonino (2004) highlighted that in addition to the high intensity “machismo” that is socially visible, there is another type of “soft machismo”. The author calls this soft machismo *Micromachismos*; this type of machismo is invisible but still present in many societies, including Spanish and Catalan society.

Bonino (2004) described four types of *Micromachismos*. For this study, the most interesting is the first type: utilitarian *micromachismos*. According to the author, utilitarian micromachismos involve those who take advantage of female availability for various domestic and caregiver aspects. This type of *microdomination* normally happens within households. Examples of this soft type of abuse are no household responsibilities, no implications, pseudoimplication, advantageous implication, taking advantage of the female spirit of service, and denial of reciprocity among others. There are no studies about the levels of micromachismos and machismo in Catalonia and Spain. However, considering the traditional division of work, we might assume that these contexts are more likely to generate this type of abusive domination than other societies.

*Society*. Although the Catalan law<sup>35</sup> of commercial hours is much stricter than the law of the Community of Madrid, the shops in Catalonia can be open from 7:00am to 10:00pm. Small shops usually open from 9pm to 1pm and from 5pm to 8:30pm. The reasons for the shops closing at lunchtime are a mix of climatic, historical and

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<sup>35</sup> Government of Catalonia. LAW 3/2014 (February 19th). (Retrieved June 21<sup>st</sup>, 2015). [http://dogc.gencat.cat/ca/pdogc\\_canals\\_interns/pdogc\\_resultats\\_fitxa/?action=fitxa&documentId=655642](http://dogc.gencat.cat/ca/pdogc_canals_interns/pdogc_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&documentId=655642)

cultural reasons. Although it makes sense for the shops to be open until 8:30pm due to the long working days, this inevitably affects family time.

Another factor that emphasizes the chaotic Catalan schedule is TV prime-time. Whereas primetime in Germany or France starts at approximately 8pm-8:45pm, in Catalonia it runs from 10:30pm to 1am. For instance, this year, the Professional Football League decided to air 8 football games (the national sport) at 10:00pm.

Catalonia and Spain have another unique quality regarding their schedules: they are not in the correct time zone. Spain should have the same time zone as the UK because both are on the Greenwich Meridian. However, Franco<sup>36</sup> decided to change the time zone on 16 March 1940 to be in line with Germany. No government has decided to re-establish the correct time zone. According to new platforms<sup>37</sup> that ask for the reestablishment of the proper time zone, the wrong time zone with one more hour of sun in the afternoon *invites* Catalans and Spaniards to arrive home even later.

*Policies.* Family policies have not been a priority in Spain and Catalonia. Catalonia is part of the Southern European regime, which was initially classified as a conservative welfare-state regime. However, its stronger familialism means that it is viewed as a separate welfare-state regime. The lack of governmental support (Flaquer & Brullet, 2000; Grau-Grau, 2014), the lack of public nurseries, and the lack of promotion of active parenthood and fatherhood do not help to improve the current situation.

*Economy.* Finally, the economic crisis has had terrible consequences for the Catalan and Spanish cases. More than 70,000 families lost their homes between 2008 and 2011 in Catalonia. The unemployment rate in Catalonia rose from 8.6% in 2001 to 20.3% in 2014, with no significant difference between men (20.6%) and women (20.0%). The economic crisis has also affected those who have kept their jobs. According to Grau-Grau (2013), the economic crisis has reduced the levels of control and flexibility perceived by Catalan employees.

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<sup>36</sup> Bolteín Oficial del Estado (1940). (Retrieved June 21<sup>st</sup>, 2015). <http://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1940/068/A01675-01676.pdf>

<sup>37</sup> *Ara és l'hora* (literally, Now is the Time) is a Catalan platform to reform the schedules to reach a better work-life balance in Catalonia. (Retrieved June 21<sup>st</sup>, 2015). <http://www.reformahoraria.cat/>

Another aspect that affects the way in which Catalan people balance their life is the time used in commuting to work. According to one study (Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2008), a worker spends an average 56 minutes a day commuting, which is equivalent to 7.3 euros per day in Catalonia (without taking Barcelona into consideration). A worker from Barcelona spends on average 68 minutes a day commuting to work, which is equivalent to 11.9 euros per day. The same study also estimates that the value in time of commuting in Catalonia is equivalent to 3.5% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

## A5. Composition of household in Catalonia (1981 and 2011)

As in other Western societies, Catalan households have changed as a result of the falling birth rates, rising divorce rates, older ages at the time of marriage and single parent households. The following figure presents the evolution of Catalan households from 1981 to 2011. IDESCAT defines a household as “a set of one or more people who reside in the same home and share common expenses but are not necessarily relatives”<sup>38</sup>. In contrast, the family nucleus is defined by IDESCAT as the restricted concept of a family that is limited to the strictest of parental relationships.

The number of households in Catalonia was 2,944,944 in 2011<sup>39</sup> with the following compositions: 26.7% were households without a nucleus, 71.1% were households with one nucleus, and 2.1% were households with more than one nucleus. Of the households without a nucleus (787,447), the majority (686,810) were households with one single person (23.3% of the total household in Catalonia), and another small proportion comprised households with two or more people (174,713). In contrast, of the 2,094,708 households with a nucleus, 1,785,712 were households with a couple, and 308,996 were households with single parents. Of the total number of single-parent households, 241,314 were single mothers and 67,682 were single fathers. Finally, of the total number of households with couples, 725,737 were couples without children, and 1,059,975 were couples with children.

It is interesting to observe the current composition of the household today and to examine its evolution over the last three decades. There are at least three important changes that we should highlight: 1) the increase in the number of people living alone; 2) the decrease in the number of couples with children; and 3) the increase in single mothers. In 1981, only 9.9% of all households were single persons, whereas in 2011 this percentage was 23.3%. This population is mainly composed of elderly persons, with a high proportion of women. This is what is called the *feminization of aging* (Davidson, DiGiacomo, & McGrath, 2011; Díaz, 2002). In contrast, couples

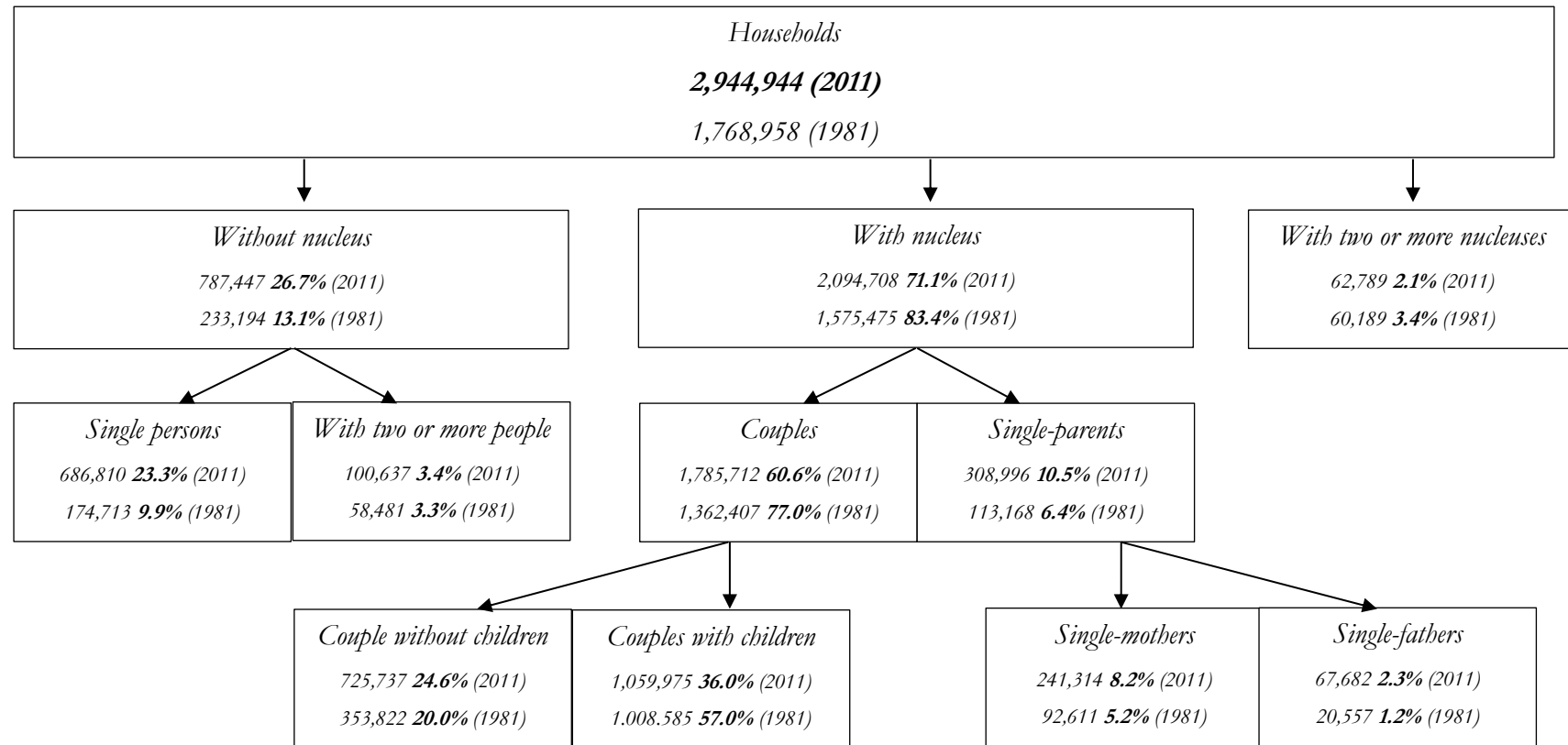
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<sup>38</sup> IDESCAT. <http://www.idescat.cat/pub/?id=aec&n=413&m=m&lang=en> (Retrieved July 28<sup>th</sup>, 2015)

<sup>39</sup> The latest data available in IDESCAT.

with children decreased from 57.0% of all households in Catalonia in 1981 to 36.0% in 2011. Finally, the number of single mothers increased from 92,611 in 1981, which represented 5.2% of the total number of households, to 241,316 in 2011, which represented 8.2% of Catalan households.

## Compositions of households in Catalonia (1981-2011)



Source: IDESCAT. Population census 1981 and demographic survey 2007

## **A6. Letter to IDESCAT (in Catalan)**

### **A la direcció de l'Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya.**

Amb la present carta sol·licito l'accés a microdades de l'Enquesta de l'ús del temps 2010-2011 per finalitats científiques. Actualment estic cursant el doctorat amb polítiques socials a la Universitat d'Edimburg, Regne Unit. Una part del meu estudi vol analitzar si doctoral és analitzar si l'assignació de temps dedicat als fills difereix entre factors tals com el sexe, nivell d'estudis, ingressos, nombres de fills, hores de treball, i l'edat dels fills a Catalunya.

A fi i efecte de poder continuar amb la línia d'estudi marcada, sol·licito l'accés a microdades de l'Enquesta de l'ús del temps 2010-2011 per finalitats científiques. Adjunto també, tal i com es requereix un document on es detalla el projecte i les dades que serien necessàries.

Molt cordialment.

Marc Grau i Grau

University of Edinburgh

[M.Grau-Grau@sms.ed.ac.uk](mailto:M.Grau-Grau@sms.ed.ac.uk)

## A7. Accessing the data (in Catalan)

### *Dades identificatives del sol·licitant*

#### **1. Dades personals de l'investigador responsable**

Nom: **Marc Grau i Grau**

DNI: **45.499.071**

Afiliació: **doctorant a l'escola de ciències polítiques i socials de la Universitat d'Edimburg**

Lloc: **15a George Square. Edimburg. EH8 9LD. Escòcia.**

E-mail: [M.Grau-Grau@sms.ed.ac.uk](mailto:M.Grau-Grau@sms.ed.ac.uk)

#### **2. Altres investigadors amb accés a dades sotmeses a secret estadístic**

Cap més.

### *Dades identificatives de la investigació*

#### **3. Objectius i terminis de la investigació / recerca**

Feina o família? Promoció o procreació? Empresa o casa? Oficina o llar? Treballadors o pares? La feina i la família han estat, són, dos dels grans àmbits que ocupen i ocuparan bona part de les nostres vides. No obstant, són compatibles? Podem ser uns excel·lents pares i uns excel·lents treballadors? Hem de renunciar en un dels dos àmbits per poder excel·lir en l'altre? Competeixen el treball i la família pel nostre temps, energia i atenció? Quines competències desenvolupem, aprenem en un àmbit que són aprofitades en l'altre?

Un dels dos grans objectius de la meua tesi doctoral és analitzar si l'assignació de temps dedicat als fills difereix entre factors tals com el sexe, estat civil, nivell d'estudis, ingressos, nombres de fills, hores de treball, i l'edat dels fills a Catalunya. En definitiva, aquest pilar de la tesi vol examinar i entendre quins són els factors que afavoreixen o faciliten que un pare o una mare dediqui més temps als seus fills. Per tal d'aconseguir l'objectiu descrit anteriorment es vol fer realitzar un anàlisi quantitatiu amb dades extretes de l'Enquesta del Temps realitzada a Catalunya per l'IDESCAT al llarg del 2010 i 2011.

#### **4. Característiques de les dades individuals sol·licitades**

De manera més general les dades que es volen estudiar són:

Variable dependent:

El “Temps” (desglossat en les diferents categories d’interès: temps d’oci, temps feines de casa i de cura dels fills.) és una variable quantitativa discreta que serà recollida en minuts/dia.

Variables independents o covariables:

*Sexe:* Variable Categòrica Nominal. Concretament es tracta d’una variable qualitativa dicotòmica amb 2 categories (Dona, Home).

*Estat civil:* Variable Categòrica Nominal. Concretament es tracta d’una variable qualitativa politòmica amb per categories recollides (Separat, Casat, Divorciat, Viudo...)

*Nivell d’estudis:* Variable Categòrica Ordinal. Concretament es tracta d’una variable qualitativa politòmica amb per categories recollides (Estudis primaris, estudis secundaris, estudis superiors, .....).

*Ingressos:* Variable Categòrica Ordinal. Concretament es tracta d’una variable qualitativa politòmica amb per categories recollides

*Nombres de fills:* Variable quantitativa discreta.

*Hores de treball:* Variable qualitativa ordinal (8hores, 9 hores...)

*Edat dels fills a Catalunya:* Variable quantitativa

Més específicament i seguint el vostre índex, les dades que m’agradaria disposar són:

## **1. Continguts del qüestionari de la llar**

[Llistat de variables ]

## **5. Tipus de tractaments o modelitzacions previstes amb les dades cedides**

Es realitzarà un estudi descriptiu de les variables quantitatives i qualitatives mitjançant la distribució de freqüències i gràfics. Es calcularan estadístics de tendència central i dispersió, percentatges i diferències entre les variables d’exposició amb intervals de confiança del 95%.

A nivell univariat, es compararan els temps (variable depenent) amb cadascun dels factors o covariables descrites. Quan es compari el temps amb les covariables categòriques de dues categories (p.ex el sexe) s'utilitzarà el test de t-student o el seu equivalent no paramètric, U de Mann-Whitney, en cas de no complir les suposicions de normalitat i homogeneïtat de variàncies. Per a la comparació amb les covariables de més de dues categories (p.ex: estat civil) s'utilitzarà el test ANOVA o H de Kruskal Wallis, en cas de no complir la suposició de normalitat. Per a comparar el temps amb una altre variable quantitativa (p.ex: hores de treball, nombre de fills...) s'utilitzarà el coeficient de correlació de Pearson. A nivell multivariat, s'utilitzarà com a model de regressió el model lineal general. Es considerarà significatiu un valor “p” menor de 0.05. Per a realitzar els anàlisis s'utilitzarà el programa SPSS versió 15.0 (SPSS Inc, Chicago, IL, USA).

## **6. Altres fonts d'informació estadístiques o administratives disponibles**

No es farà cap acarament. fusió o combinació entre cap altre fitxer de microdades.

## **7. Difusió dels resultats de la investigació / recerca**

En cas d'assolir els objectius previstos. l'autor intentarà publicar els resultats en diferents articles acadèmics a revistes sociològiques.

## A8. Acceptance letter (in Catalan)

 Generalitat de Catalunya  
Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya

Sr. Marc Grau i Grau  
Universitat d'Edimburg  
15a George Square.  
Edimburg , EH9 9LD  
Escòcia

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Generalitat de Catalunya  
Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya

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Número: 02508/223/2014  
Data: 09/07/2014 13:49:28

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Registre de sortida


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Benvolgut senyor,

Em plau informar-vos que, d'acord amb la vostra conformitat amb data 8 de juliol del 2014, ja es troben disponibles a l'Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya els fitxers segurs de microdades de l'Enquesta de l'ús del temps 2010-2011 una vegada efectuats els tractaments estadístics necessaris per tal d'evitar la revelació directa dels informants.

Per a rebre correctament els esmentats fitxers pot contactar a partir del 9 de juliol amb el Sr. Josep Maria Martínez, responsable de l'Àrea d'Estàndards i Qualitat de la Subdirecció General de Producció i Coordinació. Li recordem que abans de l'acte d'entrega per via electrònica caldrà que ens hagi retornat degudament signats el document de compromís i el comprovant de recepció.

Ben cordialment,



Frederic Udina  
Director

Barcelona, 9 de juliol del 2014

Via Laietana, 58  
08003 Barcelona  
Tel. 93 557 30 00  
Fax 93 557 30 01  
<http://www.idescat.cat>

## A9. Operationalization Catalan sample and childcare with MTUS data

KEY STEPS: Operationalization of the number of minutes devoted by Catalan working fathers (full time) to their children.

I use nationally representative data from the “the 2009-2010 Spanish Time Use Survey, which is included in the ‘Multinational Time Use Study’ database.

- **Getting access to the Multinational Time Use Study (MTUS)**
  - The main goal of MTUS is to offer harmonised episode and context information and to encompass over 60 datasets from 25 countries.
  - In order to get access. I registered as an MTUS user by completing the registration form, which is free of charge (October, 2013)
  - As a MTUS user. I got a dataset with more than 500.000 lines (N=513.927)
- **Focusing on the Catalan sample (MTUS)**
  - In order to work with Catalan data. I selected only the Spanish participants (COUNTRY 34) (N=81347)
  - I eliminated data from previous years, which were not the focus of this work (YEAR 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2008) (N=17.859)
  - It was not possible to discriminate by region in the main dataset, so I downloaded another file (Region and Ethnicity Supplements) in order to identify the Catalan participants.
  - This second dataset contains information about the region (REGION), personal identification (PERSID) and household identification (HIDID). The code for Catalonia was number 9. Finally, I mixed both dataset to have a new dataset with only the Catalan Data (N=1670)
- **Focusing on Working father (MTUS)**
  - From the sample of 1.670 Catalan people, I selected men (SEX=1) (N=740)
  - From the sample of 740 men, I selected those with children (number of children different than zero – NCHILDREN ≠ 0). (N=271)
  - From the sample of 578 fathers, I only chose those with children under 12 years old
    - AGEKID:
      - Youngest child between 0-4 - YES
      - Youngest child between 5-12 -YES
      - Youngest child between 13-17 - NO

(N=202)

- From the sample of 202 fathers with children under 12 years old. 157 are working full time. and 78 of them have a partner that also works full time.
- **Focusing on Childcare (MTUS)**
- Participants reported their daily time-use activities in diaries of 10 minutes spells. MTUS harmonised all the types of activities in 69 categories.
  - In order to focus on Childcare. I selected four of them:
    - MAIN28 - physical. medical child care
    - MAIN 29 - teach. help with homework
    - MAIN 30 - read to. talk or play with child
    - MAIN 31 - supervise. accompany. other child care
    - It is also possible to analyse a secondary activity. but at the moment I only focus on the main activity.
  - One of the main goals was to distinguish between Basic care and Developmental care. so I prepared two new columns BAS – for basic care (MAIN28+MAIN31) and DEV – for developmental care (MAIN29+MAIN30). With these new columns. I was able to calculate the mean and the standard deviation.
  - The rest of independent variables were:
    - Income (INGORIG)
      - 1- 'lowest 25%'
      - 2 -'middle 50%'
      - 3 -'highest 25%'
    - Education (EDCAT)
      - 1 - uncompleted secondary or less
      - 2 - completed secondary
      - 3 - above secondary education
    - Working hours (WORKHRS)
      - It was a continuous variable. so I created three new groups:
        - Less than 40 hours
        - 40 to 50 hours
        - More than 50 hours

- Age (AGE)
  - It was a continuous variable. so I created sex new groups:
    - Less than 25 years old
    - 25 to 29
    - 30 to 34
    - 35 to 39
    - 40 to 44
    - 45 to 49
    - More than 50 years old
- **Focusing on Household responsibilities (MTUS)**
  - Participants reported their daily time-use activities in diaries of 10 minutes spells. MTUS harmonised all the types of activities in 69 categories.
  - In order to focus on household responsibilities. I selected four of them:
    - MAIN 18 - food preparation. cooking
    - MAIN 19 - 'set table. wash/put away dishes'
    - MAIN 20 - cleaning
    - MAIN 21 - laundry. ironing. clothing repair
    - MAIN 22 - 'maintain home/vehicle. including collect fuel'
    - MAIN 23 - other domestic work
    - MAIN 24 - purchase goods
  - It is also possible to analyse a secondary activity. but at the moment I only focus on the main activity.
  - The rest of independent variables were income. education. age. and working hours (see Childcare).

## A10. Example of a Catalan time use survey

### Instruccions d'emplenament

#### Com s'ha d'emplenar el diari?

- Si va realitzar més d'una activitat simultàniament, escrigui la que consideri principal.
- Si va realitzar més d'una activitat consecutiva en l'interval de 10 minuts, inclogui l'activitat a què va dedicar més temps.
- Si estava realitzant una activitat que considera privada, registri-ho com a personal.

### Exemple

hora	1 Què estava fent? Escrigui l'activitat principal per a cada interval de 10 minuts. (Una activitat en cada línia)	ordinador o Internet	2 Què més estava fent? Registri l'activitat més important de les que realitzava alhora que l'activitat principal	ordinador o Internet
A quina hora va començar aquesta activitat? [2]3 h [1]0 m				
06.00-06.10	<i>Dormir</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
06.10-06.20	" ← Utilitzi una fletxa o cometes per indicar que una activitat dura més de 10 min	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
06.20-06.30	"	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
06.30-06.40	<i>Higiene personal, dutxa</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
06.40-06.50	<i>Despertar els nens</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
06.50-07.00	<i>Vestir-me</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Escollir la ràdio</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
07.00-07.10	<i>Esmorzar</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Llegir una revista</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No és necessari que detalli el que estava fent a la feina, però anoti el que estava fent durant el descans o les pauses per menjar, per exemple: dinar, fer un passeig... Si s'emporta feina a casa, comenti-ho.</li> </ul>				
10.50-11.00	<i>Treballar</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Parlar amb els companys</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.00-11.10	"	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
11.10-11.20	<i>Prendre el cafè</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Parlar amb els companys</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Separi els desplaçaments de l'activitat que els genera. Per exemple: caminar fins a la parada de l'autobús, anar en autobús fins al centre comercial, comprar, anar en autobús fins a casa...</li> </ul>				
18.00-18.10	<i>Autobús de casa a l'escola</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Escollir la ràdio</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18.10-18.20	<i>Parlar amb la mestra</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
18.20-18.30	<i>Anar a peu al supermercat</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Parlar amb els nens</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18.30-18.40	<i>Fer la compra per mi i per al veí</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	"	<input type="checkbox"/>
18.40-18.50	"	<input type="checkbox"/>	"	<input type="checkbox"/>
18.50-19.00	<i>Tornada a casa a peu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Parlar pel mòbil</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19.00-19.10	<i>Portar la compra al veí</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Parlar amb el veí</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19.10-19.20	<i>Col·locar la compra a la nevera</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Escollir la ràdio</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19.20-19.30	<i>Comprar entrades per Internet</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	"	<input type="checkbox"/>

• En les feines de la llar i la cura dels infants concreti el que estava fent. Per exemple: fer el sopar, rentar els plats, escalfar la llet, donar de menjar als infants, posar-los al lit, tallar la gespa, netejar el cotxe, escombrar la casa, netejar el pati...

Marqui amb una creu si en l'activitat utilitza ordinador o Internet

• Distingeixi entre les classes i l'estudi a casa. Descrigui el tipus d'estudi: reglat (educació primària, formació professional, estudis universitaris...) o no reglat (pintura, música, idiomes, informàtica, bricolatge...). Si els estudis són part d'un treball remunerat, anoti-ho.

Example of Spanish Time Use Survey (In Spanish)

Hora	¿Qué estaba haciendo? Escriba su actividad principal para cada intervalo de 10 minutos desde las 06:00 a las 09:00. <b>Una actividad en cada línea.</b> - No olvide los viajes y modos de transporte. - Distinguir entre el trabajo principal y secundario, si existe.	¿Qué más estaba haciendo? Registre la más importante de las actividades que realizaba al mismo tiempo que la actividad principal	¿Estaba solo o en compañía de alguien conocido? Marque con una cruz el recuadro/s correspondiente/s			
			Solo	Con niños menores de 10 años que viven con usted	Con otros miembros del hogar	Con otros conocidos
<b>MAÑANA</b>						
06:00-06:10	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Dormir	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
06:10-06:20	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> "	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
06:20-06:30	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> "	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
06:30-06:40	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Aseo, ducha	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
06:40-06:50	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Despertar a los niños	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
06:50-07:00	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Preparar el desayuno	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Escuchar la radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
07:00-07:10	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Desayunar	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Leer una revista	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
07:10-07:20	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> "	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> "	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
07:20-07:30	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Lavar los platos	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
07:30-07:40	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Hacer las camas	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
07:40-07:50	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Llevar a los niños al colegio (a pie)	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Conversar con los niños	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
07:50-08:00	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> En autobús al trabajo	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
08:00-08:10	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Trabajo (principal)	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
08:10-08:20	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
08:20-08:30	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
08:30-08:40	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
08:40-08:50	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
08:50-09:00	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Utilice una flecha o comillas para indicar que una actividad dura más de 10 minutos

No es necesario cumplimentar para el tiempo empleado en trabajar o dormir

## A11. Consent form (in Catalan)

### Acord de participació en l'estudi:

#### Descripció del projecte

Moltes persones passen bona part de la seva vida entre dos dominis: feina i casa. No obstant, són compatibles? Podem ser alhora uns excel·lents pares i uns excel·lents treballadors? Hem de dedicar menys temps a un dels dos dominis per excel·lir a l'altre? Competeixen el temps i l'energia? Pot la feina enriquir la família i la família enriquir la feina? L'objectiu d'aquest estudi és recollir informació directe de pares i mares que expliquin les seves experiències diàries entre la feina i la família.

#### Procediments i riscos:

Tot el contingut de l'entrevista serà totalment confidencial, i es mantindrà l'anonimat del entrevistat en tots els processos de l'estudi. Tota la informació serà privada i arxivada sota *password*. Els noms que apareixeran en el estudi, en cas de que apareixen seran ficticis. L'entrevista serà enregistrada amb una gravadora digital. La duració de l'entrevista és aproximadament d'una hora. No existeix cap tipus de risc al procedir a participar en aquesta entrevista.

#### Beneficis i cost

L'objectiu del estudi és analitzar amb detall la situació actual de la conciliació laboral i familiar a Catalunya i poder facilitar una millor comprensió de les dificultats en que es troben els pares i mares treballadores, així com proposar alternatives per combatre el culte al presencialisme. La participació en aquest estudi no té cap cost. Com a mostra d'agraïment es recompensa amb un val de 20 euros.

#### Confidencialitat

Tota la informació recollida serà estrictament confidencial i anònima. En cap publicació o document que sorgeixi d'aquest estudi es podrà identificar a cap dels participants.

Està vostè d'acord en participar en aquest estudi?

Sí

No

Nom i cognoms del entrevistat

Nom i cognoms del entrevistador

Firma del entrevistat

Firma a del entrevistador

Data a i lloc

## A12. Guideline for the interviews (in Catalan)

Gràcies/Objectiu/Confidencialitat/Anonimat/Seguretat

### 1. Dades Demogràfiques:

- Edat
- Estat civil
  - Des de quan?
- Fills
  - Edats?

### VOSTÈ

- Estudis
- Anys treballats (en total)
- Anys treballats en la seva empresa actual
  - Posició
  - Horari de feina
  - Hores en total
  - Hores extres
  - Temps de transport
    - Com? Cost?

### La seva parella:

- Estudis
- Anys treballats (en total)
- Anys treballats en la seva empresa actual
  - Posició
  - Horari de feina
  - Hores en total
  - Hores extres
  - Temps de transport
    - Com? Cost?

### Amb quina d'aquestes definicions creu que vostè i la seva parella se senten més identificats:

- Un dels dos està molt involucrat a la feina i poc a casa. mentre que l'altre està poc involucrat a la feina i molt a casa. Un assumeix bàsicament les responsabilitats de la llar. i l'altre les econòmiques.

- Els dos esteu molt involucrats en les seves carreres professionals i poc en les tasques domèstiques. Per cada un de vosaltres, la vostra identificació principal és la feina i la vostra carrera. De totes maneres, la família i la casa són importants per vosaltres.
- Els dos esteu molt involucrats en a casa, amb els fills i les tasques domèstiques. Per cada un de vosaltres, la vostra identificació principal és la família. De totes maneres, la feina són importants per vosaltres.
- Els dos esteu molt involucrats en les vostres cases i ens les vostres feines. No us identifiqueu amb un únic rol, i intenteu sentir-vos plens i satisfets en els dos dominis. Doneu el mateix pes als rols de casa, i als de la feina.
- Altres: comunitat...

## 2. Feina

- És important la feina per vostè? Perquè?
- Quines tasques són les que li agraden més de la seva feina?
- Quines tasques són les que li agraden menys de la seva feina?
- Què li aporta la feina a nivell personal?
- Què aprèn a la feina?
- Està satisfet amb la seva feina actual?

## 3. Família

- És important la família per vostè? Perquè?
- Quines tasques fa vostè i quines la seva parella? Compartides?
  - Acompanyar a l'escola
  - Reunions escola/ Pediatre
  - Preparar dinars i sopars
  - Planxar, netejar
  - Factures/Cartes
  - Comprar
  - Jugar/llegir/ fer els deures
  - Organitzar vacances
- Quines tasques són les que li agraden menys?
- Quines tasques són les que li agraden més?
- Té temps per vostè? Hobbies, amics, tv, lectura
- Què aprèn de la seva família en general?
  - Què aprèn de la seva dona?

- I ella de vostè?
  - Què aprèn dels seus fills?

#### 4. Treball interfereix a la família

- Vostè treballa des de casa?
  - Quantes hores? Com de sovint?
- Es sent còmode?
- A la seva parella li sembla bé? Li dona suport?
- El fa estressar aquesta situació?

#### 5. La família interfereix la feina

- Les seves responsabilitats familiars interfereixen la seva feina? Ex: nens malats. reunions escoles. trucades...
- Es sent còmode?
- Com ho veu la seva empresa? Rep el suport del seu supervisor?
- Quina creu que és l'actitud en general de la empresa en vers la conciliació?
  - Hi ha polítiques concretes?
- Està ben vist sortir a l'hora que toca?
- El fa estressa que la família interfereixi la seva feina? (en cas que sigui aplicable)
- Quan hi ha un conflicte feina-treball per què creu que és degut?

#### 6. El treball enriqueix a la seva família

- De quina manera creu que la seva feina té un impacte positiu en la seva família?
  - I negatiu?
- Què aprèn a la feina (habilitats. coneixements. humor) que creu que enriqueix la seva família?
- La seva feina el fa feliç? Arriba a casa amb bon humor?
- Quines altres coses positives obté de la seva feina?
- La seva feina el realitza plenament? Que li faltaria?

#### 7. La família enriqueix la seva feina

- De quina manera creu que la seva família té un impacte positiu en la seva feina?
  - I negatiu?
- Què aprèn a casa (habilitats. coneixements. humor. valors) que creu que enriqueix la seva feina?

- La seva família el fa feliç? Arriba a la feina amb bon humor?
- Quines altres coses positives obté de casa i de la seva família?

### 8. Paternitat

- Què ha suposat la paternitat en la seva vida?
- Com l'ha canviat?
- Ha afectat les seves aspiracions professionals?
- Què és l'èxit per vostè? Que era abans de ser pare?
- Creu que existeix una nova paternitat?
- Quins obstacles barreres encara existeixen que dificultes ser un pare més actiu?
- Com les seves carregues a la feina, aspiracions, afecten la seva experiència de paternitat?

### 9. Últimes preguntes

- Creu que la seva família i la seva feina són dos dominis separats? O estan interconnectats?
- Li agradaria integrar-los més? O preferiria encara separar-los més?
- Creu que entre la seva feina i la seva família existeix més conflicte o enriquiment?
- Quina seria la seva recomanació o els seus consells per un altre pare/mare en una situació similar a la seva?

*Gràcies/preguntes/té molt de valor*

### A13. Example of narrative summary

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#### Eduard

<b>Personal data</b>	Eduard is 38 years old. He has been married to Sara since 2001. They have two children: Nacho (7 years old) and Inés (6 years old). He graduated in Industrial Engineering and has an MBA in ESADE. Sara is also 38 years old and she graduated in law.
<b>Working Experience and schedule (father)</b>	Eduard works as a marketing director in a chemical company. Eduard works in Barcelona. He normally works from 8:45am to 7:30pm and a lot of extra hours (weekends, flying on Sunday, conventions).
<b>Working Experience and schedule (mother)</b>	Sara is a lawyer working as freelance. She works from 9:30am to 4pm. She walks 10 minutes from home.
<b>Life-role priority</b>	<u>Male-Breadwinner model</u> . Neo-traditional family. He works full-time with extra hours. She works full-time (intensive). Second shift?
<b>Work</b>	Work is very important for Eduard. The reasons why work is important for him are the following: 1) Money (modus vivendi); 2) I am enjoying 95% of my time here <u>Tasks he really enjoys at work</u> : 1) People development, coaching, and feedback; and 2) the conceptual part and strategies: defining strategies and Options, assigning resources defining priorities. <u>Tasks he doesn't like at work</u> : Administrative part, filling in documents to hire a new person. docs. revisions. approvals. 200 emails FYI. and <i>politiqueo</i> . Eduard is very satisfied with his job although he defines himself as an "eterno instatisfecho". Work helps him to acknowledge himself by exposing him to new challenges and through listening to feedback from his counterparts.
<b>Family</b>	<i>Family is very important for him.</i> He doesn't understand life without family. Family is a reason to be. Gives him emotional balance. Tasks:

- Accompanying kids to school (40% he. 60% she)
- School meetings (100% both)
- Paediatrician (90% both)
- Dinner preparation (100% she)
- Feeding or being there (30% Eduard). They have dinner at 7pm.
- Ironing and cleaning: External help but if it is required - Sara
- Banks and other administrative duties (he)
- Purchasing goods (70% Sara)
- Doing homework, reading (50-50)
- Holidays organization (50-50)

Tasks he really enjoys at home: playing with kids

Tasks he doesn't like at home: Ironing, cleaning (Delegate this to domestic help) we will be less rich but happier

He has some free time for himself - 3-4 days running. Two marathons.

Time with his wife: poor. We had a nice initiative: Wednesday with Nanny – *Miércoles con canguro*. But it didn't last too long. When they go to Cerdanya is when they have time for themselves. Playing cards, no TV.

**Work-Family Conflict** If they work from home, they both feel ok.

**Family-Work Conflict** When they have a family issue (e.g..school meeting) during the working schedule he feels uncomfortable although his company is quite flexible.

**Employer** There is now a charter of work-family balance, not gender oriented. However, Eduard confessed that not everyone believes it. Finishing on time is ok for women but not for men! Men use what is established by law, otherwise not.

**WF Enrichment** For Eduard, work has a positive impact on their family:

- (1) Values as effort and hardworking > VALUES
- (2) My kids start to understand how a company works > SOCIAL CAPITAL
- (3) How to treat people, to be honest, to be strict > PEOPLE MANAGEMENT
- (4) To be oriented to solutions not to problems > ASSERTIVITY

Note: he admits that he is almost the same person at work and at home. But sometimes he must “play” the role of his company.

***FW Enrichment***

Positive spillover from his wife (Sara):

- 1) More extroverted > EXTROVERSION
- 2) To see life in a more grateful way > PERSPECTIVE
- 3) How to educate kids > CARE
- 4) Calm > CALM

Eduard has taught Sara to be more rational about issues, to have goals, to plan, to decide, and to keep to decisions.

Positive spillover from Javier (7 years old):

- 1) To see myself in a mirror > SELF-ACKNOWLEDGE.
- 2) They remember how important creativity is > CREATIVITY

Positive spillover from Irene (4 years old):

- 1) Empathy > EMPATHY

Positive spillover from his family in general: New priorities, less time for you. Work becomes less important, you become more mature. You play another role.

FWE:

- 1) Understand people, Emotions, put limits > PEOPLE MANAGEMENT
- 2) Empathy > EMPATHY
- 3) To be more sociable with people > SOCIABILITY

***Fatherhood***

Positive: Another chapter of my life, more consciousness about life priorities, new priorities.

Barriers to become a nurturing father: work schedule, flexibility.

New fatherhood: Not in my environment. Peter Pan. Nannies are replacing parents.

Aspirations: fewer aspirations.

***Boundary Preference***

Eduard seems to be *segmentist*.

An integrator at home But a segmentist at home.

***Allies or enemies?***

Enemies for time. You are in one place or in another.

But on the other side. We need both roles to develop ourselves.

***Recommendations to***

***other working fathers***

- Be more mature
- Set up priorities

#### A14. Parents' occupation with children under 10 years old

	Fathers	Mothers
	%	%
<i>Occupations</i>		
Occupation 1	0.13	0.06
Occupation 2	0.13	0.26
Occupation 3	0.14	0.17
Occupation 4	0.06	0.19
Occupation 5	0.09	0.16
Occupation 6	0.04	0.01
Occupation 7	0.21	0.03
Occupation 8	0.13	0.03
Occupation 9	0.08	0.09
<i>Public sector</i>	0.13	0.23
Observations	424	328

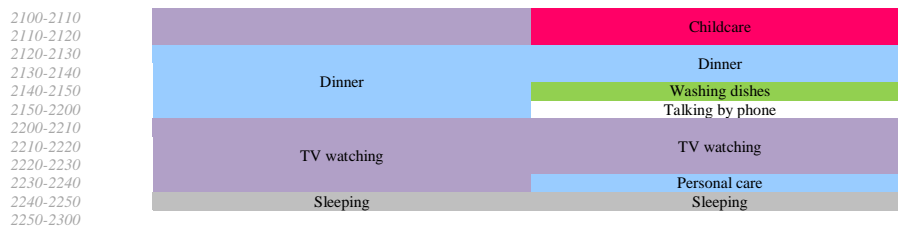
### **A15. A reconstruction of a random day**

In order to take advantage of the rich data that time use data offers, I reconstructed a random day for two couples. The process of reconstruction consisted of taking each piece of 10-minute data and literally reconstructing the survey.

Figure 5.2 illustrates how a couple with a high level of education, both working full time, spent a normal random day in their lives. According to the survey, he (Miquel as a fictitious name) was a general director and she (Elisabeth) was a finance analyst. They earned more than 4,000 euros per month, they lived in an urban area, both had a masters degree, both worked full time and they had 2 children. Their random day was a Monday. We might expect with a profile like this to find some gender equality at home. Reconstructing both time use surveys, we can observe that although both worked full time, there was still a role specialization (Becker, 1965). We can describe this urban, young and well-educated couple as an example of a neotraditional family, where she is still doing a second shift (Hochschild & Machung, 1989)

**Figure A15.1 Reconstruction of a random day (couple 1)**

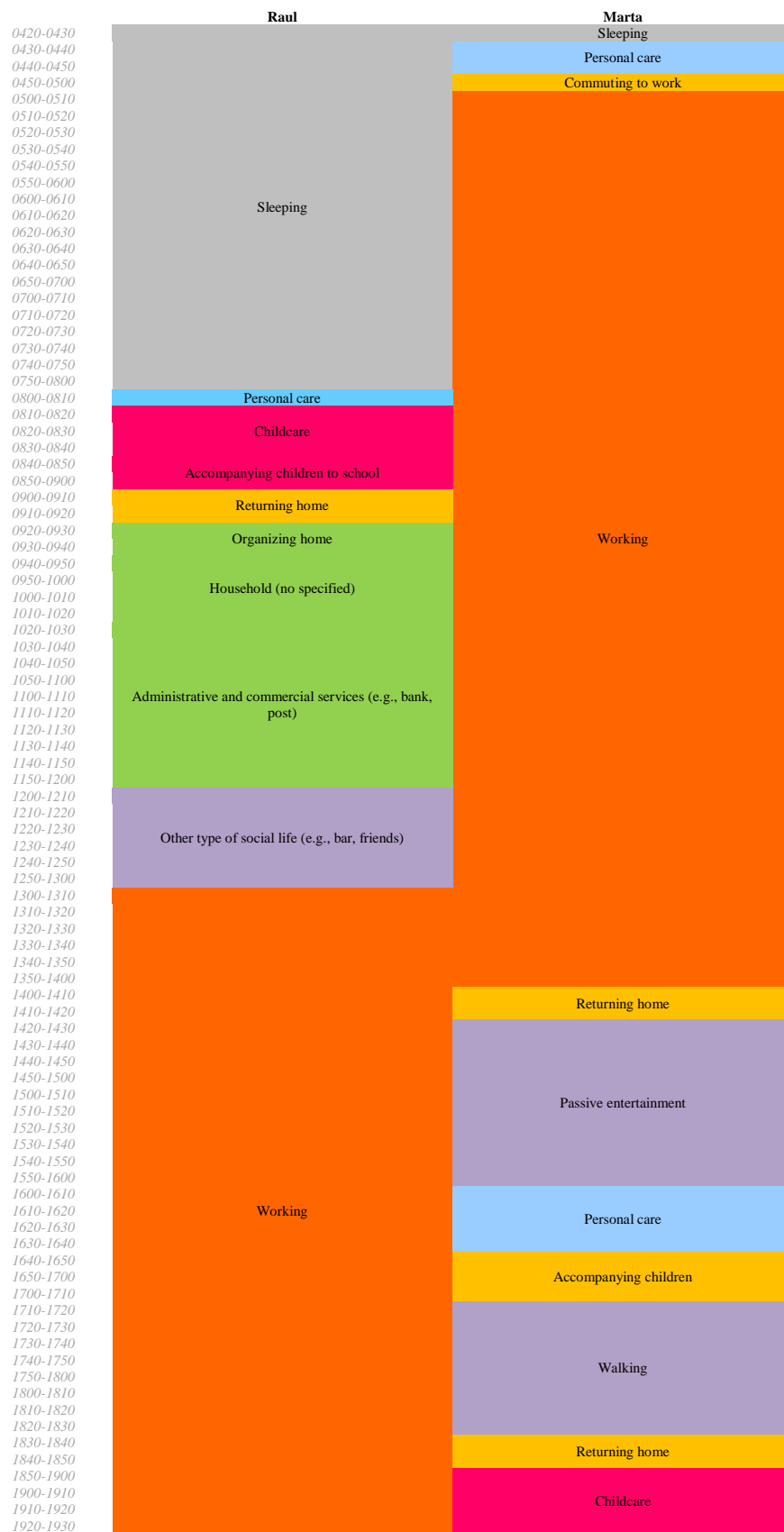


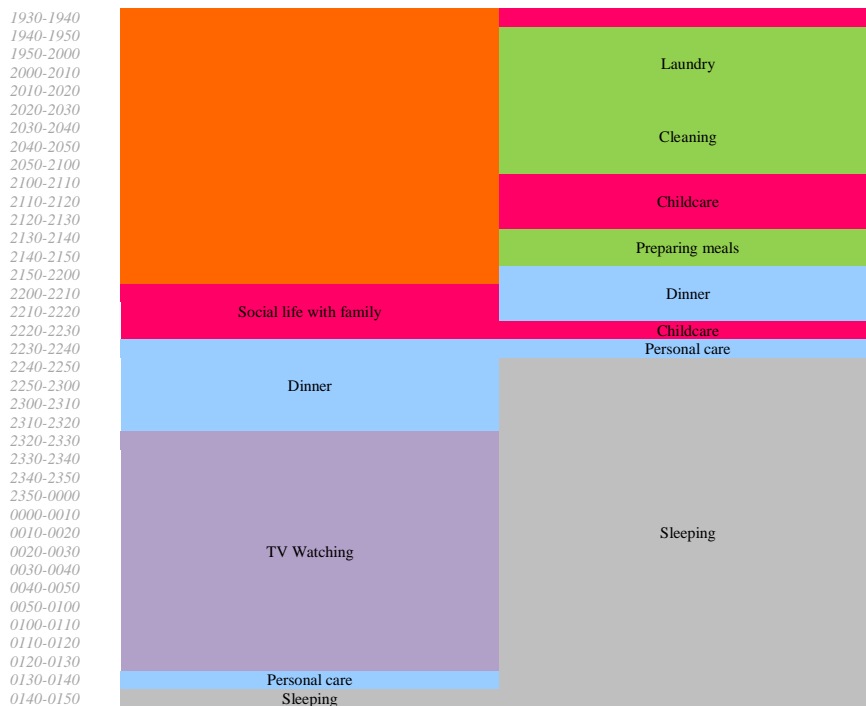


As the figure A15.1 shows, Miquel accompanied the children to school from 7:10am to 7:40am. Then, he commuted for about an hour and he worked until 19:50, with a break of an hour and half. At 7:50pm, he commuted again for about an hour and he arrived at home at 8:50pm. He engaged in passive entertainment (e.g., internet) for 30 minutes, then dinner from 9:20pm to 10:00pm, and finally he watched TV for 40 minutes before going to sleep. On the other hand, Elisabeth woke up at 6:10 like Joan. She reported 30 minutes of personal care (e.g., dressing, bathing) and then 20 minutes of childcare. She commuted from 7:00am to 07:40am. As the reconstruction of the time use survey shows, she worked full time but with compressed working hours. She worked from 07:40am to 15:10pm. During the afternoon, she did some shopping, she went to the school to pick up her children, she did homework with them, she prepared the meal and cleaned the kitchen, and while her partner reported 40 minutes for dinner, she reported 20 minutes for dinner, 10 minutes for washing dishes and 10 more minutes talking on the phone. They both went to sleep at the same time.

Figure A15.2 illustrates a random day for another couple. Raul is a bus driver and Marta a hotel cleaner. They both work full time and together earn between 1,400 and 1,700 euros. They have one child and their highest educational level of attainment is secondary school. Their random day was also a Monday. As figure 5.3 shows, Marta woke up very early (4:30am). She spent 20 minutes on personal care and 10 minutes commuting. According to her survey data, she worked from 5:00 to 2:30pm. After her work, she spent some time on passive entertainment. At 4:30pm, she picked up her child from school (which probably means that it is a public school – see chapter 2) and they walked for an hour. At home, she did laundry and reported childcare, cleaning and meal preparation. She went to sleep at 10:40pm.

**Figure A15.2 A reconstruction of a random day (couple 2)**





On the other hand, Raul woke up at 8:00am. He spent 10 minutes on personal care and then he reported 50 minutes of childcare and accompanying his child to school. At 9:20am, he arrived home. It is interesting to examine how he spent his morning. He reported working from 1pm to 10pm, so he had a *free* morning. While we have seen that his partner reported household activities such as laundry, cleaning and preparing meals, he reported organizing the home, household not specified, and administrative and commercial services (e.g., bank, post). Before starting work, he spent one hour on another type of social activity (e.g., bar, friends). After work, he spent some time with his family and he had dinner alone. After dinner, he watched TV from 11:20pm to 1:30am.

Before moving on to the results, it is important to highlight that these two reconstructions of a random day are only two examples of how two couples spent a random day in their life. For that reason, we cannot extract any conclusions from these mere examples of random couples, but these two reconstructions may help to illustrate what the descriptive analysis has already shown.

## A16. Minutes devoted to household responsibilities by sex

	Fathers		Mothers	
	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev
<b>Cooking</b>	<b>31.21</b>	40.21	<b>78.57</b>	61.11
<i>Cooking</i>	23.42	32.69	59.42	47.55
<i>Washing dishes</i>	7.79	16.39	19.15	25.48
<b>Cleaning</b>	<b>10.55</b>	27.68	<b>41.22</b>	58.02
<i>Cleaning (inside)</i>	10.06	26.83	40.68	57.85
<i>Cleaning (garden and outside)</i>	0.49	7.49	0.53	4.97
<b>Clothing preparation</b>	<b>12.80</b>	31.20	<b>59.72</b>	68.63
<i>Laundry</i>	1.68	9.36	10.28	19.75
<i>Ironing</i>	1.06	9.99	8.87	24.66
<i>Clothing repairing</i>	10.06	26.83	40.58	57.64
<b>Gardening and pet caring</b>	<b>7.77</b>	35.08	<b>2.54</b>	12.36
<i>Gardening</i>	4.33	30.64	1.17	9.81
<i>Pet caring (home)</i>	0.98	9.47	0.41	3.76
<i>Walking with dog</i>	2.46	13.24	0.96	6.07
<b>Repairing and maintaining</b>	<b>7.45</b>	41.84	<b>0.64</b>	7.76
<i>Home maintaining</i>	6.22	41.05	0.45	7.45
<i>Car maintaining</i>	1.23	8.13	0.19	2.21
<b>Purchasing and services</b>	<b>19.66</b>	43.66	<b>31.68</b>	57.40
<i>Purchasing goods</i>	17.58	41.09	26.80	48.23
<i>General services (i.e. post office)</i>	1.27	13.51	0.64	4.76
<i>Personal services (i.e. doctor)</i>	0.81	7.45	4.24	28.07
<b>Home management</b>	<b>0.87</b>	7.26	<b>1.09</b>	8.29
<i>Total Household responsibilities</i>	<b>90.32</b>	107.98	<b>215.46</b>	164.53
Observations	471		469	

**A17. Minutes devoted to household responsibilities by employment status**

	Fulltime		Fathers Part-time		Not working	
	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev
<b>Cooking</b>	<b>27.52</b>	36.90	<b>50.71</b>	49.53	<b>55.80</b>	52.30
<i>Cooking</i>	20.74	30.27	37.86	46.93	41.20	40.39
<i>Washing dishes</i>	6.78	15.29	12.86	19.39	14.60	21.87
<b>Cleaning</b>	<b>7.89</b>	23.11	<b>15.00</b>	40.53	<b>31.00</b>	44.69
<i>Cleaning (inside)</i>	7.32	21.85	15.00	40.53	31.00	44.69
<i>Cleaning (garden and outside)</i>	0.57	8.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>Clothing preparation</b>	<b>9.39</b>	25.07	<b>23.57</b>	58.91	<b>37.60</b>	49.51
<i>Laundry</i>	0.86	5.44	8.57	22.14	6.40	20.58
<i>Ironing</i>	1.20	10.73	0.00	0.00	0.20	1.41
<i>Clothing repairing</i>	7.32	21.85	15.00	40.53	31.00	44.69
<b>Gardening and pet caring</b>	<b>7.44</b>	35.54	<b>0.00</b>	0.00	<b>12.60</b>	35.96
<i>Gardening</i>	4.47	32.25	0.00	0.00	4.40	19.60
<i>Pet caring (home)</i>	0.69	4.96	0.00	0.00	3.60	25.46
<i>Walking with dog</i>	2.29	12.55	0.00	0.00	4.60	19.19
<b>Repairing and maintaining</b>	<b>5.36</b>	32.84	<b>0.00</b>	0.00	<b>26.60</b>	86.20
<i>Home maintaining</i>	4.30	31.83	0.00	0.00	23.60	86.14
<i>Car maintaining</i>	1.06	7.57	0.00	0.00	3.00	12.49
<b>Purchasing and services</b>	<b>17.20</b>	43.27	<b>44.29</b>	65.13	<b>32.80</b>	35.23
<i>Purchasing goods</i>	15.45	40.64	38.57	62.37	29.00	34.42
<i>General services (i.e. post office)</i>	1.13	14.06	5.71	16.51	1.20	5.94
<i>Personal services (i.e. doctor)</i>	0.61	6.38	0.00	0.00	2.60	13.82
<b>Home management</b>	<b>0.98</b>	7.79	<b>0.00</b>	0.00	<b>0.20</b>	1.41
<i>Total Household responsibilities</i>	<b>75.77</b>	94.28	<b>133.57</b>	143.45	<b>196.60</b>	137.55
Observations	407		14		50	

**A18. Minutes devoted household responsibilities by partner employment status**

	<b>Fathers</b>					
	when partners work full time		when partners work part time		when partners don't work	
	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev
	Fulltime		Part-time		Not working	
<b>Cooking</b>	<b>38.75</b>	42.23	<b>24.73</b>	35.50	<b>23.36</b>	37.68
<i>Cooking</i>	30.30	35.11	17.10	25.13	16.51	30.82
<i>Washing dishes</i>	8.45	17.34	7.63	15.49	6.85	15.44
<b>Cleaning</b>	<b>12.93</b>	29.04	<b>8.71</b>	27.98	<b>7.95</b>	24.99
<i>Cleaning (inside)</i>	11.94	27.45	8.71	27.98	7.95	24.99
<i>Cleaning (garden and outside)</i>	0.99	10.66	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>Clothing preparation</b>	<b>16.03</b>	32.93	<b>10.54</b>	33.37	<b>9.11</b>	26.21
<i>Laundry</i>	2.37	11.47	1.83	9.99	0.48	2.96
<i>Ironing</i>	1.72	13.31	0.00	0.00	0.68	6.29
<i>Clothing repairing</i>	11.94	27.45	8.71	27.98	7.95	24.99
<b>Gardening and pet caring</b>	<b>5.69</b>	25.44	<b>10.54</b>	44.27	<b>9.32</b>	41.23
<i>Gardening</i>	2.97	20.81	6.24	39.26	5.27	37.01
<i>Pet caring (home)</i>	0.26	2.78	1.29	7.83	1.92	15.42
<i>Walking with dog</i>	2.46	12.64	3.01	16.60	2.12	11.76
<b>Repairing and maintaining</b>	<b>4.40</b>	26.06	<b>8.60</b>	35.06	<b>11.58</b>	61.48
<i>Home maintaining</i>	2.97	24.41	6.67	33.11	11.10	61.46
<i>Car maintaining</i>	1.42	9.59	1.94	9.12	0.48	3.78
<b>Purchasing and services</b>	<b>20.82</b>	49.46	<b>17.74</b>	38.48	<b>19.04</b>	36.55
<i>Purchasing goods</i>	18.62	46.49	15.48	35.83	17.26	34.81
<i>General services (i.e. post office)</i>	1.85	17.86	0.97	9.33	0.55	5.22
<i>Personal services (i.e. doctor)</i>	0.34	3.07	1.29	9.23	1.23	10.50
<b>Home management</b>	<b>0.47</b>	2.98	<b>1.61</b>	9.00	<b>1.03</b>	10.22
<i>Total Household responsibilities</i>	<b>99.09</b>	105.91	<b>82.47</b>	101.98	<b>81.37</b>	114.40
Observations	232		93		146	

## A19. Minutes devoted household responsibilities by educational level

	Fathers											
	Primary or below		Lower Secondary		Upper Secondary		Post-secondary non-tertiary		Bachelor		Master	
	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev	Mean	Std. Dev
<b>Cooking</b>	<b>45.36</b>	56.73	<b>27.31</b>	40.20	<b>24.38</b>	30.70	<b>26.85</b>	34.10	<b>35.11</b>	39.52	<b>41.25</b>	46.13
<i>Cooking</i>	41.43	57.72	21.01	32.64	18.44	26.38	20.39	28.63	24.44	27.76	28.41	32.30
<i>Washing dishes</i>	3.93	13.97	6.30	13.65	5.94	12.94	6.46	13.31	10.67	23.97	12.84	20.68
<b>Cleaning</b>	<b>20.36</b>	42.03	<b>11.85</b>	31.97	<b>2.03</b>	9.95	<b>14.25</b>	30.43	<b>6.67</b>	19.66	<b>8.52</b>	21.84
<i>Cleaning (inside)</i>	16.07	37.35	11.85	31.97	2.03	9.95	14.25	30.43	4.22	11.77	8.52	21.84
<i>Cleaning (garden and outside)</i>	4.29	22.68	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.44	16.40	0.00	0.00
<b>Clothing preparation</b>	<b>16.07</b>	37.35	<b>14.62</b>	36.24	<b>3.44</b>	11.98	<b>15.67</b>	31.51	<b>11.11</b>	27.40	<b>12.84</b>	32.20
<i>Laundry</i>	0.00	0.00	1.60	9.48	1.41	7.10	1.02	6.28	4.00	13.88	2.27	12.48
<i>Ironing</i>	0.00	0.00	1.18	9.04	0.00	0.00	0.39	4.44	2.89	14.08	2.05	17.16
<i>Clothing repairing</i>	16.07	37.35	11.85	31.97	2.03	9.95	14.25	30.43	4.22	11.77	8.52	21.84
<b>Gardening and pet caring</b>	<b>12.86</b>	44.63	<b>3.61</b>	13.00	<b>8.13</b>	31.36	<b>10.00</b>	42.87	<b>4.00</b>	15.58	<b>10.23</b>	47.44
<i>Gardening</i>	11.07	41.22	1.60	9.02	0.63	5.00	5.35	38.19	0.44	2.98	9.09	47.26
<i>Pet caring (home)</i>	0.71	3.78	0.50	3.41	3.44	22.76	0.79	6.50	0.44	2.98	0.45	4.26
<i>Walking with dog</i>	1.07	5.67	1.51	8.60	4.06	19.33	3.86	17.00	3.11	15.20	0.68	4.50
<b>Repairing and maintaining</b>	<b>6.07</b>	18.33	<b>13.87</b>	57.37	<b>5.00</b>	23.23	<b>5.59</b>	32.16	<b>0.00</b>	0.00	<b>7.50</b>	53.91
<i>Home maintaining</i>	3.57	13.39	11.76	56.01	4.84	23.23	4.41	31.74	0.00	0.00	6.36	53.61
<i>Car maintaining</i>	2.50	13.23	2.10	12.06	0.16	1.25	1.18	6.12	0.00	0.00	1.14	6.85
<b>Purchasing and services</b>	<b>26.79</b>	47.14	<b>19.16</b>	40.71	<b>20.31</b>	48.07	<b>20.24</b>	51.75	<b>21.56</b>	40.67	<b>15.80</b>	30.58
<i>Purchasing goods</i>	26.43	47.31	17.56	40.08	13.75	34.85	19.92	51.75	17.11	34.35	14.43	28.96
<i>General services (i.e. post office)</i>	0.36	1.89	1.26	9.70	4.84	32.02	0.08	0.89	2.00	13.42	0.34	3.20
<i>Personal services (i.e. doctor)</i>	0.00	0.00	0.34	3.67	1.72	11.49	0.24	2.66	2.44	12.64	1.02	9.59
<b>Home management</b>	<b>0.00</b>	0.00	<b>0.84</b>	5.30	<b>2.34</b>	15.09	<b>0.39</b>	4.44	<b>0.44</b>	2.98	<b>1.02</b>	6.79
<i>Total Household responsibilities</i>	<b>127.50</b>	116.23	<b>91.26</b>	118.14	<b>65.63</b>	82.77	<b>92.99</b>	103.05	<b>78.89</b>	92.72	<b>97.16</b>	119.01
Observations	28		119		64		127		45		88	

## A20. Minutes devoted household responsibilities by occupation

	<b>Fathers</b>																	
	Occupation 1		Occupation 2		Occupation 3		Occupation 4		Occupation 5		Occupation 6		Occupation 7		Occupation 8		Occupation 9	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>Cooking</b>	<b>23.21</b>	32.59	<b>38.70</b>	40.80	<b>36.38</b>	43.15	<b>40.77</b>	44.36	<b>29.46</b>	40.62	<b>24.12</b>	30.43	<b>21.24</b>	30.67	<b>26.73</b>	37.47	<b>22.19</b>	43.01
<i>Cooking</i>	17.14	26.40	29.07	29.86	26.38	35.08	26.54	37.41	21.62	30.96	15.88	23.47	17.87	29.44	21.45	33.74	16.56	31.89
<i>Washing dishes</i>	6.07	13.58	9.63	18.12	10.00	18.16	14.23	20.23	7.84	22.50	8.24	12.37	3.37	10.44	5.27	11.20	5.63	15.01
<b>Cleaning</b>	<b>4.64</b>	12.64	<b>7.96</b>	22.27	<b>10.17</b>	26.66	<b>8.08</b>	24.00	<b>10.27</b>	24.32	<b>17.65</b>	32.70	<b>7.87</b>	22.64	<b>7.09</b>	27.87	<b>10.94</b>	33.92
<i>Cleaning (inside)</i>	4.64	12.64	7.96	22.27	10.17	26.66	8.08	24.00	7.03	15.79	11.18	22.61	7.87	22.64	7.09	27.87	10.94	33.92
<i>Cleaning (garden and outside)</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.24	19.73	6.47	26.68	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>Clothing preparation</b>	<b>5.36</b>	13.61	<b>12.41</b>	30.89	<b>13.45</b>	28.38	<b>11.92</b>	25.46	<b>9.73</b>	26.51	<b>12.35</b>	25.13	<b>8.88</b>	23.91	<b>8.91</b>	29.23	<b>13.44</b>	43.97
<i>Laundry</i>	0.36	1.87	1.48	7.37	2.07	8.74	0.77	3.92	0.27	1.64	1.18	4.85	1.01	7.54	0.55	4.05	2.50	12.44
<i>Ironing</i>	0.36	2.67	2.96	21.77	1.21	9.19	3.08	11.23	2.43	14.80	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.27	9.44	0.00	0.00
<i>Clothing repairing</i>	4.64	12.64	7.96	22.27	10.17	26.66	8.08	24.00	7.03	15.79	11.18	22.61	7.87	22.64	7.09	27.87	10.94	33.92
<b>Gardening and pet caring</b>	<b>7.68</b>	53.53	<b>6.48</b>	34.76	<b>10.86</b>	49.18	<b>5.38</b>	14.76	<b>10.00</b>	35.12	<b>1.18</b>	4.85	<b>5.28</b>	20.40	<b>8.00</b>	27.31	<b>5.63</b>	28.39
<i>Gardening</i>	7.68	53.53	5.00	34.08	6.03	45.96	3.85	13.88	3.51	21.37	0.00	0.00	2.70	15.06	3.82	24.53	2.81	15.91
<i>Pet caring (home)</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.86	5.39	0.38	1.96	1.35	5.85	1.18	4.85	0.22	2.12	1.09	4.97	2.19	12.37
<i>Walking with dog</i>	0.00	0.00	1.48	7.87	3.97	18.16	1.15	5.88	5.14	20.09	0.00	0.00	2.36	13.98	3.09	12.15	0.63	3.54
<b>Repairing and maintaining</b>	<b>10.00</b>	67.15	<b>0.56</b>	3.02	<b>0.69</b>	4.13	<b>5.00</b>	23.54	<b>0.54</b>	2.29	<b>5.88</b>	24.25	<b>5.84</b>	28.75	<b>12.00</b>	36.43	<b>3.75</b>	21.21
<i>Home maintaining</i>	10.00	67.15	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.62	23.53	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.38	27.63	11.09	36.09	2.19	12.37
<i>Car maintaining</i>	0.00	0.00	0.56	3.02	0.69	4.13	0.38	1.96	0.54	2.29	5.88	24.25	1.46	8.73	0.91	6.74	1.56	8.84
<b>Purchasing and services</b>	<b>8.93</b>	24.55	<b>12.41</b>	28.61	<b>16.55</b>	34.36	<b>15.00</b>	23.87	<b>16.76</b>	37.12	<b>2.94</b>	12.13	<b>18.65</b>	40.40	<b>27.64</b>	54.64	<b>41.25</b>	94.76
<i>Purchasing goods</i>	8.93	24.55	12.41	28.61	14.48	33.25	10.77	16.71	14.32	31.85	2.94	12.13	18.65	40.40	21.27	44.27	37.50	93.36
<i>General services (i.e. post office)</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	1.31	0.00	0.00	1.62	9.86	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.36	36.07	3.75	16.21
<i>Personal services (i.e. doctor)</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.90	11.15	4.23	17.93	0.81	4.93	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>Home management</b>	<b>0.36</b>	2.67	<b>0.37</b>	2.72	<b>1.03</b>	7.88	<b>4.62</b>	23.53	<b>1.62</b>	8.34	<b>0.00</b>	0.00	<b>0.56</b>	3.49	<b>1.27</b>	6.68	<b>0.00</b>	0.00
<i>Total Household responsibilities</i>	<b>60.18</b>	109.17	<b>78.89</b>	81.19	<b>89.14</b>	98.29	<b>90.77</b>	96.08	<b>78.38</b>	100.71	<b>64.12</b>	78.27	<b>68.31</b>	83.19	<b>91.64</b>	96.16	<b>97.19</b>	144.03
Observations	56		54		58		26		37		17		89		55		32	

**A21. OLS regressions. Minutes of total housework (Demographic variables)**

	<b>Fathers</b>	
	Mean	Std. Error
<i>Age</i>		
Less than 29 years old	0.00	(omitted)
From 30 to 44 years old	-49.08	30.51
More than 45 years old	-39.94	31.86
Weekday	-34.67***	9.11
Health	0.31	14.00
<i>Number of household</i>		
3 members	0.00	(omitted)
4 members	-26.32	9.55
5 members	-20.16***	15.95
Adult dependent	-2.29	11.05
External help	11.10	10.10
Nationality	1.78	14.13
Urban	-0.53***	0.13
<i>Educational level</i>		
Primary or below	0.00	(omitted)
Lower Secondary	9.74	20.65
Upper Secondary	-14.04	21.97
Post-secondary non-tertiary	15.95	20.74
Bachelor	10.22	23.40
Master	18.05	21.36
Constant	144.07***	37.60
R2	0.0936	
Number of Observations	471	

## A22. OLS regressions. Minutes of total housework (Working variables)

	Fathers	
	Mean	Std. Dev
Number of hours	-.63	.49
Public sector	15,38	17,13
Income		
Income 1	9,31	12,93
Income 2	16,49	13,38
Income 3	13,07	15,14
Income 4	6,58	15,32
Occupation		
Occ 1	-47,96**	22,12
Occ 2	-51,92**	23,55
Occ 3	-41,74*	21,92
Occ 4	-32,81	25,52
Occ 5	-21,12	24,42
Occ 6	-32,98	31,71
Occ 7	-40,05**	19,38
Occ 8	-33,20	20,67
Occ 9	0,00	(omitted)
Number of hours (partner)	.16	.50
Occupation (partner)		
Occ 1	72,73**	28,91
Occ 2	73,63***	21,50
Occ 3	71,36***	21,95
Occ 4	75,14***	22,73
Occ 5	74,78***	24,30
Occ 6	84,08	88,43
Occ 7	81,52**	31,74
Occ 8	94,16**	37,10
Occ 9	45,42*	25,69
Constant	58,56**	28,31
R2	0,1881	
Number of Observations	356	

\*p <0.1. \*\* p<0.05. \*\*\* p>0.01