

Fathers' and mothers' enjoyment of childcare: the role of multitasking

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Abstract

Using data from the latest edition of the Italian Time Use Survey (ITUS, 2013–2014), we analyse 31,309 childcare episodes to investigate the relationship between multitasking (i.e., the combination of childcare with housework tasks) and parents' enjoyment of the time they spent on childcare, with a gender perspective. To this end, we rely on information from the episode enjoyment scores the respondents used to evaluate the degree of (un)pleasantness associated with the different activities they recorded in a daily diary. These episode enjoyment scores are a novelty in the ITUS, and provide a unique measure of the respondents' momentary assessments of their subjective well-being. Our results highlight the existence of a negative relationship between multitasking and parental well-being when spending time on childcare for both mothers and fathers, regardless of the nature of the childcare activity they were performing (i.e., routine or recreational childcare). Our findings add to prior research by shedding new light on the role of multitasking as a relevant contextual characteristic of care that affects the well-being of fathers, as well as of mothers.

Keywords: time use; childcare; well-being; parents

1 Introduction

The rise of dual-earner couples together with the emergence of more time-demanding jobs (e.g., non-standard working hours) in recent decades are among the factors that have contributed to the time squeeze reported by individuals and by families. Nevertheless, existing studies have shown that in industrialised countries, parents are devoting more time to caring for their children today than they did several decades ago (Gauthier et al. 2004; García-Mainar et al. 2011; Faircloth

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2014). The upward trend in the time spent on childcare has been accompanied by a cultural shift towards more time-intensive and child-centred parenting (Hays 1996; Craig et al. 2014). Busier parents have adapted to “the changing rhythms of family life” by becoming increasingly likely to engage in multitasking to ensure they are spending adequate amounts of time with their children (Bianchi et al. 2006). Prior research has suggested that multitasking is a source of gender inequality, as mothers are more likely than fathers to multitask by doing housework and childcare simultaneously. Thus, it appears that this trend has further widened the gender gap in time use patterns. Moreover, for mothers, multitasking at home is more likely to be associated with negative emotional experiences and work-family conflicts (Offer and Schneider 2011). The rise of the intensive parenting culture has contributed to mothers feeling increased pressure to spend time with their children, given their traditional role as the primary caregiver. The significant changes in the context and the meaning of parenting that have taken place in recent decades have led scholars to pay increasing attention to the well-being of parents. A number of studies have shown that parents have lower general levels of subjective well-being than childless people (e.g., Aassve et al. 2012). Nelson and colleagues (2014) have suggested that there is a highly complex relationship between parenthood and well-being. Specifically, they have argued that parents are more likely than non-parents to report negative experiences (e.g., financial problems, sleep disturbances, troubled marriages), but that parents also experience more positive emotions, such as happiness and the feeling that their life has greater meaning. Drawing on data from the American Time Use Survey (ATUS), Negraia and Augustine (2020) compared the well-being of parents and non-parents in a large set of time use activities, and found support for the claim that parental experiences are a “mixed bag”.¹ Fewer studies have analysed the relationship between spending time on childcare and well-being among parents. Connelly and Kimmel (2015) provided evidence that both American mothers and fathers enjoy the time they spend on childcare. Their findings also indicated that fathers enjoy their parenting time more than mothers, with the latter reporting higher levels of stress and tiredness. Similarly, Musick and colleagues (2016), using ATUS data, found that while parents consistently report greater subjective well-being when engaged in activities with their children than without, mothers report feeling less happiness and more stress and fatigue than fathers when spending time with their children. According to McDonnell and colleagues (2019), who used ATUS data to examine mothers' and fathers' momentary affect during childcare activities, such imbalances are partly explained by the gendered nature of parenting; i.e., by the considerable differences in the amounts of time as well as in the characteristics of the time mothers and fathers spend with their children.

¹ The authors show that parents of minor children experience higher levels of positive emotions (happiness, meaning) and less sadness than non-parents in their daily activities, but also more negative emotions (stress and fatigue).

To date, most studies on parents' well-being when spending time on childcare have focused on the US (e.g., [Offer 2014](#); [Connelly and Kimmel 2015](#); [Musick et al. 2016](#); [Meier et al. 2018](#)), while European research on this topic has been rarer, partly due to data availability.² This article investigates the subjective experience of time spent on childcare among Italian fathers and mothers. Our focus is on two aspects of parenting that have been shown to be considerably gendered: the type of childcare activity performed and the simultaneous performance of childcare and housework (i.e., multitasking). We also take into consideration other dimensions of the "care context" ([McDonnell et al. 2019](#)) by controlling our results for a number of relevant characteristics of childcare that have been found to differ considerably between mothers and fathers, such as the presence of other adults, the amount of time spent on childcare during the day, the duration of the activity and the time of day when the activity is performed. We aim to answer the following research questions: Do momentary assessments of well-being vary according to the type of childcare activity being performed by mothers and fathers? Does performing childcare and housework tasks simultaneously affect parents' subjective experience of the time they spend with their children? Do men and women differ in their multitasking behaviours? Drawing on prior research that showed that performing multiple unpaid tasks at the same time is associated with a feeling of being under time pressure ([Craig and Brown 2017](#)), and that multitasking at home is related to negative emotions and psychological distress for mothers only ([Offer and Schneider 2011](#)), we expect to find that multitasking when performing childcare negatively affects the subjective well-being of mothers, but not of fathers. Furthermore, we assume that the negative effect of multitasking will be more evident when parents are engaged in physical care and supervising activities for two reasons. First, as such activities have been conceptualised as forms of routine unpaid care work given their repetitive nature and the relatively low degree of interaction involved (e.g., [Craig 2006](#); [Craig and Powell 2011](#)), they are likely to be less enjoyable for parents than engaging in other activities with their children, such as recreational activities. Second, there is ample evidence of a gendered division of childcare tasks, with women taking on the largest share of the routine work burden (e.g., [Fuligni and Brooks-Gunn 2004](#); [Craig and Mullan 2011](#)). Therefore, we assume that combining routine care work with other unpaid routine tasks is likely to result in a less enjoyable experience for mothers.

Our study contributes to the literature in the field by evaluating how multitasking affects mothers' and fathers' experiences of the time they spent on childcare, while distinguishing between routine and recreational activities. To this end, the paper is organised as follows. Section 2 presents the theoretical background of the paper, with a focus on the relationship between multitasking and well-being. Section 3 describes the data and methods used, while Section 4 presents the

² Time use surveys are less frequent, and information on the assessment of momentary well-being is available for a few European countries only.

results. More specifically, Section 4.1 reports the descriptive findings for detailed childcare activities (i.e., routine care, recreational care, educational care and travel-related care) in order to provide an initial broad picture of the differences between mothers and fathers in the amounts and the nature of the time they spent with their children. Then, Section 4.2 presents the model results on the relationship between multitasking and the subjective well-being of mothers and fathers. Due to the small sample size of multitasking episodes recorded by parents while performing educational and travel-related childcare tasks, only the results for routine and recreational activities (in addition to the results related to the overall childcare episodes) are presented. Section 4.3 provides a brief discussion of the sensitive analyses we performed to check the robustness of the models' results. Finally, Section 5 concludes.

2 Background

In recent decades, the rhythm of family life in industrialised countries has changed, as women's labour market participation has risen significantly, and double-earner households have become increasingly common (Bianchi et al. 2006). The observation that the new role of women in the labour market would inevitably reduce the amount of time they had available to devote to unpaid family work led to concerns being raised that these changes were occurring at the expense of children, with mothers taking time away from their childcare duties to meet their job responsibilities. However, scholars have since demystified the *bad working mother* myth by providing evidence that contemporary employed mothers are devoting at least as much time to their children as the "Golden Age" housewives (Bianchi and Milkie 2010; Liss et al. 2013). Moreover, even as mothers have continued to spend a significant portion of their time caring for their children, the amount of time fathers are spending with their children has been increasing since the 1960s in the US (Bianchi 2000; Wang and Bianchi 2009; Hofferth and Lee 2015) and in Europe (Goldscheider et al. 2014). In their comparative study of 16 industrialised countries, Gauthier and colleagues (2004) showed that the upward trend in the time parents are spending on childcare can be mostly explained by their increasing time investments in activities involving a high degree of interaction with their children, such as playing. Higher parental time investments have also been shown to have positive effects on the cognitive development of children (Del Boca et al. 2014), and, ultimately, on the production of human capital in many industrialised countries (Vargha and Donehower 2019). However, this upward trend in the amount of time parents are devoting to childcare is likely to result in increasing pressures on parents. The contemporary growth of dual-earner couples has contributed to increases in parents' workloads, and, thus, to time squeezes for individuals and families (Buddelmeyer et al. 2018). Time-use studies conducted in different European countries have shown that dual-earner couples with young children are especially likely to be rushed (e.g., Zannella et al. 2019). While the amount of time men spend

on childcare has been increasing, the gender gap in unpaid care work persists in many highly industrialised countries (Altintas and Sullivan 2016). These findings suggest that many women today work a second shift at home in addition to the paid job they perform in the formal sector (Hochschild 1989; Bianchi and Milkie 2010; Neilson and Stanfors 2014). As Mattingly and Sayer (2006: 1) noted: “*persistent inequality in gendered time-use patterns is paralleled by gendered experiences of time pressure*”. In other words, compared to men, women not only experience more time scarcity, they are also more likely to report feelings of time pressure and other forms of psychological distress (Nelson et al. 2014).

2.1 Multitasking and well-being

Parents have responded to growing time pressures by becoming increasingly likely to engage in multitasking; that is, to performing different activities at the same time (Bianchi et al. 2006). Based on time use data for the UK, Sullivan and Gershuny (2013; 2018) have consistently shown that women are more likely than men to report multitasking time use episodes, especially when carrying out childcare or housework tasks. Nevertheless, the authors did not find support for the assumption that there is a relationship between multitasking and being rushed. By contrast, drawing on Australian time use data, Craig and Brown (2017) found evidence of a positive association between multitasking by performing multiple unpaid work tasks simultaneously and feelings of time pressure among mothers. Thus, their results suggest that gender differences in multitasking behaviour are related not only to the quantity of time spent performing parallel activities, but also to the different levels of well-being parents experience while engaged in these activities.

A recent branch of the literature on the time use patterns of mothers and fathers has focused on the relationship between engaging in parenting activities and parents’ subjective well-being. These studies have found that spending time with their children has positive effects on the well-being of parents; and that fathers tend to enjoy spending time on childcare more than mothers, with the latter being more likely to report feeling less happiness and more stress and fatigue when engaged in childcare tasks (e.g., Musick et al. 2016). McDonnell et al. (2019) have highlighted the role played by the contextual characteristics of care in determining gender imbalances in subjective experiences of childcare. However, in their study based on ATUS data, the authors overlooked the role of multitasking in their investigation of how the “care context” influences mothers’ and fathers’ momentary affect during childcare activities. Indeed, very little is known about the relationship between multitasking and measures of the momentary well-being of parents. In one of the few empirical studies on the topic, Offer and Schneider (2011) used data from the 500 Family Study on American dual-earner middle-class parents collected via the experience sampling method to investigate how multitasking influenced mothers’ experiences of emotional stress and negative affect. However, in their analysis of the relationship between multitasking and momentary well-being, the authors focused

on where the simultaneous activities were performed (e.g., at home, at work), without taking into consideration the specific nature (or typology) of the activities that were carried out simultaneously. In a more recent study, [Dunatchik and Speight \(2020\)](#) used data from the UK Time Use Survey to investigate whether for parents, simultaneously performing two unpaid work tasks or combining an unpaid work task with a secondary leisure activity was associated with higher or lower levels of enjoyment of the time spent on unpaid work. Their results indicated that the parents enjoyed performing housework and childcare tasks more when they combined these activities with a secondary leisure activity. However, the results for the parents' perceptions of combining multiple unpaid work activities were mixed. Indeed, the study found that for mothers, multitasking by combining a primary childcare task with a secondary housework activity was associated with less enjoyment in most instances, while the opposite was the case for fathers.

This article expands on previous time use literature by investigating parental well-being while performing childcare, with a focus on multitasking, defined as combining childcare with housework. This approach is motivated by existing evidence that multitasking by performing multiple unpaid work tasks simultaneously is the "most intense" type of multitasking ([Sayer 2007a](#)). I.e., it is associated with the feeling of being under time pressure (e.g., [Craig and Brown 2017](#)) and entails more work for mothers, which further enlarges the gender gap in unpaid work (see, among others, [Craig 2007](#); [Sayer 2007b](#)). Our definition of multitasking includes all possible combinations of childcare with housework, regardless of whether childcare was recorded by the respondents as the primary or the secondary activity. Indeed, including secondary childcare activities is inherently relevant for the analysis of the subjective experience of parenting time for two main reasons. First, including only childcare as a primary activity would underestimate the amount of time spent by parents e, and especially mothers, on childcare. Second, the amount of time spent by parents on secondary childcare is likely to affect their subjective experiences of parenting time (see [Craig 2006](#)).

3 Data and methods

The study builds on data from the Italian Time Use Survey (ITUS) for the year 2013/4 to evaluate fathers' and mothers' subjective well-being during the time they spent caring for their children. ITUS includes three data files: the individual file, the daily diary and the weekly diary. The daily diary consisted of time data collected through the diary technique: the respondents recorded their time use during the previous 24 hours in their own words. The time diaries were randomly distributed across the days of the week to all household members aged three years and older. The respondents were asked to fill in the daily diary every 10 minutes by reporting the following information: a description of the main activity that was being carried out, the possible presence of a parallel secondary activity, the location where the activity was being performed, the level of enjoyment the respondent

was experiencing, and whether the respondent was alone or with other people (e.g., partner, own children, other family members, friends). The individual file includes information about the socio-demographic characteristics of the individual respondent, the characteristics of the household, background information and information on the well-being of the respondent in different life domains. Our target population consisted of 6,582 individuals aged 25 to 54 years who were parents of dependent children aged up to 14 years.³ We relied on information from the episode enjoyment scores used by the respondents to evaluate the degree of (un)pleasantness associated with the different activities recorded in the daily diary to analyse the well-being of mothers and fathers when they were spending time on childcare. The scores ranged from -3 (very unpleasant) to 3 (very pleasant), and reflected answers to the following question: *How pleasant was the moment?* As Kahneman and Krueger (2006, p. 18) have observed: “[...] one could legitimately question whether one should give a cardinal interpretation to the numeric values attached to individuals’ responses about their life satisfaction or emotional states [...]”. For this reason, we decided to build a dichotomous indicator of momentary well-being (MW) based on the actual distribution of the enjoyment scores. For each childcare episode analysed, the MW indicator was assigned a value of one if its enjoyment score was in the lowest 25th percentile of the scores recorded by the respondents for the corresponding activity; and of zero otherwise.^{4,5} The sample distribution of the enjoyment scores by the type of childcare activity performed is shown in Table A.1 in the appendix. The 25th percentile on which our indicator is based is equal to one (i.e., “somewhat pleasant”) for all the activities considered.⁶ Thus, our indicator distinguished between fully pleasant (i.e., very pleasant and pleasant) and more nuanced experiences, including childcare episodes rated as fairly pleasant, neutral or unpleasant.

Our main aim is to assess the subjective well-being of the parents when they were spending time on childcare. We are particularly interested in understanding whether and, if so, to what extent mothers’ and fathers’ enjoyment of childcare time varied depending on the type of childcare activity they were performing, and

³ The choice of this specific age cut for parents is motivated by the very small numbers of fathers and mothers at younger (1.1%) and older ages (3.1%) in our sample. Indeed, the selected age group includes 95.8% of the sampled parents who reported living with dependent children.

⁴ The 25th percentile is calculated on the complete sample of mothers and fathers.

⁵ As shown in Section 4.3, in order to perform a sensitivity analysis, we repeated the analysis using the episode enjoyment scores as the dependent variable in a linear regression model. We found that even the cardinal interpretation of the data on subjective momentary well-being leads to the same path of results. Thus, our findings confirmed those reported by Musick et al. (2016), who first applied the linear regression approach, and then generated the dichotomous indicator of well-being for their own sensitivity analysis.

⁶ Unfortunately, we had to exclude travelling and teaching from the analysis due to the small number of multitasking episodes involving these activities that were reported by parents (and especially fathers) (see Table 3).

on whether they were doing housework as a parallel activity (i.e., multitasking). For this purpose, we use logistic regression to analyse the parents' probability of experiencing a childcare episode that was not (fully) pleasant (MW indicator = 1). We run separate models for the subsamples of men and women for each of the following activities considered: performing overall childcare, providing routine care and providing recreational care (resulting in six models in total). Our main explicative variable is multitasking. As we explained in Section 2.1, our definition of multitasking includes all possible combinations of childcare tasks with housework, regardless of whether childcare was recorded by the respondent as a primary or as a secondary activity. The control variables include the following: individual characteristics (age, education, employment status, life satisfaction, single parent/living in a couple), household characteristics (number of children, age of the youngest child, the number of daily hours spent on childcare), characteristics of the episode (i.e., the episode's starting hour, the presence of at least one other adult, the duration of the episode) as well as characteristics of the diary entry (day of the week, survey quarter). In order to check the robustness of our results, we replicated the analysis by using the episode enjoyment scores as a dependent variable in a linear regression model (Section 4.3).

4 Results

4.1 Descriptive results

Our subsample of parents recorded 31,309 childcare episodes, the great majority of which (more than 70%) were performed by mothers. Thus, the numbers of childcare episodes reported by men and women differed considerably, as did the distributions of the episodes across different types of childcare activities (Table 1).

Table 1:
Composition of childcare episodes by detailed activities

	Men		Women	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Overall childcare	8,974	100.0	22,335	100.0
Routine care	2,386	26.6	8,631	38.6
Educational care	212	2.4	743	3.3
Recreational care	4,300	47.9	8,436	37.8
Travel-related care	2,072	23.1	4,525	20.3

Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

Of the total childcare episodes reported by women, 38.6% involved routine care tasks (i.e., providing physical care and supervising children). By contrast, of the total childcare episodes reported by men, 26.6% were routine care activities. Conversely, of the childcare episodes reported by women, 37.8% involved recreational activities (e.g., playing with the child, talking to the child, reading to the child), compared to 47.9% of the childcare episodes reported by men. Women reported spending more time (3.3% of episodes) on educational childcare (e.g., helping the child doing the homework, correcting homework, etc.) than men (2.4% of episodes), while the opposite pattern emerged for episodes related to accompanying children and other travel-related childcare.

Information on the average hours per week mothers and fathers devoted to both primary and secondary childcare is shown in Table 2. Although the focus of this paper is on the number and the nature of the childcare episodes recorded by each parent in the time diary, such information is relevant to obtain a broader understanding of the gendered nature of the time spent on childcare. On average, mothers spent about 22 h and fathers spent about 13 h per week caring for their children. In line with the results of other studies, we found that the inclusion of secondary childcare activities increased the gender gap in unpaid work (e.g., Craig 2006), with mothers spending twice as much time as fathers on secondary childcare. Most of the time spent on secondary childcare by both men and women involved recreational activities (more than 3 h per week for mothers and almost 2 h per week for fathers).

Table 2:
Mean week hours devoted to childcare activities by gender (weighted sample estimates)

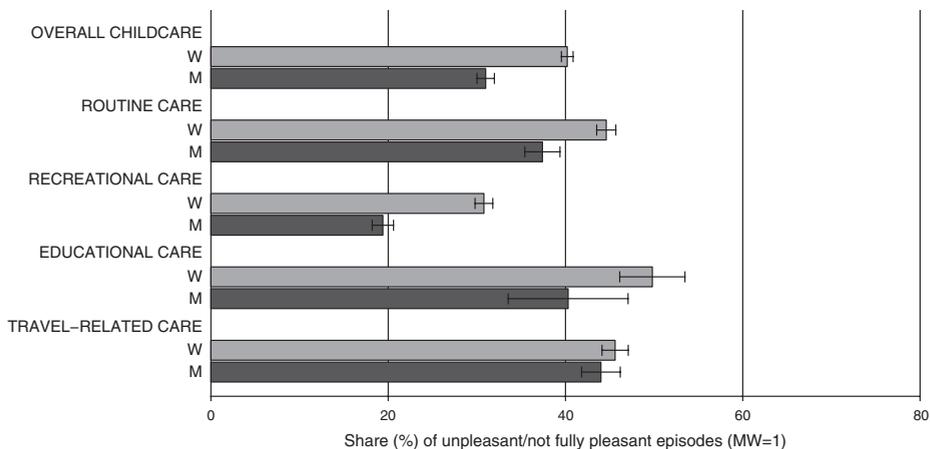
	Overall childcare		Routine care		Educational care		Recreational care		Travel-related care	
	Mean	Std err	Mean	Std err	Mean	Std err	Mean	Std err	Mean	Std err
Men										
Main	10.4	0.21	2.8	0.11	0.7	0.06	4.4	0.13	2.6	0.13
Secondary	2.2	0.10	0.4	0.05	0.0	0.00	1.8	0.09	0.0	0.01
Total	12.6	0.23	3.2	0.12	0.7	0.06	6.2	0.15	2.6	0.13
Women										
Main	17.1	0.23	7.6	0.17	1.7	0.07	3.4	0.10	4.4	0.12
Secondary	4.6	0.14	0.8	0.06	0.0	0.00	3.6	0.12	0.2	0.02
Total	21.7	0.27	8.4	0.19	1.7	0.07	7.0	0.16	4.6	0.12

Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

In the individual ITUS questionnaire, parents were asked to assess their level of satisfaction with the quantity of time they were spending with their children. Around 67% of mothers and 44.4% of fathers stated that they were satisfied. The majority of men (54%), but less than one-third (31%) of women, said that they felt they were spending too little time with their children. By contrast, only a very small proportion of the parents said they felt they were spending too much time with their children (2.2% of mothers and 1.5% of fathers).

In line with the results of previous studies (e.g., Offer 2014; Connelly and Kimmel 2015; Musick et al. 2016), we found that the parents in our sample reported enjoying the time they spent on childcare: 81.5% out of 31,309 total childcare episodes were rated as positive, 15.2% were rated as neutral, and only 3.3% were rated as negative (see Table A.1). Nevertheless, compared to fathers, mothers reported having fewer very pleasant moments, as well as more negative and neutral childcare episodes. The sample distribution of childcare episodes according to the MW indicator, gender and type of childcare activity is shown in Figure 1. As we mentioned in Section 3, the 25th percentile on which our indicator is based was positive – that is, was equal to one (i.e., “somewhat pleasant”) – for all of the activities we considered; meaning that our indicator of momentary well-being distinguished between fully pleasant and less pleasant or unpleasant childcare episodes. In total, a larger share of childcare episodes was rated as not pleasant/not fully pleasant by women (40.2%) than by men (31.0%). Gender disparities were found for all of the activities considered (although

Figure 1:
Sample distribution of unpleasant or not fully pleasant (MW = 1) episodes by gender and type of childcare activity



Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

Note: The MW indicator is based on time use enjoyment scores. The indicator is equal to one when the episode was assessed as unpleasant or not fully pleasant by the respondent.

Table 3:
Share (%) of multitasking episodes on total episodes by gender and detailed childcare activity

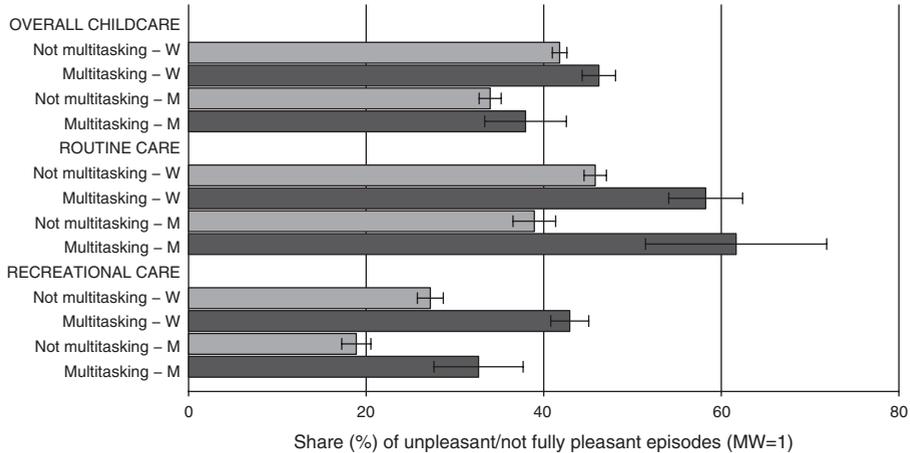
Multitasking	Overall childcare	Routine care	Educational care	Recreational care	Travel-related care
Men					
Yes	5.4	3.9	0.0	8.2	0.2
Not	94.6	96.1	100	91.8	99.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Women					
Yes	12.7	6.5	6.1	25.3	2.1
Not	87.3	93.5	93.9	74.7	97.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

these differences were not statistically significant for travel-related episodes). For both mothers and fathers, recreational childcare was the activity for which the lowest share of unpleasant childcare episodes was reported. However, this was also the activity for which the largest gender differences were detected (with the MW indicator being equal to one in 30.8% of the episodes reported by mothers and in 19.4% of the episodes reported by fathers).

Table 3 shows the distribution of multitasking childcare episodes by gender and detailed activities. In line with prior research on multitasking (e.g., [Craig 2006](#); [Craig and Brown 2017](#)), we found that the share of total childcare episodes in which the respondent reported also doing housework was larger for mothers (12.7%) than for fathers (5.4%). The largest shares of multitasking episodes reported by both mothers (25.3%) and fathers (8.2%) involved recreational activities. By contrast, almost none of the fathers reported engaging in multitasking episodes involving educational or travel-related childcare. Thus, we were unable to further analyse these two activities. Figure 2 displays sample estimates of the shares of childcare episodes rated as unpleasant/not fully pleasant by gender and by whether the episodes involved multitasking while providing overall, routine or recreational childcare. Multitasking episodes were rated as considerably less pleasant by parents than episodes in which childcare was the only activity they were performing. This finding held for both genders and for all the three categories considered, although the confidence intervals indicate that the result was not statistically significant for overall childcare performed by men. In the next section, the relationship between multitasking and parental well-being while spending time on childcare is further investigated in a multivariate setting.

Figure 2:
Sample distribution of unpleasant or not fully pleasant (MW = 1) episodes by gender, type of childcare activity and multitasking (i.e., doing housework as a parallel activity)



Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

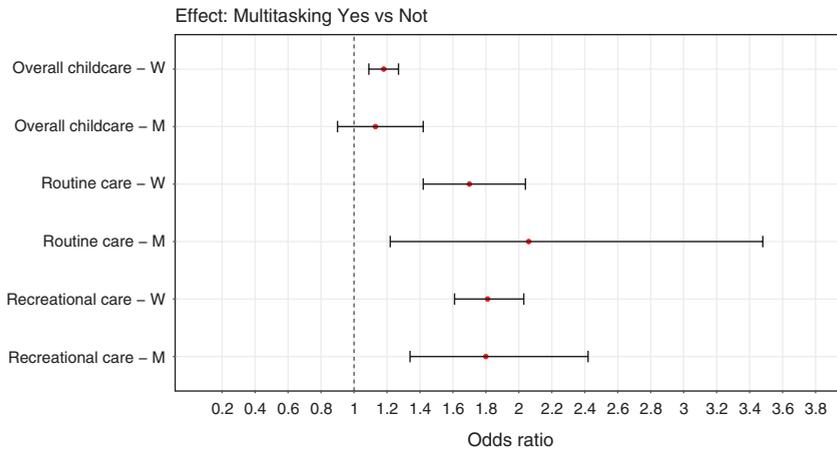
Note: The MW indicator is based on time use enjoyment scores. The indicator is equal to one when the episode was assessed as unpleasant or as not fully pleasant by the respondent.

4.2 Model results

The results of logistic models on the relationship between multitasking and momentary well-being are presented in Figure 3. Performing routine care together with housework was negatively associated with levels of subjective well-being for both mothers and fathers. Contrary to our expectations, we found that multitasking negatively affected the subjective perception of providing routine care for fathers as well as for mothers, even though fathers generally take on a considerably smaller share of the unpaid routine work burden than mothers. Similarly, multitasking significantly reduced the well-being of both mothers and fathers when they were playing or interacting with their children. Indeed, the negative effect of multitasking on the well-being of mothers did not seem to change much depending on the type (i.e., routine or non-routine) of childcare tasks they were performing. In terms of the time spent on overall childcare, multitasking negatively affected the well-being of both parents, but the result was statistically significant only for mothers.⁷

⁷ This can likely be at least partly explained by the small sample size of the multitasking episodes reported by fathers involving childcare activities other than routine and recreational care (see Table 3).

Figure 3:
Odds ratio of experiencing an unpleasant childcare episode depending on the presence of multitasking



Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

In summary, our results show that for the parents in our sample, there was a negative relationship between multitasking and their enjoyment of the time they spent on childcare. This result held for both genders, and regardless of the nature of the activity performed (i.e., whether it was routine or recreational care). Thus, whereas prior studies showed a negative effect of multitasking on individual well-being for mothers only (Offer and Schneider 2011; Craig and Brown 2017; Dunatchik and Speight 2020), our results indicate that multitasking in the domestic sphere negatively affects the momentary well-being of fathers as well.

As we mentioned in Section 3, the results relating to the effect of multitasking on mothers' and fathers' subjective perceptions of the time they spent on childcare were obtained by controlling for a large number of characteristics of the respondent, the household and the episode. A brief discussion of the relative coefficients obtained from the models reported in the appendix (Tables A.2–A.7) sheds further light on this phenomenon. A common result is related to the presence of another adult while spending time caring for children: both mothers and fathers reported that sharing the time spent on childcare with another adult increased their enjoyment of the activity (although the coefficient was not statistically significant for men performing routine care). Indeed, previous research has shown that for parents, spending solo time with their children is associated with greater responsibilities, while sharing childcare with other adults lightens the pressure on them (Craig 2006), and, thus, relieves parenting “role overload” (see Nomaguchi and Milkie 2020). Another recurring result was related to the duration of the episode: relatively short (less than 40 minutes) and relatively long episodes (more than 60 minutes) were found to be negatively

associated with parental well-being (except for men during routine care). A similar result was found in relation to the average amount of time spent on childcare during the day, except for routine care provided by mothers, for which longer hours devoted to the activity were associated with higher probabilities of experiencing unpleasant moments. This result seems to corroborate the findings of prior research on the gendered nature of parenting time, which showed that spending more cumulative time on childcare during the day and bearing most of the responsibility for routine care tend to have detrimental effects on the well-being of mothers (McDonnell et al. 2019). Looking at the household characteristics, we observed a negative relationship between the number of children and the momentary well-being of parents. For overall and routine care, having pre-school children was negatively associated with the probability of reporting unpleasant episodes. This result is consistent with evidence from existing studies that analysed parental well-being according to the age of the child, and found that parents had higher levels of well-being when caring for very young children, despite the intense time demands associated with caring for them (e.g., Meier et al. 2018). Being a single parent was not shown to be statistically significantly related to the degree of enjoyment parents experienced while spending time on childcare. When we looked at the characteristics of the respondents, we observed that for all parents and for all of the activities considered, being dissatisfied with life in general was associated with higher probabilities of experiencing less enjoyment of the time spent on childcare. The results for men's employment status pointed in a similar direction: unemployment was positively associated with the probability of reporting less enjoyment during overall and recreational childcare activities.⁸ Indeed, prior research has shown that there is a strong negative relationship between unemployment and life satisfaction, and that people who are unemployed are more likely than people who are employed to report that they have less enjoyment of the activities they engage in (Hoang and Knabe 2020). All in all, we found that parents' enjoyment of routine care was more weakly related to the individual characteristics of fathers and mothers than parents' enjoyment of recreational care.

4.3 Sensitivity/robustness analysis

We checked the robustness of our results by developing a sensitivity analysis to evaluate whether our results changed depending on the measure used to estimate mothers' and fathers' enjoyment of their parenting time. We used the episode enjoyment scores as the dependent variable, and modelled it as a continuous variable using linear regression (see also Musick et al. 2016; Meier et al. 2018; Negraia and Augustine 2020). We adopted the same analytical strategy that we used for the MW indicator, and ran separate models by gender and by type of activity (resulting in

⁸ A similar direction of the relationship was also observed for women in the models for routine care; however, the coefficients were not statistically significant.

a total of six models). The independent variables were also the same. The results from the regression analysis confirm our finding that for all of the activities we considered, performing childcare and housework at the same time was associated with lower levels of subjective well-being for both mothers and fathers, although the effect was not significant for men in relation to the time they spent on overall childcare due to the small number of multitasking episodes they reported while performing educational and travel-related childcare (Table A.8). Overall, the results for the effects of multitasking on the subjective experiences of parenting time are in line with those based on the dichotomous indicator.

5 Concluding remarks

In this article, we used data from the latest time use survey available for Italy (year 2013/4) to study Italian mothers' and fathers' enjoyment of the time they spent on childcare. To do so, we took advantage of novel information included in the latest version of ITUS: the enjoyment scores used by the respondents to evaluate the degree of (un)pleasantness associated with episodes of the different activities recorded in a daily diary. Unlike the ATUS and other time use surveys, in which respondents were asked to report on five emotions (i.e., meaning, happiness, sadness, tiredness, stress and pain) for a number of sampled activities, the ITUS respondents were asked to rate their general level of enjoyment for each time use episode experienced during the day. This approach has both advantages and disadvantages. On one hand, it does not permit to distinguish between the different emotions that determine the respondents' levels of momentary well-being. For instance, existing studies have shown that although mothers and fathers report similarly high levels of happiness and meaning when caring for their children, mothers report higher levels of tiredness and stress when engaged in almost every childcare activity (e.g., [Musick et al. 2016](#)). On the other hand, this approach allows for a more in-depth analysis of the link between well-being and the use of time for detailed activities.

Our main goal was to assess the relationship between multitasking and parental well-being. To this end, we created a marker of multitasking to indicate whether childcare was performed as a single task or in combination with other unpaid work activities. Thus, we tested the association between multitasking and parents' momentary assessments of well-being across different types of childcare activities, with a gender perspective. Our results provide further support for the findings of prior research showing that both mothers and fathers positively assess the time they spend on childcare, but that mothers are more likely than fathers to report having less pleasant moments (e.g., [Connelly and Kimmel 2015](#)). In line with previous studies (e.g., [Sayer 2007b](#); [Offer and Schneider 2011](#)), we found that mothers were more likely than fathers to report that they were performing childcare and housework simultaneously. Thus, by engaging in multitasking, women were doing more work than men, and the gender gap in unpaid work increased ([Craig 2007](#)). Our model results demonstrated that there was a negative relationship between

multitasking and momentary well-being for both mothers and fathers, regardless of the kind of activity they were performing (whether it was routine or recreational childcare). This finding adds insights to prior research on parental well-being by providing new evidence that multitasking is an important contextual characteristic of care that affects the subjective well-being of fathers, as well as of mothers. Indeed contemporary parents who are time squeezed are likely to feel compelled to spend as much time as possible with their children, even if this means “compressing” time by performing multiple tasks simultaneously (Craig and Brown 2016). Parenthood entails greater unpaid work requirements, not only in terms of the time needed for childcare, but for domestic work as well (Craig and Bittman 2008). From this perspective, multitasking at home may be seen as one of the strategies parents adopt to cope with this time pressure.

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Appendix

Table A.1:
Distribution of enjoyment episode scores by gender and type of childcare activity

Score	Men			Women			All		
	<i>N</i>	%	Cumul. %	<i>N</i>	%	Cumul. %	<i>N</i>	%	Cumul. %
Overall childcare									
-3	25	0.3	0.3	174	0.8	0.8	199	0.6	0.6
-2	55	0.6	0.9	160	0.7	1.5	215	0.7	1.3
-1	139	1.5	2.4	484	2.2	3.7	623	2.0	3.3
0	1,120	12.5	14.9	3,655	16.3	20.0	4,775	15.2	18.5
1	1,501	16.7	31.6	4,214	18.9	38.9	5,715	18.3	36.8
2	2,315	25.8	57.4	5,823	26.1	65.0	8,138	26.0	62.8
3	3,819	42.6	100	7,825	35	100.0	11,644	37.2	100.0
Total	8,974	100.0		22,335	100		31,309	100.0	
Routine care activities									
-3	14	0.6	0.6	66	0.8	0.8	80	0.7	0.7
-2	20	0.8	1.4	73	0.8	1.6	93	0.8	1.5
-1	56	2.3	3.7	214	2.5	4.1	270	2.5	4
0	352	14.8	18.5	1,532	17.8	21.9	1,884	17.1	21.1
1	479	20.1	38.6	1,709	19.8	41.7	2,188	19.9	41
2	610	25.6	64.2	2,231	25.8	67.5	2,841	25.8	66.8
3	855	35.8	100	2,806	32.5	100.0	3,661	33.2	100
Total	2,386	100.0		8,631	100		11,017	100.0	
Educational care activities									
-3	0	0.0	0	9	1.2	1.2	9	0.9	0.9
-2	0	0.0	0	16	2.2	3.4	16	1.7	2.6
-1	5	2.3	2.3	33	4.4	7.8	38	4.0	6.6
0	37	17.5	19.8	125	16.8	24.6	162	16.9	23.5
1	52	24.5	44.3	219	29.5	54.1	271	28.4	51.9
2	61	28.8	73.1	189	25.4	79.5	250	26.2	78.1
3	57	26.9	100	152	20.5	100.0	209	21.9	100
Total	212	100.0		743	100		955	100.0	

Continued

Table A.1:
Continued

Score	Men			Women			All		
	<i>N</i>	%	Cumul. %	<i>N</i>	%	Cumul. %	<i>N</i>	%	Cumul. %
Recreational care activities									
-3	0	0.2	0.2	9	0.6	0.6	9	0.5	0.5
-2	0	0.3	0.5	16	0.6	1.2	16	0.5	1
-1	5	0.8	1.3	33	1.6	2.8	38	1.3	2.3
0	37	8.2	9.5	125	12.5	15.3	162	11.0	13.3
1	52	11.7	21.2	219	15.6	30.9	271	14.2	27.5
2	61	25.3	46.5	189	26.3	57.2	250	26.0	53.5
3	57	53.5	100	152	42.8	100.0	209	46.5	100
Total	212	100.0		743	100		955	100.0	
Travel-related care activities									
-3	0	0.2	0.2	9	1	1.0	9	0.8	0.8
-2	0	1.0	1.2	16	0.6	1.6	16	0.7	1.5
-1	5	2.0	3.2	33	2.2	3.8	38	2.2	3.7
0	37	18.4	21.6	125	20.8	24.6	162	20.0	23.7
1	52	22.5	44.1	219	21.5	46.1	271	21.8	45.5
2	61	26.8	70.9	189	26.2	72.3	250	26.4	71.9
3	57	29.1	100	152	27.7	100.0	209	28.1	100
Total	212	100.0		743	100		955	100.0	

Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

Table A.2:
Logit model – Overall childcare, men

	Parameter estimate	Standard error	Wald Chi square	Prob > Chi square
Intercept	-0.397	0.122	10.520	<0.001
Multitasking (Ref = not)				
Yes	0.060	0.058	1.043	0.307
Episode duration (Ref = > 60 min.)				
Less than 20 min	0.266	0.047	32.640	<0.001
20–39 min	0.304	0.050	36.792	<0.001
40–59 min	-0.258	0.074	12.137	<0.001
Presence of an adult (Ref = not)				
Yes	-0.198	0.029	47.316	<0.001
Daily childcare time (Ref = >240 min.)				
Up to 90 min.	0.098	0.046	4.554	0.033
91–150 min.	0.201	0.048	17.541	<0.001
151–240 min.	-0.161	0.054	8.746	0.003
Age group (Ref = 45–54 years)				
25–34	-0.207	0.062	11.233	<0.001
35–44	0.124	0.040	9.660	0.002
Household type (Ref = single parent)				
Couple	0.111	0.097	1.300	0.254
Number of children (Ref = two or more)				
One	-0.253	0.029	75.191	<0.001
Age of the youngest child (Ref = 11–14 years)				
0–2 years	-0.365	0.051	52.219	<0.001
3–5 years	-0.225	0.049	20.919	<0.001
6–10 years	-0.031	0.051	0.369	0.544
Educational level (Ref = low)				
High	0.066	0.046	2.045	0.153
Medium	-0.118	0.038	9.589	0.002
Employment status (Ref = unemployed)				
Employed	-0.314	0.046	46.335	<0.001
Life satisfaction (Ref = satisfied)				
Dissatisfied	0.244	0.045	29.424	<0.001
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	-0.015	0.043	0.117	0.732
Survey month (Ref = August–October)				
November–January	0.179	0.045	16.044	<0.001
February–April	-0.200	0.048	17.368	<0.001
May–July	-0.042	0.052	0.672	0.413
Week day (Ref = Saturday–Sunday)				
Monday–Friday	-0.093	0.031	8.778	0.003
Episode hour of start (Ref = 16–24)				
0–8	0.407	0.055	55.846	<0.001
9–15	-0.073	0.042	2.967	0.085

Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

Table A.3:
Logit model – Overall childcare, women

	Parameter estimate	Standard error	Wald Chi square	Prob > Chi square
Intercept	-0.162	0.035	21.591	<0.001
Multitasking (Ref = not)				
Yes	0.081	0.020	15.856	<0.001
Episode duration (Ref = >60 min.)				
Less than 20 min.	0.089	0.024	13.215	<0.001
20–39 min.	0.085	0.027	10.191	0.001
40–59 min.	-0.121	0.040	9.337	0.002
Presence of an adult (Ref = not)				
Yes	-0.216	0.017	152.801	<0.001
Daily childcare time (Ref = >240 min.)				
Up to 90 min.	0.058	0.031	3.638	0.056
91–150 min.	-0.106	0.027	15.206	<0.001
151–240 min.	-0.092	0.025	14.125	<0.001
Age group (Ref = 45–54 years)				
25–34	-0.071	0.027	6.970	0.008
35–44	-0.120	0.022	31.197	<0.001
Household type (Ref = single parent)				
Couple	0.002	0.022	0.012	0.913
Number of children (Ref = two or more)				
One	-0.182	0.015	142.583	<0.001
Age of the youngest child (Ref = 11–14 years)				
0–2 years	-0.137	0.029	21.848	<0.001
3–5 years	-0.240	0.028	75.687	<0.001
6–10 years	0.139	0.026	28.659	<0.001
Educational level (Ref = low)				
High	0.098	0.024	17.287	<0.001
Medium	-0.053	0.020	7.494	0.006
Employment status (Ref = unemployed)				
Employed	-0.015	0.016	0.892	0.345
Life satisfaction (Ref = satisfied)				
Dissatisfied	0.141	0.023	38.331	<0.001
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	-0.005	0.023	0.042	0.838
Survey month (Ref = August–October)				
November–January	-0.077	0.024	9.849	0.002
February–April	-0.026	0.025	1.124	0.289
May–July	-0.033	0.026	1.700	0.192
Week day (Ref = Saturday–Sunday)				
Monday–Friday	0.024	0.018	1.914	0.166
Episode hour of start (Ref = 16–24)				
0–8	0.375	0.027	195.945	<0.001
9–15	-0.095	0.021	20.729	<0.001

Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

Table A.4:
Logit model – Routine care, men

	Parameter estimate	Standard error	Wald Chi square	Prob > Chi square
Intercept	0.052	0.314	0.027	0.869
Multitasking (Ref = not)				
Yes	0.362	0.133	7.380	0.007
Episode duration (Ref = >60 min.)				
Less than 20 min.	0.070	0.099	0.495	0.482
20–39 min.	–0.035	0.105	0.115	0.734
40–59 min.	0.472	0.148	10.190	0.001
Presence of an adult (Ref = not)				
Yes	–0.098	0.055	3.185	0.074
Daily childcare time (Ref = >240 min.)				
Up to 90 min.	0.042	0.097	0.190	0.663
91–150 min.	0.240	0.091	6.892	0.009
151–240 min.	–0.377	0.101	13.987	<0.001
Age group (Ref = 45–54 years)				
25–34	–0.318	0.107	8.834	0.003
35–44	0.037	0.076	0.235	0.628
Household type (Ref = single parent)				
Couple	0.359	0.255	1.990	0.158
Number of children (Ref = two or more)				
One	–0.196	0.056	12.436	<0.001
Age of the youngest child (Ref = 11–14 years)				
0–2 years	–0.368	0.135	7.418	0.006
3–5 years	–0.262	0.132	3.898	0.048
6–10 years	–0.355	0.151	5.538	0.019
Educational level (Ref = low)				
High	–0.062	0.088	0.493	0.482
Medium	–0.134	0.075	3.178	0.075
Employment status (Ref = unemployed)				
Employed	–0.062	0.095	0.431	0.512
Life satisfaction (Ref = satisfied)				
Dissatisfied	0.210	0.089	5.517	0.019
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	0.139	0.085	2.647	0.104
Survey month (Ref = August–October)				
November–January	0.490	0.090	29.684	<0.001
February–April	–0.100	0.097	1.062	0.303
May–July	–0.068	0.102	0.448	0.503
Week day (Ref = Saturday–Sunday)				
Monday–Friday	–0.113	0.062	3.289	0.070
Episode hour of start (Ref = 16–24)				
0–8	0.622	0.094	43.609	<0.001
9–15	–0.144	0.088	2.702	0.100

Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

Table A.5:
Logit model – Routine care, women

	Parameter estimate	Standard error	Wald Chi square	Prob > Chi square
Intercept	0.122	0.070	3.009	0.083
Multitasking (Ref = not)				
Yes	0.266	0.046	33.476	<0.001
Episode duration (Ref = >60 min.)				
Less than 20 min.	0.116	0.043	7.288	0.007
20–39 min.	0.186	0.044	17.673	<0.001
40–59 min.	-0.144	0.066	4.689	0.030
Presence of an adult (Ref = not)				
Yes	-0.190	0.027	47.927	<0.001
Daily childcare time (Ref = >240 min.)				
Up to 90 min.	-0.118	0.054	4.772	0.029
91–150 min.	-0.087	0.049	3.190	0.074
151–240 min.	-0.017	0.043	0.167	0.682
Age group (Ref = 45–54 years)				
25–34	0.026	0.046	0.319	0.572
35–44	-0.098	0.040	5.980	0.014
Household type (Ref = single parent)				
Couple	0.054	0.038	2.067	0.151
Number of children (Ref = two or more)				
One	-0.121	0.025	23.321	<0.001
Age of the youngest child (Ref = 11–14 years)				
0–2 years	-0.295	0.054	29.463	<0.001
3–5 years	-0.184	0.055	11.184	<0.001
6–10 years	0.171	0.057	9.119	0.003
Educational level (Ref = low)				
High	-0.026	0.038	0.449	0.503
Medium	0.024	0.033	0.523	0.470
Employment status (Ref = unemployed)				
Employed	-0.015	0.028	0.274	0.601
Life satisfaction (Ref = satisfied)				
Dissatisfied	0.171	0.038	20.253	<0.001
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	-0.001	0.039	0.001	0.971
Survey month (Ref = August–October)				
November–January	-0.149	0.041	12.917	0.000
February–April	-0.014	0.042	0.117	0.732
May–July	0.062	0.043	2.119	0.146
Week day (Ref = Saturday–Sunday)				
Monday–Friday	0.043	0.027	2.442	0.118
Episode hour of start (Ref = 16–24)				
0–8	0.401	0.040	101.724	<0.001
9–15	-0.143	0.037	15.044	<0.001

Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

Table A.6:
Logit model – Recreational care, men

	Parameter estimate	Standard error	Wald Chi square	Prob > Chi square
Intercept	-0.912	0.220	17.133	<0.001
Multitasking (Ref = not)				
Yes	0.295	0.075	15.519	<0.001
Episode duration (Ref = >60 min.)				
Less than 20 min.	0.306	0.088	12.210	<0.001
20–39 min.	0.190	0.089	4.588	0.032
40–59 min.	-0.353	0.125	7.965	0.005
Presence of an adult (Ref = not)				
Yes	-0.127	0.053	5.794	0.016
Daily childcare time (Ref = >240 min.)				
Up to 90 min.	0.204	0.094	4.706	0.030
91–150 min.	0.370	0.096	14.989	<0.001
151–240 min.	-0.267	0.113	5.565	0.018
Age group (Ref = 45–54 years)				
25–34	-0.155	0.103	2.269	0.132
35–44	0.011	0.073	0.024	0.877
Household type (Ref = single parent)				
Couple	0.180	0.186	0.932	0.334
Number of children (Ref = two or more)				
One	-0.321	0.054	34.895	<0.001
Age of the youngest child (Ref = 11–14 years)				
0–2 years	-0.179	0.100	3.208	0.073
3–5 years	-0.085	0.100	0.732	0.392
6–10 years	-0.082	0.105	0.611	0.435
Educational level (Ref = low)				
High	0.369	0.087	18.003	<0.001
Medium	-0.226	0.071	10.079	0.001
Employment status (Ref = unemployed)				
Employed	-0.460	0.084	29.935	<0.001
Life satisfaction (Ref = satisfied)				
Dissatisfied	0.306	0.082	13.805	<0.001
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	-0.226	0.084	7.319	0.007
Survey month (Ref = August–October)				
November–January	0.075	0.084	0.796	0.372
February–April	-0.128	0.093	1.905	0.168
May–July	0.016	0.093	0.031	0.860
Week day (Ref = Saturday–Sunday)				
Monday–Friday	-0.184	0.058	10.154	<0.001
Episode hour of start (Ref = 16–24)				
0–8	0.191	0.137	1.966	0.161
9–15	-0.125	0.099	1.594	0.207

Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

Table A.7:
Logit model – Recreational care, women

	Parameter estimate	Standard error	Wald Chi square	Prob > Chi square
Intercept	-0.708	0.062	130.295	<0.001
Multitasking (Ref = not)				
Yes	0.295	0.029	101.412	<0.001
Episode duration (Ref = >60 min.)				
Less than 20 min.	0.234	0.046	25.345	<0.001
20–39 min.	0.059	0.051	1.311	0.252
40–59 min.	-0.158	0.073	4.702	0.030
Presence of an adult (Ref = not)				
Yes	-0.260	0.033	61.303	<0.001
Daily childcare time (Ref = >240 min.)				
Up to 90 min.	0.166	0.054	9.246	0.002
91–150 min.	-0.109	0.051	4.644	0.031
151–240 min.	-0.165	0.048	11.956	<0.001
Age group (Ref = 45–54 years)				
25–34	-0.083	0.052	2.587	0.108
35–44	-0.107	0.040	7.080	0.008
Household type (Ref = single parent)				
Couple	0.054	0.042	1.655	0.198
Number of children (Ref = two or more)				
One	-0.151	0.029	26.254	<0.001
Age of the youngest child (Ref = 11–14 years)				
0–2 years	-0.025	0.056	0.191	0.662
3–5 years	-0.149	0.053	7.945	0.005
6–10 years	0.161	0.050	10.320	0.001
Educational level (Ref = low)				
High	0.220	0.045	24.298	<0.001
Medium	-0.054	0.036	2.161	0.142
Employment status (Ref = unemployed)				
Employed	-0.048	0.031	2.396	0.122
Life satisfaction (Ref = satisfied)				
Dissatisfied	0.149	0.045	11.116	<0.001
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	-0.118	0.044	7.148	0.008
Survey month (Ref = August–October)				
November–January	-0.071	0.046	2.386	0.122
February–April	-0.112	0.048	5.315	0.021
May–July	-0.054	0.048	1.238	0.266
Week day (Ref = Saturday–Sunday)				
Monday–Friday	-0.041	0.032	1.606	0.205
Episode hour of start (Ref = 16–24)				
0–8	0.277	0.054	26.092	<0.001
9–15	-0.111	0.042	6.867	0.009

Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

Table A.8:
Enjoyment scores OLS estimates

			Enjoyment score		H0: LSMean1=LSMean2		
			Mean	Standard error	Effect	t value	Pr > t
Overall childcare							
Model 1	Multitasking	1 = Yes	1.73	0.086	-0.02	-0.27	0.785
Men		2 = Not	1.75	0.061			
Model 2	Multitasking	1 = Yes	1.42	0.032	-0.16	-5.90	<0.001
Women		2 = Not	1.58	0.022			
Routine care							
Model 3	Multitasking	1 = Yes	1.30	0.214	-0.40	-2.65	<0.001
Men		2 = Not	1.70	0.156			
Model 4	Multitasking	1 = Yes	1.15	0.066	-0.39	-6.54	<0.001
Women		2 = Not	1.54	0.038			
Recreational care							
Model 5	Multitasking	1 = Yes	1.83	0.098	-0.24	-3.64	<0.001
Men		2 = Not	2.07	0.083			
Model 6	Multitasking	1 = Yes	1.61	0.042	-0.38	-11.01	<0.001
Women		2 = Not	1.99	0.036			

Source: Authors' calculations based on ITUS data (2013/4).

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