Culture portability from origin to destination country.

The gender division of domestic work among migrants in Italy.

Elisa Brini[1], Anna Zamberlan[2], Paolo Barbieri[2]

[1]*University of Oslo,* [2]*University of Trento*

BACKGROUND

Gender inequality in the division of household labour has persisted over time, with women still responsible for the larger share of domestic chores and childcare. Whether this is the result of structural constraints or of cultural preferences based on traditional gender norms remains an open question.

OBJECTIVE

By relying on the epidemiological approach to the study of culture, we investigate the role of culture in explaining gender asymmetries in housework and childcare tasks.

METHODS

Through multilevel models based on microlevel data (the Istat SCIF survey), we examine the extent to which the division of household labour in immigrant couples living in Italy relates to gender equity in their origin country, proxied by the Global Gender Gap Index. We further examine cultural assimilation by looking at the changing importance of culture of origin over time spent in the destination country.

RESULTS

Overall, we find visible gender differences in both the division of household labour and partners' involvement in different tasks. Most interestingly, migrants from more gender-equal countries display greater equality in the division of unpaid labour. This relation is particularly strong in the case of childcare. Origin culture, however, loses its importance as time is spent in the destination country.

CONCLUSIONS

Culture contributes to the perpetuation of gender inequality in the intra-couple division of unpaid labour, yet non-negligible differences exist among different housework and childcare tasks.

CONTRIBUTION

Our study contributes both to the literature on the cultural component of gender inequalities and to studies of migrants and cultural assimilation.

Keywords: gender, culture, migration, epidemiological approach, unpaid labour, housework, childcare

1 Introduction

Several studies have shown that childcare- and housework-related gender gaps are narrowing (see e.g., Bianchi et al. 2000 for the United States; Leopold, Skopek, and Schulz 2018 for Germany). This, together with shrinking gender differences in educational achievement and growing female labour market participation, has led some scholars to support the thesis that gender has a "declining significance" in the everyday organisation of social life (Blau, Brinton, and Grusky 2006). Yet, the pace of such changes seems to have significantly slowed in recent decades. Among other dimensions, the change in the way partners allocate time to household chores has shown stagnation, and gender inequalities in housework and childcare persist across all OECD countries (Dotti Sani 2018; Zamberlan, Gioachin, and Gritti 2021, 2022).

The discussion about the drivers of gender disparities in the division of housework and childcare has focused mainly on whether they originate from cultural or structural factors. However, empirical assessment of the potential effect of culture on the distribution of household labour has remained underdeveloped. Identifying the cultural component of gender inequalities is particularly complex, primarily because it is endogenous to individuals' behaviour and the broader socioeconomic and institutional context in which they are embedded. Drawing on the "epidemiological approach" to the study of culture (Fernández and Fogli 2009; Polavieja 2015), we address this issue by studying the portability of culture in households with a migration background. As migrants move from origin to destination country, they carry with them their own context-dependent norms and values (which vary depending on their origin) while being exposed to the same cultural and structural environment, a situation which enables us to isolate the role of culture of origin.

Specifically, we investigate the extent to which culture relates to gender inequality in domestic work by focusing on heterosexual couples with a migrant background living in Italy, a country that lags behind other European countries with regard to female employment (Dotti Sani and Scherer 2018; Scherer and Reyneri 2008) and the gender division of household labour – although with

nonnegligible differences among types of couples and geographical regions (Craig and Mullan 2010; Dotti Sani 2012). Similarly to other Southern European countries, but unlike Central and Northern European as well as American countries, Italy has seen a steady increase in immigrants only since the 2000s (Colombo and Dalla Zuanna, 2019; Panichella, Avola, and Piccitto 2021; Reyner, 2004; Reyneri and Fullin 2011). Most migrants living in Italy arrived as adults, while only a small minority were born in Italy with at least one foreign parent (the so-called second generation).

As little is known about gender disparities among migrant couples in Italy, we first document how partners with a migration background residing in Italy divide their housework and childcare tasks. Second, we investigate whether and to what extent the gender division of domestic tasks relates to the level of gender equity in migrants' country of origin. Last, we assess the persistence of cultural heritage and habits acquired in the origin country once in the context of the destination by examining whether the relationship between source-country gender equity and the division of unpaid labour varies over the years since migration – that is, during the time spent in the country of destination.

Our results show that, overall, immigrant couples living in Italy share household labour unequally among partners, and gender asymmetries also exist in the performance of specific types of tasks. While women with a migration background tend to do more routine housework and childcare activities, men are more involved in non-routine household tasks. Most interestingly, the source-country's Global Gender Gap Index (GGI) score, interpreted as a proxy of gender equity, is relevant in explaining gender inequality in the division of household chores: migrants from countries characterised by relatively lower levels of gender equity display a less equal division of unpaid labour between partners. Also, we provide evidence in support of cultural assimilation dynamics, as culture of origin appears to matter for the division of childcare tasks only during the first years of stay in the destination country, while its role decreases and tends to disappear over time. These findings are robust to diverse model specifications and sample definitions, as well as to the inclusion of several controls measuring individual, household, and macrolevel characteristics. Most importantly, even after accounting for possible selection bias in migration – an intrinsic limitation of most of the studies

focusing on migrants (see the related discussion in Polavieja 2015) – culture is confirmed as being a contributing factor to the gender division of household labour.

Our findings provide evidence in favour of the relevance of cultural factors in shaping the gender allocation of household labour, corroborating recent evidence from studies focusing on different contexts of destination and migrant populations (Blau et al. 2020 on the United States; Carriero 2021 on different European countries). Our paper contributes to the growing body of empirical research on gender disparities within the household by providing novel evidence of culture as a determining factor of the gender allocation of household labour and of gender differences in the performance of specific kinds of tasks.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 Housework, childcare, and their allocation between partners

Household labour is usually understood as the set of unpaid activities undertaken to maintain the house and family members. A vast literature, mostly focusing on non-migrant couples, shows that gender inequality in household labour, although decreasing, is still persisting over time (e.g., Leopold, Skopek, and Schulz 2018 for Germany; Zamberlan, Gioachin, and Gritti 2021, 2022 for the United Kingdom; Dotti Sani 2018 across European countries). Despite women's increasing education and labour market participation, with a corresponding reduction in their time spent performing housework activities, the growing male involvement in domestic work has levelled off or even reversed in the early years of the 21st century (Bianchi et al. 2000; Kan, Sullivan, and Gershuny 2011). Trends are similar across countries, although there is nonnegligible variation in levels of male (and female) involvement in household labour. Among European countries, Italy has one of the largest gender gaps in the performance of household labour. Italian women carry most of the burden of both housework and childcare, spending on average about three more hours than men on housework activities every day, and twice the time men dedicate to taking care of children (Pailhé, Solaz, and Tanturri 2019).

Existing analyses of household labour typically refer to the broad category of "housework tasks," which includes several different types of activities. A relevant distinction is the one between routine and non-routine tasks. While the former are repetitive tasks that can rarely be postponed, the latter term describes occasional tasks, which allow for more flexibility.[1] This distinction is of crucial importance when analysing heterosexual partners' involvement in unpaid labour, as the two types of tasks are usually found to be associated with male and female roles. Not only do women perform more housework chores than men do, but they are also usually responsible for routine tasks, while the more flexible and often enjoyable non-routine activities are typically performed by men (Berk 1985). Only by differentiating between types of tasks, and paying attention to the less commonly studied non-routine activities, is it possible to provide a comprehensive picture of gender inequality in unpaid labour, as well as to better understand the underlying mechanisms.

Previous literature also highlights important qualitative differences between housework and care activities (especially childcare), which are worth taking into account when studying gender differences in unpaid labour (Bianchi et al. 2012; Gracia 2014). While housework tasks are generally perceived as boring, with both partners trying to avoid them (Deutsch, Lussier, and Servis 1993), childcare is usually described as a more pleasant and rewarding activity (Coltrane 2000; Sullivan 2013). Unlike housework tasks, it is usually impossible for parents to entirely avoid spending time with their children, not least because neglecting childcare has detrimental consequences for both children's growth and parental wellbeing and self-esteem (Deutsch, Lussier, and Servis 1993). Thus, mothers and fathers do not seem to face a binary tradeoff between time spent in paid work and in taking care of children (Bittman, Craig, and Folbre 2004; Hofferth 2001); rather, time devoted to childcare tends to remain constant, at the expense of leisure time (Craig 2007). As a result, childcare appears to be (increasingly) shared more equally among partners than housework (Craig and Mullan 2011; Gracia 2014; Yeung et al. 2001). However, as in the case of housework, increasing female

[1] For example, cleaning, cooking, and doing the laundry are part of the first group, while home repairs, shopping, and bill payments enter the second category (Coltrane 2000).

labour market participation has not resulted in a perfectly equitable gender division of childcare activities (Bianchi et al. 2000; Bianchi and Milkie 2010; Sayer and Gornick 2012).

2.2 What lies behind inequality in the gender division of household labour? The role of culture and its identification

The debate around the drivers of partners' division of household labour is still contentious and branches out from two often competing traditions: the neoclassical economic approach and the constructivist perspective (for an overview see Brines 1993, 1994; Coltrane 2000; Geist and Ruppanner 2018). While the former stresses the role of structural factors, the latter focuses on the cultural component of gender disparities.

On the one hand, neoclassical economic theories and their extensions (Becker 1981; Brines 1994; Coverman 1985; Hiller 1984) stress the economic function of the family to illustrate the division of work between genders. The main argument is that each couple divides unpaid labour regardless of gender, via a rational process of resource allocation (about this point, see also Gough and Killewald 2011; van der Lippe, Treas, and Norbuts 2018; Voßemer and Heyne 2019). On the other hand, a growing body of empirical research suggests that decisions taken within the household are not always the result of rational economic reasoning (Alvarez and Miles-Touya 2019; Barigozzi, Cremer, and Roeder 2018; Blau and Kahn 2006; Fortin 2005), and focuses instead on the cultural component of gender, particularly its social construction (Brines 1994; Coltrane 1989; Connell 1985; DeVault 1994; Ferree 1990; Hochschild 1989; Potuchek 1992; Shelton and John 1996; West and Zimmerman 1987). According to this perspective, women perform the lion's share of household duties because of internalised gender norms, which are transmitted and maintained through socialisation and "doing gender" practices (Cunningham 2001, 2008; England 2006, 2010; Garfinkel 1967; Ridgeway 2011; West and Zimmerman 2009). Following this gender-based perspective, doing (or not doing) household work and specialising in tasks of a certain kind (typically female or male) represent culturally established behaviour displaying gender.

Despite a vast and growing body of research focusing on the source of gender inequalities and, specifically, on the cultural component, conceptualising and measuring the role of culture has always been a challenge. Culture is one of the most critical concepts in the social sciences, being generally defined as a complex set of norms, preferences, and beliefs shared by a given group of individuals (Fernández and Fogli 2006; Polavieja 2015). Identifying the role of culture is even more complex than defining it, owing to the mutual influence of the cultural and the structural domains (Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales 2006; Pfau-Effinger 2005). The specific role of culture is difficult to isolate, not only because economic and institutional factors influence preferences and beliefs, but also because gender norms may influence individual behaviours and the broader institutional context. To put it differently, although cross-national differences in gender-role attitudes and behaviours might mirror the cultural component of gender inequalities, establishing whether they are the outcome of cultural models or of structural and institutional opportunities and constraints is far from straightforward.

To separate the influence of culture from that of structural factors, our analysis relies on a recent proposal developed within the new cultural economics and known as the "epidemiological approach" to the study of culture (Fernández and Fogli 2006; Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales 2006; Polavieja 2015).[2] This approach draws on the notion of culture's portability and on the study of migrant populations: immigrants living in the same country but coming from different origin countries differ in their cultural heritage while sharing the same institutional and economic (structural) environment. The geographical mobility of migrants thus enables us to isolate the cultural from the structural component of gender disparities. In other words, we look for variation in the outcome of interest, the division of unpaid labour within the couple, conditional on culture of origin, here proxied by an index of aggregate source-country gender equity. Keeping all relevant individual,

[2] This term derives from the attempt to identify the influence the environment has on behaviour in the study of migrant populations, an approach also applied by medical epidemiologists to disentangle the effects of genetics and of the environment on human health (see also Fernández 2008; Polavieja 2015).

household, and macrolevel features constant, any remaining differences among migrants' households that are conditional on the country of origin are likely to reflect the cultural component of gender inequality.[3]

Among the studies looking at migrant populations to capture the cultural component of gender inequalities, Scoppa and Stranges (2019) focus on the influence of female labour force participation in the home country, used as a proxy for cultural heritage and gender norms, on migrant women's likelihood to be in the labour force in Italy. Their results support the relevance of gender culture in shaping economic outcomes, and corroborate findings from previous research focusing on women with migration backgrounds living in the United States (Fernández and Fogli 2009; Blau, Kahn, and Papps 2011). Previous research has also relied on the study of migrants to investigate the role of culture in influencing how household labour is divided between partners. In their study of immigrants in the United States, Hicks, Santacreu-Vasut, and Shoham (2015) show that differences in the gender division of household tasks are related to immigrants' linguistic backgrounds. The more intense the gender distinctions encoded in the grammatical structure of migrants' mother tongues, the wider the inequalities in handling housework. Similarly, and more closely related to our work, Frank and Hou (2015) report that gender roles in the country of origin continue to influence immigrant couples' division of paid and unpaid work in Canada. This finding is consistent with that of a recent study by Blau and colleagues (2020) showing that first-generation immigrants in the United States coming from countries with greater gender equity share unpaid labour more equally than migrants coming from less gender-egalitarian societies. Beyond North America, Carriero (2021) finds a positive correlation between gender norms in the home country and the gender division of domestic work in the country of destination by analysing immigrants in different European countries. Interestingly, he

[3] Arguably, any variable proxying aggregate gender equity captures both structural features of the country of origin and societal preferences and beliefs, including those deriving from structural aspects. As more extensively discussed in the section "4.2.3 Covariates and immigrants' selectivity", we introduce a range of macrolevel controls for structural characteristics of the origin country to attain a conservative estimate of the role of culture (see also Fernández and Fogli 2006).

also finds evidence of a process of cultural assimilation, as the role of culture of origin weakens across immigrant generations.

3 Research questions and expectations

In this paper, we address three research questions. First, we ask whether and to what extent the intra-couple division of housework and childcare reflects gender culture in the country of origin, as measured by the related GGI. If culture matters in partners' behaviours, we should expect a positive relation between gender equity in the country of origin and in the division of housework and childcare in the country of destination. If, instead, culture is irrelevant and structural features of individuals and of the destination context have a greater importance, we should expect the division of unpaid labour to be unrelated to source-country gender equity.

Second, we address the question of whether culture influences the gender division of specific types of tasks. We add to the existing literature by also considering the division of childcare activities, thus extending knowledge deriving from previous studies (e.g., Frank and Hou 2015; Carriero 2021), and by distinguishing routine (typically female) from non-routine (typically male) housework tasks. So far, studies aiming to identify the cultural component of gender inequality in household labour have analysed either an aggregate measure of unpaid labour or its routine component, neglecting heterogeneity among domestic tasks. This limitation hampers the possibility of observing the role of culture in gender asymmetries in the performance of different types of tasks and, consequently, of answering the question of whether a more egalitarian culture of origin leads men to get more involved in typically female activities and women in typically male ones. If culture of origin matters also for the performance of qualitatively different household tasks, we should expect men to be more involved in typically female activities and women in typically male ones when arriving from more gender-egalitarian countries.

Finally, although only seldom addressed in the literature on the cultural component of gender inequality (for an exception, see Carriero 2021), cultural assimilation may be an important process to consider. Immigrants are not immune to the cultural context in which they live, and may adapt their own cultural heritage as they acquire the cultural norms of the host country (Alba and Nee 2003; Gans 2007), with important consequences for the association between source-country culture and gender inequality in the country of destination. Previous research has addressed this question by providing separate analyses by immigrant generation (Carriero 2021), but this may be problematic for countries with shorter histories of immigration, such as Italy. Accordingly, to investigate the process of cultural assimilation, we follow previous research relying on Italian data (Scoppa and Stranges 2019) and utilise information on years since migration to investigate whether the association between source-country gender equity and partners' division of housework and childcare varies over time spent in the destination country.[4] If cultural assimilation in this regard is in fact occurring, we should expect source-country culture to have a decreasing role as time spent living in Italy, and thus exposure to different cultural norms, increases.

4 Data, methods, and research design

4.1 Data and sample

Microlevel data comes from the Social Condition and Integration of Foreigners (SCIF) survey, carried out by the Italian National Institute of Statistics (Istat) in 2011–2012.[5] Participants were selected using a two-stage procedure: first by municipality, then by household units containing at least one foreign citizen. Interviews with each foreign member of the household were conducted using a

[4] It is important to note that immigrants have different migration histories, and Italy might not be the first host country they arrived in. However, coefficients derived from analyses on the more restricted sample of migrants for whom Italy is the first destination are comparable to the main ones (Table A8).

[5] "Condizione e integrazione sociale dei cittadini stranieri: file per la ricerca." More information available at https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/191090.

Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) technique, while Italians with no migration background were not interviewed.

Most commonly, data based on time-use diaries is used to examine the intra-couple division of housework and childcare. However, these data sources are rarely designed to collect information about immigrants, which results in a limited number of individuals and households with migration background being included in the sample. The SCIF survey overcomes this limitation by gathering information on a large sample of immigrants coming from several different countries. An additional advantage of this survey lies in the set of survey questions aimed at capturing the gender division of household labour. First, they are framed to ask the respondent's relative contribution to household chores. Second, they collect information about specific household and childcare tasks, thereby enabling us to model the gender division of unpaid work and to distinguish routine from non-routine tasks. The main shortcoming of SCIF data is that questions about partners' division of domestic activities are posed to women only. As respondents tend to overestimate the time they spend in routine tasks (Bianchi et al. 2000; Godbey and Robinson 1997; Hofferth 1999; Marini and Shelton 1993), our analyses may overestimate female involvement in housework and childcare tasks (and, thus, underestimate that of males). Moreover, since men did not answer the questions on the distribution of domestic work, and since natives with no migrant background were not interviewed, information for mixed couples is available only in cases of a foreign woman in partnership with an Italian man. Unfortunately, no information on couples composed of an Italian woman and a foreign man is available.[6]

As our interest lies in intra-couple dynamics, we restrict the analytic sample to cohabiting couples, which represent the units of analysis. We focus on couples in which both partners are aged between 18 to 65 and no information is missing for any of the macro- and microlevel variables

[6] According to Istat, the most common type of intermarriage in Italy in 2010 is between an Italian man and a foreign woman (57%), followed by couples in which both partners are foreign (32%) and couples composed of an Italian woman and a foreign man (12%). Available at http://dati.istat.it/Index.aspx?QueryId=19013 [consulted in May 2022].

included in the main models. These restrictions yield two separate samples: a "housework sample" of couples providing information on the division of housework tasks (4,601 couples) and a "childcare sample" of couples with dependent children who also provide information on childcare division (1,509 couples). These analytic samples include households in which both partners have a migrant background and come from the same country (about 71% of the housework sample and 66% of the childcare sample) or from different countries (between 3% and 4%), and mixed couples in which only one of the two partners has a migrant background (about 26% of the housework sample and 30% of the childcare sample). Table A1 in Appendix Section A provides details about the composition of the analytic samples based on partners' migrant background.[7]

We integrate individual-level data with macrolevel information about the country of origin to construct the main independent variable and macrolevel controls. Country scores of the Global GGI,[8] GDP per capita (current international dollar equivalent, based on purchasing power parity),[9] and information about total fertility rate (TFR)[10] come from the World Bank. We further include an individual-level measure of relative education based on the Barro-Lee Educational Attainment dataset (Barro and Lee 2013), which provides cross-national information on the distribution of educational titles by gender and age group, to account for migrants' selectivity.

4.2 Measures

4.2.1 The gender division of housework and childcare tasks

[7] We found no relevant differences in sociodemographic variables and in the division of domestic work when comparing mixed-origin foreign couples and couples in which both partners come from the same foreign country. Additional analyses are available upon request.

[8] Retrieved from: https://tcdata360.worldbank.org/indicators/af52ebe9?country=BRA&indicator=27959&viz=line_chart&years=2006.2018.

[9] Retrieved from: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD.

[10] Retrieved from: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.TFRT.IN.

In the SCIF survey, housework and childcare activities are investigated through a set of questions asking women how household labour is divided with their partner. All questions have the following formulation: "Between you and your husband/partner, who deals with [task name]?" The response categories are: "him exclusively," "her exclusively," "mainly him," "mainly her," "both equally," and "don't know." An extra response option of "does not apply" is added for childcare tasks only.[11] Housework tasks include cooking, setting the table, washing the dishes, keeping the house in order, doing daily shopping (food, cleaning products, other home products, etc.), buying clothing (and shoes, etc.) for the family, buying other goods for the family (furniture, home appliances, car, electronic instruments, etc.), repairs, and administrative matters and other issues regarding the family (bills, insurance, school enrolments, residents' meetings, etc.).[12] Childcare tasks cover taking care of children (washing them, dressing them, taking them to school, etc.), and dealing with their education.

Based on these questions and the related answers, we create a variable indicating the share of male involvement in each household activity. This variable assumes a value of 0 when the woman is entirely responsible for the task, 0.25 if she is mainly responsible for it, 0.5 if both partners contribute equally to the task, 0.75 if the male partner is the one mainly responsible for the task, and 1 if he is entirely responsible for it. "Don't know" answers are excluded. Thanks to this recoding, we can model this variable as a quasi-continuous measure of male involvement in household chores, thus providing straightforward estimates. Despite our interest in detailed household activities, we also build two aggregated measures of total housework and total childcare by combining the housework-related and the childcare-related tasks into two additive indexes (by computing, for each household, the sum of the answers given to each housework or childcare item and dividing the result by the number of items).

[11] Unfortunately, the SCIF survey does not measure whether a specific activity is outsourced. Nevertheless, the lack of such information seems unlikely to bias our results: 27% of couples answered "yes" to the survey question "Does anyone help you with housework and childcare?", but only 6% of these reported receiving help from non-relatives.

[12] The SCIF survey also asks who takes care of renewal procedures for the residence permit. However, this item is specific to the status of immigrant and thus outside the scope of this study, and another item included in the analyses already covers the more general and informative dimension of family-related administrative matters. We therefore exclude the item "renewal of the residence permit" from our analyses.

4.2.2 Gender equity in the origin country (GGI)

The explanatory variable of interest is source-country culture, specifically the level of gender equity in an immigrant's birth country. Following recent literature (Blau et al. 2020), we proxy this concept by means of the Global GGI,[13] a country-level index based on fourteen indicators grouped in four subindexes: economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. The final, additive index is composed of the four subindexes, which are given equal weighting, and ranges from 0 (maximum inequality) to 1 (maximum equality). The GGI seeks to capture a country's overall level of gender equity in a given year, with the additional advantage of enabling cross-country comparisons. We follow Blau and colleagues (2020) and consider the average GGI value from the most distant disposable values, i.e., those of 2006 and 2007.[14] Ideally, gender equity in the country of origin should be measured before migration. Although the SCIF data were collected at a subsequent point in time (2011-2012) and, thus, the measurement of the dependent variable is temporally subsequent to that of culture of origin, migrants may have completed their migration before 2006/2007. Nevertheless, it should be considered that culture changes slowly over time, as evidenced by the only slight variance of GGI country scores over time and the relatively stable positioning of countries across the GGI ranking (analyses available upon request).

To be consistent with the measurement of the dependent variables, for each household we model GGI (as well as macrolevel control variables) related to the country of origin of the woman. Results do not substantively vary when using the origin country of the man (see Table A8). Second-generation immigrants are assigned their mother's GGI, in order to test the influence (or lack thereof) of cultural features of their migration background. The average value of GGI in our pooled analytic

[13] To test whether the GGI validly captures the concept of aggregate gender equity, we also repeated the analyses using the Gender Equity Scale proposed by Inglehart and Norris (2003), which relies on European Values Study and World Values Survey data. Results proved robust to the use of a different measure of source-country gender equity. More details can be found in Appendix Section C.

[14] In three country cases, indexes for both years are missing, so we rely on the first available year: 2009 for Senegal, 2010 for the Ivory Coast and Lebanon.

sample is 0.66; the lowest value (least equality) is 0.55 for Pakistan and the highest value (most equality) is 0.81 for Sweden. To facilitate interpretation of the results, GGI values are standardised.

4.2.3 Covariates and immigrants' selectivity

Several macro- and microlevel variables are relevant for the association between culture of origin and male involvement in household labour. To correctly identify the role of culture, we isolate our estimates from the influence of structural features of the origin country by including controls for GDP per capita (as done by Blau et al. 2020; Carriero 2021) and TFR (see Blau et al. 2020; Frank and Hou 2015; Hicks, Santacreu-Vasut, and Shoham 2015). Both a country's level of economic development and its overall fertility rate might influence how household labour is divided among partners, possibly also after migration. Although this might occur through cultural means – specifically through the formation and transmission of norms and expectations about men's and women's roles – they represent structural features of the country of origin which we deem important to account for. For both variables, we rely on average values over the time range 2000–2007 (antecedent to the SCIF survey) to improve stability and information quality.

At the household level, we include a series of dummies providing information on the number of children and their ages to capture differences between households in the overall amount of housework and childcare work to be performed. Specifically, we control for the number of dependent children aged 0–5, 6–12, and 13–17. Given the strong regional differences characterising Italy, we also account for region of residence of the family.

At the individual level, we consider age (also squared) for both partners, as it is commonly found to be a relevant predictor of the (relative) performance of household tasks. In addition, to take into account the possibility of partners' (relative) resources influencing bargaining dynamics within the couple, we include a control for the highest level of education of each member. Further, we utilise information on marital status and length of stay in Italy (i.e., years since migration), which could be important predictors of the gender division of housework and childcare. Once again, these variables

may reflect the cultural component of gender inequalities, for example because of cultural values differing between cohabiting and married couples or through a process of assimilation of the culture of the host country. Including these as controls thus enables us to provide conservative estimates of the role of culture.

The issue of migrants' selectivity is, both theoretically and empirically, core to any study focusing on the migrant population. Individuals choosing to move from their origin country to another one are likely to differ from their fellow citizens in a number of respects (Engzell and Ichou 2020; Ichou 2014; Van de Werfhorst and Heath 2019). Selection based on educational level, skills, or aspirations may influence labour market outcomes and time dedicated to paid work, thus possibly affecting time spent performing unpaid work and its division among partners. Furthermore, education may be a proxy of individual gender attitudes, a possible predictor of individual propensity to share domestic chores in a gender-equal way. Following the solution proposed by Ichou (2014) and recently applied in various studies (e.g., Brunori, Luijkx, and Triventi 2020; Schmidt, Kristen, and Mühlau 2022), we rely on the Barro-Lee Educational Attainment Dataset (Barro and Lee 2013)[15] and we proxy migrants' selectivity by means of relative education, operationalized as the age- and gender-specific position of immigrants in the distribution of educational qualifications in their origin country. We select the closest year to the period covered by the SCIF data, namely 2010,[16] and we assign to each individual included in the SCIF survey the percentage of individuals in the same origin country having the same gender and belonging to the same age group (data is provided with age groups in intervals of 5 years) with a lower level of education, plus half of those with the same educational level. Appendix Table A2 provides descriptive statistics for all variables included in the models.

[15] Retrieved from: http://www.barrolee.com/

[16] When country information is missing in the Barro-Lee dataset, we replace it with the average value for the neighbouring countries (related to the same gender and age group). Following Brunori, Luijkx, and Triventi (2020), we define neighbouring countries using the United Nations' classification of geographical regions.

4.3 Analytic strategy

Our analysis proceeds in four steps. First, we provide a descriptive overview of the overall intra-couple division of household labour among immigrant couples residing in Italy. We explore heterogeneity in the gender division of unpaid labour by showing the share of male involvement in specific housework and childcare tasks. We then present the macrolevel relation between GGI and the gender division of housework and childcare by mapping the position of different countries of origin.

We next proceed to examine the association between gender equity in the origin country and male involvement in household activities using multilevel regression models taking into account the nested structure of the data, with migrants within their country of origin. Through random-intercept regression models net of individual, household, and macrolevel controls, we estimate the extent to which male involvement in housework and childcare depends upon gender equity in the country of origin. We model as dependent variables both the two additive indexes of housework and childcare and the eleven specific activities. As previously mentioned (see section 4.2.3), all models include controls for the linear and quadratic relation with age, educational level, relative education, marital status, years since migration, number of dependent children by age group, area of residence in Italy, GDP, and TFR. All individual-level variables are included for both partners.

In a third step, we add to the model a cross-level interaction between GGI and a dummy variable indicating whether the GGI score of the country of origin is higher or lower than the Italian GGI (equal to 0.65). This model specification helps to determine whether and to what extent features of the country of destination, and specifically the level of gender equity, lead to either maintaining the culture of origin or, conversely, cultural change and assimilation to the culture of the destination country.

In the final step, we test the presence of cultural assimilation dynamics by analysing whether exposure time to the culture of the host country moderates the relationship between the culture of the origin country and the division of household labour. We do so by adding to the model a cross-level

interaction between GGI and years since migration – that is, length of stay in Italy. As we mainly rely on first-generation families, their cultural heritage should be less mediated by any assimilation dynamics, which would instead be expected for the second generation (see also the related discussion by Scoppa and Stranges 2019). This aspect makes our testing of cultural assimilation particularly conservative – relative, for example, to approaches comparing different migrant generations (e.g., Carriero 2021).

5 Results

5.1 The gender division of unpaid labour: Variation by tasks and country of origin

Figure 1 shows the average rate of male participation in specific housework and childcare tasks among migrant (or mixed) couples in Italy. On the scale ranging from 0 (no male involvement: the female partner is entirely responsible for the task) to 1 (full male involvement: the man is entirely responsible for the task), a score of 0.5 indicates a perfectly equal division of household labour between partners.

The lowest male involvement, indicating lower gender equality, is found for routine housework tasks, including cooking, setting the table, washing the dishes, and keeping the house in order. Male participation in such tasks averages about 0.2, meaning that the woman tends to be fully in charge or, at best, to perform "the lioness's share" of such duties. Childcare tasks as well remain consistently below the equal share line, with male involvement between 0.3 and 0.35, indicating a higher commitment by mothers compared to fathers. Shopping for family goods, whether daily or occasional, is more equally shared between partners; equality is evident especially when shopping is for goods for the family, such as furniture, home appliances, and electronic instruments – under the label "Shopping (others)." Lastly, male involvement in administrative matters and domestic repairs, which are typically considered masculine tasks, is higher than female: the male share is about 0.6 in administrative matters, and higher than 0.8 in domestic repairs.

Figure 1 is informative about heterogeneity across domestic tasks in their average within-couple division. While men tend to participate less in routine housework and childcare activities compared to women, their participation in non-routine tasks (i.e., occasionally buying goods for the family, taking care of administrative matters, and doing domestic repairs) is comparable to or even higher than that of their female partners. While previous studies found a relatively high level of fathers' involvement in childcare activities, and thus a relatively equal division of such tasks (e.g., Yeung et al. 2001), we observe levels of fathers' involvement in childcare that are well below the equal division line. The analyses that follow will shed light on whether gender equity in the country of origin plays a role in shaping male involvement in these activities.

[Figure 1 about here]

Having found heterogeneity in how different tasks are shared between partners, we now explore whether source-country gender equity shapes the gender division of unpaid labour. Figure 2 shows the average rate of male involvement in housework and childcare along GGI standardised scores (our proxy for source-country culture), by country of origin. Higher GGI scores point to greater gender equity in the country considered. Overall, we find indications of a positive macrolevel association between source-country GGI and male involvement in housework and childcare. This association is weak in the case of aggregate housework ($r = 0.27$), but stronger in the case of childcare ($r = 0.63$).

The observed correlation provides preliminary evidence supporting the presence of a cultural component of gender inequality: migrants coming from countries with more unequal gender roles tend to reproduce inequality within their homes in Italy, while those coming from more egalitarian contexts tend to adopt more gender equality in the division of household labour. Interesting differences emerge between housework and childcare, as male involvement in housework seems to be only weakly related to culture of origin, while male involvement in childcare shows greater variation and, particularly, a greater positive correlation with GGI scores.

[Figure 2 about here]

5.2 Does culture matter?

To better examine the role of culture, we turn to the interpretation of results from multilevel models estimating the role of GGI on male participation in housework and childcare, net of relevant individual, household, and macrolevel characteristics.

Figure 3 plots coefficients of GGI (standardised) and the related 95% confidence intervals deriving from models predicting male participation in housework and childcare. Results are presented both for the two additive indexes including all housework and all childcare tasks, and for specific tasks (left and right panel in Figure 3, respectively). Overall, the coefficients are consistent with the descriptive findings: the higher the level of gender equity in the origin country, the greater the male involvement in housework and childcare in Italy. More precisely, an increase in GGI by one standard deviation is associated with an increase in male involvement in housework of 0.007 and in childcare of 0.036 (see also Appendix Table A3). In substantive terms, along a continuum in the GGI distribution, moving from the most traditional to the most egalitarian society, male involvement in housework would increase from approximately 0.37 to 0.41, and in childcare from approximately 0.24 to 0.46 (predicted values derived from models presented in Table A3, calculations not shown). Considering that the scale of the dependent variables ranges from 0 to 1, the change in involvement in housework is only modest, whereas that in childcare can be considered substantial.

The descriptive results also pointed to nonnegligible heterogeneity among specific types of tasks. We therefore test whether source-country culture influences partners' involvement in tasks typically performed by the opposite gender – that is, whether greater gender equity in the country of origin leads men to be more involved in female-typical tasks and less involved in male-typical ones. The right panel in Figure 3 shows coefficients indicating the change in male involvement in different housework and childcare tasks as a function of source-country gender equity (Appendix Table A4). Major differences between specific housework tasks, not visible in the more aggregated picture, emerge. GGI coefficients are positive for routine housework tasks and range from an increase of 0.02

in the case of washing the dishes and keeping the house in order to 0.31 for cooking. Coefficients with a nearly null value, however, are found for shopping and for non-routine activities, including domestic repairs. Interestingly, a negative relation is found between culture of origin and male involvement in administrative tasks, suggesting a greater female involvement in this typically male activity. Specifically, an increase in gender equity in the origin country of one standard deviation leads to a decrease in male involvement in administrative matters of 0.021. Differences in the size and sign of GGI coefficients for different housework tasks are also informative about why such a small correlation was observed in previous analyses (Figure 3, left panel). Housework tasks are qualitatively different from one another, and the role culture of origin plays on male involvement in household labour differs depending on the specific activity considered. This was not evident when looking at the coefficient related to overall housework, and points to the presence of fine-grained distinctions among specific activities. Results for the childcare tasks corroborate descriptive and aggregate findings: source-country culture relates positively and strongly (also compared to housework) to male engagement in both general childcare (beta=0.034) and children's education (beta=0.039).

[Figure 3 about here]

In sum, greater gender equity in the origin country appears to lead to a more equal division of household labour in the destination country. This relation appears to be valid for routine housework tasks (those on average more unequally shared by partners; see Figure 1) and to be particularly strong for childcare.

5.3 The role of the destination context

To shed some light on the mechanisms underlying the observed relation between culture of origin and the gender division of household labour, we look at whether results differ for migrant couples coming from contexts with more or less gender equity than Italy, and if the role of culture of origin changes over time spent in the destination country.

Figure 4 shows coefficients for standardised GGI scores and 95% confidence intervals deriving from models predicting male participation in aggregate housework and childcare tasks, distinguishing whether the migrant's country of origin is more or less gender-equal than Italy, as measured by GGI (interaction coefficients shown in Table A5). In our sample, couples migrating from countries with a lower GGI score than that of Italy (equal to 0.65) are less than a quarter (22% in the housework sample, 20% in the childcare sample), while most migrants come from more gender-equal countries (see descriptive statistics in Table A2).

Culture of origin seems to hold a positive relation with male involvement in housework and childcare only among migrants from countries with lower gender equity than Italy. For this subgroup, the estimated size of the coefficients is even bigger than those found in the overall sample (Figure 3, left panel), suggesting a stronger link between culture of origin and the division of unpaid labour. An increase of one standard deviation in GGI among migrant couples from countries less gender-equal than Italy is associated with an increase in male involvement in housework of 0.023 and in childcare of 0.061. This result suggests that culture of origin relative to culture of destination matters for the gender division of unpaid labour, as only migrant families coming from less equal contexts compared to the destination appear to divide unpaid labour according to their cultural heritage, while cultural heritage appears to be irrelevant for migrants coming from more gender egalitarian contexts.

[Figure 4 about here]

The country of destination may also be relevant for cultural assimilation mechanisms. Figure 5 shows coefficients of standardised GGI over years since migration on male involvement in housework and childcare. Results derive from multilevel models including a cross-level interaction between GGI and length of stay in Italy. Coefficients related to housework (left panel) are very small and do not vary throughout the years following arrival in Italy. This suggests that culture of origin is weakly associated with the gender division of housework, regardless of time spent living in the country of destination. On the contrary, coefficient estimates of GGI on male involvement in childcare (right panel) are clearly positive during the first years of living in Italy, to then taper off and lose their

relevance after about 20 years. Thus, the longer the time spent in the host country and the more exposure to its cultural norms, the smaller the relevance of origin culture to the gender division of childcare – but, interestingly, the same does not hold for housework.

[Figure 5 about here]

To sum up, the positive relation between culture of origin and male involvement in housework and childcare is only found among migrant couples coming from contexts less gender-equal than Italy. The context of destination is also found to be relevant for cultural assimilation dynamics. Culture of origin appears to matter only during the first years of stay in the destination country, its role decreasing and tending to disappear over time.

5.4 Sensitivity checks

A number of sensitivity checks corroborate the validity and reliability of our findings (see Appendix Section C). First, we replicated our analyses using different model specifications. We specified a model including only GDP per capita and TFR, thus excluding microlevel control variables. This is useful as an empty model to study the total association between source-country GGI and the division of household labour. A more parsimonious specification includes only controls for the linear and quadratic relation with male and female age. A less parsimonious specification than the one presented in the paper adds controls for female and male paid work (i.e., number of hours actually worked the week before the interview) beyond usual control variables. Given the simultaneous allocation of time to paid and unpaid work, this specification inevitably suffers from endogeneity issues, which cannot be easily modelled owing to the cross-sectional nature of the data; for this reason, this is not our preferred model specification. We believe it is nevertheless useful to look at the persistence of the role of culture even after controlling for paid employment. A second less parsimonious specification adds, beyond control variables included in the main model, a macrolevel indicator of female labour

force participation (FLFP) rate in the country of origin.[17] Although FLFP rate might arguably drive the gender division of (both paid and unpaid) labour in Italy, it could do so through cultural means (Fernández and Fogli 2009; Scoppa and Stranges 2019) – and this we are interested in capturing through our main explanatory variable. Appendix Table A7 shows that the main findings are robust to the exclusion or inclusion of different micro and macrolevel control variables.

Second, we tested the robustness of our findings to different sample definitions and alternative measurements of gender equity in the country of origin, as reported in Appendix Table A8. Main coefficients for housework and childcare do not substantially vary when selecting migrants for whom Italy is the first country of destination, when analysing the division of housework in the subsample of couples with dependent children (to test if self selection into parenthood plays a role in our estimates), when excluding countries with less than 100 individual observations or industrialised countries of origin, and when modelling GGI as deriving from aggregate geographical regions (instead of specific countries of origin).

Finally, results proved robust to alternative measurements of the main explanatory variable. In our main models, we relied on women's information on their country of origin and GGI. Results are unvaried when GGI is related to the origin country of the men. Finally, we tested a different indicator of gender culture in the country of origin. We used data from the European Values Study/World Values Survey (EVS/WVS)[18] to construct the Gender Equity scale theorised and validated by Inglehart and Norris (2003). Although coefficients indicating the role of origin culture on the division of aggregate housework and childcare appear to be smaller, the relation is stronger for childcare compared to housework, in line with our main findings.

[17] FLFP rate is retrieved from the World Bank as the proportion of economically active women over the female population aged 15 and older: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FE.ZS.

[18] WVS data were downloaded from http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSDocumentationWVL.jsp; EVS data: study n. ZA4804, release v3-0-0 as of 30 October 2015, doi:10.4232/1.12253.

6 Discussion

Several theoretical and empirical contributions aim to explain the cause(s) of gender disparities in domestic labour and their persistence over time. On the one hand, individual and macrolevel structural factors have been shown to play an important role in encouraging or hindering a more gender-equal division of household tasks; on the other hand, culture (through socialisation to gender roles and gender display) is often argued to be a crucial driver of gender inequalities. However, the elusive conceptualization and operationalization of culture have usually impeded a proper measurement of its role.

In this paper, we analysed how migrants from different source countries and cultures living in the same destination country (Italy) divide domestic labour within couples. This enabled us to identify the cultural component of gender inequalities in the household division of domestic tasks, net of structural and institutional factors.[19] We relied on multilevel analyses based on Italian individual-level data (the Istat SCIF survey) and various macrolevel indicators referring to migrants' origin countries to examine the extent to which the gender allocation of household labour among heterosexual immigrant couples relates to the level of gender equity in their country of origin.

We find that the division of unpaid labour is positively related to gender equity in the country of origin, which is in line with previous studies analysing different destination countries (Blau et al. 2020; Carriero 2021; Frank and How 2015).

Further, our analysis extends previous research by highlighting the crucial differences among specific kinds of tasks when analysing the role of source-country gender equity in predicting the gender division of unpaid work. Overall, gender equity in the country of origin positively influences

[19] Although the data and analytical approach we chose are appropriate for capturing the cultural component of gender inequality, they do not allow us to explicitly test the role of structural factors. Institutional characteristics of the destination country, and how they change over time, might indeed interact in relevant ways with the culture of origin. This might lead to different outcomes for different groups of individuals. Longitudinal and comparative data might shed some light on this issue.

male involvement in domestic (both routine housework and childcare) tasks in Italy. Conversely, male involvement in administrative tasks declines as gender equity increases. As such activities are usually performed mostly by men, this result points to greater female involvement in a typically male task, as equality in their origin context is greater.

Turning to the features of the destination country, the influence of culture of origin on male involvement in housework and childcare appears to be limited to migrant couples coming from countries less gender-equal than Italy. The country of destination is also relevant for cultural assimilation dynamics, as culture of origin appears to matter only during the first years of stay in the destination country, its role decreasing and tending to disappear over time. This might indicate a process of progressive cultural assimilation: exposure to cultural features of the destination country minimizes differences related to culture of origin over time. Cultural assimilation remains a crucial topic for future research and would benefit from more detailed testing, possibly based on information on second-generation migrants. Even though it is not uncommon for studies looking at the role of culture to rely solely on the first immigrant generation (e.g., Blau et al. 2020), data on second-generation immigrants in Italy will be crucial to understand whether the influence of culture of origin persists, diminishes, or disappears with socialisation processes and over generations of migrants.

There are two other potential limitations related to the quality of the data. These are related to the fact that the survey questions about housework and childcare were posed to women only. This represents a major shortcoming of the data, since respondents tend to overestimate time spent in domestic tasks (Bianchi et al. 2000; Godbey and Robinson 1997; Hofferth 1999; Marini and Shelton 1993) and because their answers are likely to suffer from social desirability bias (Kan 2008). Moreover, in this way, we lacked information on mixed-origin couples composed of an Italian woman and a migrant man. With more detailed information about couples' composition, future research could focus on how partners' characteristics influence their bargaining power, decision-making, and labour specialisation. Additionally, longitudinal data research, enabling us to follow couples over time as

partners change their paid and unpaid work, would be an effective method to identify the structural and cultural factors contributing to gender inequalities and to test for assimilation dynamics.

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Figures

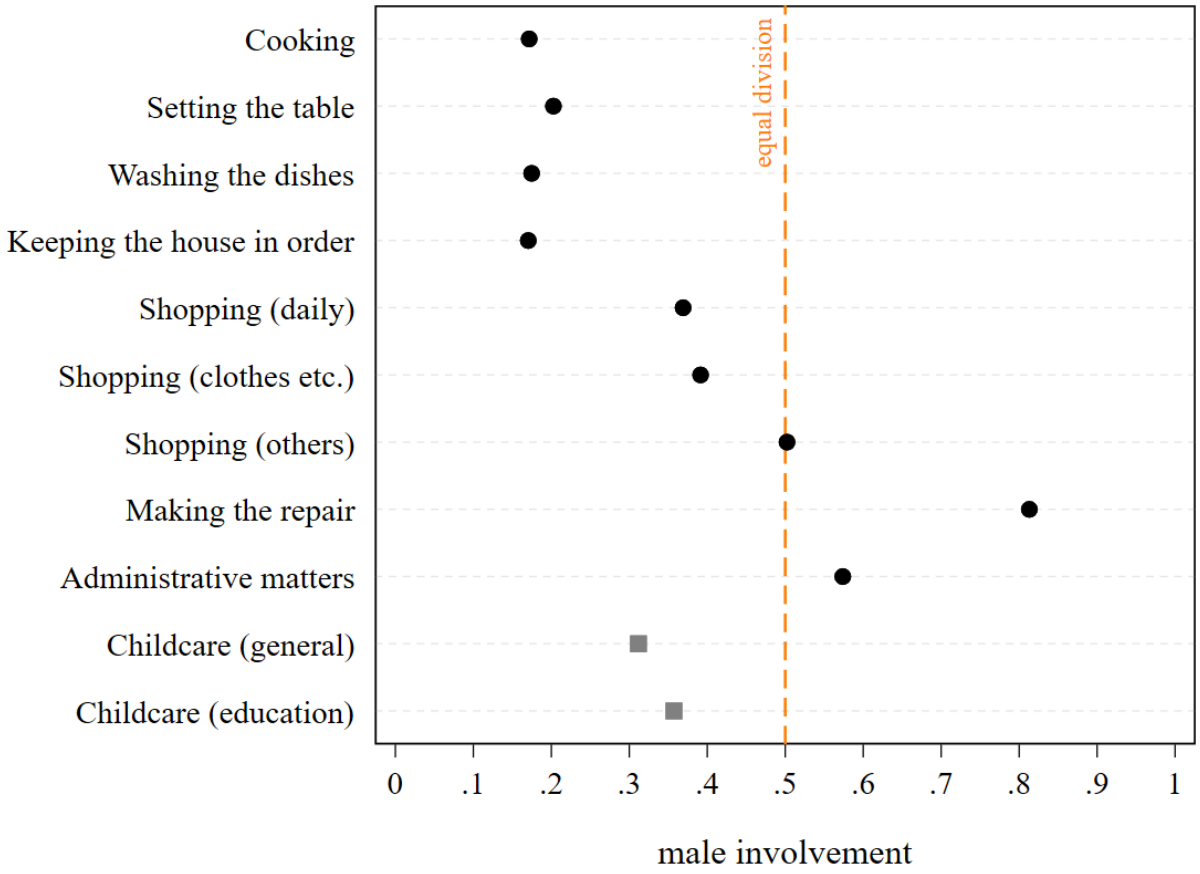

Figure 1: Average male involvement in housework and childcare tasks.

Source: Istat SCIF survey 2011–2012 (N housework = 4,601 couples; N childcare = 1,509 couples).

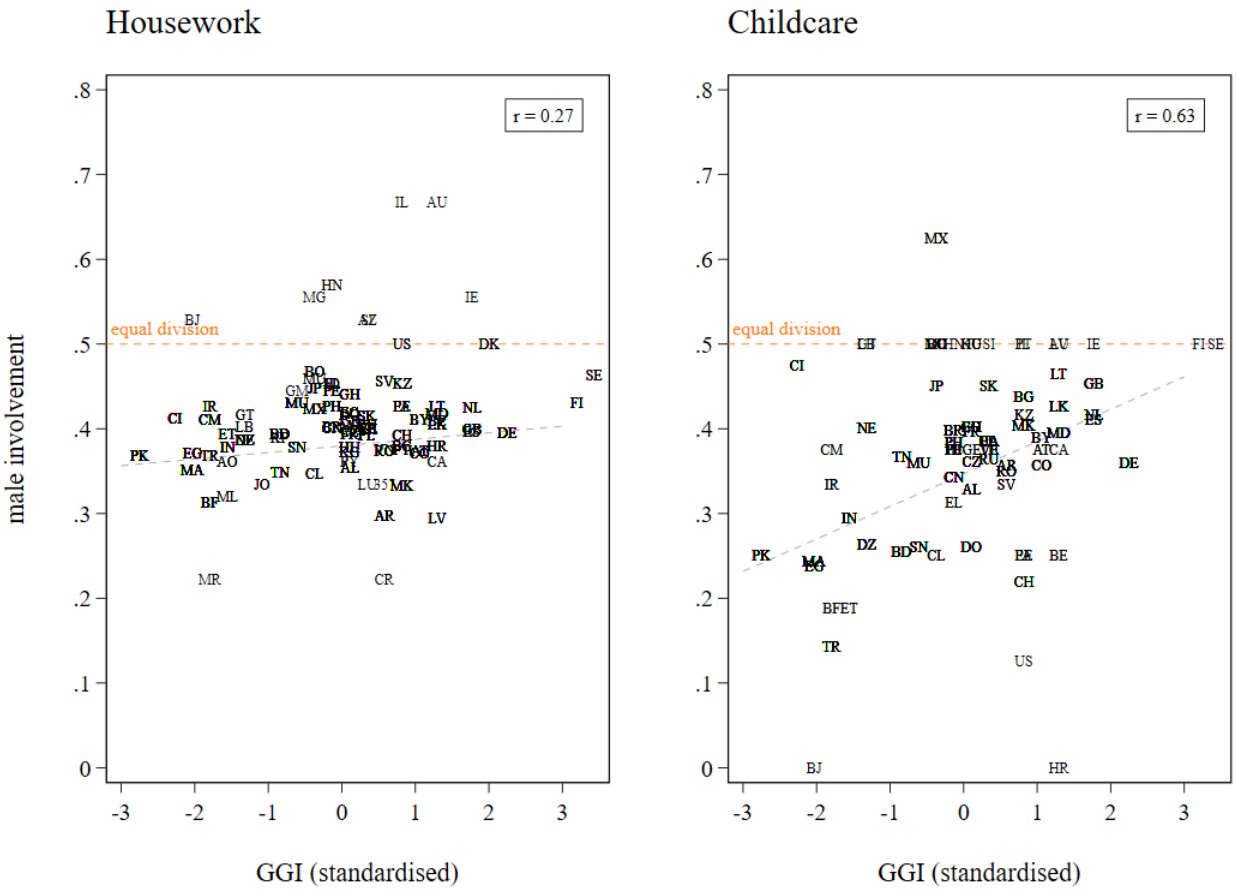

Figure 2: Country-level correlations between source-country GGI (standardised values) and male involvement in housework (left panel) and childcare (right panel).

Source: Istat SCIF survey 2011–2012 (N housework = 4,601 couples; N childcare = 1,509 couples).

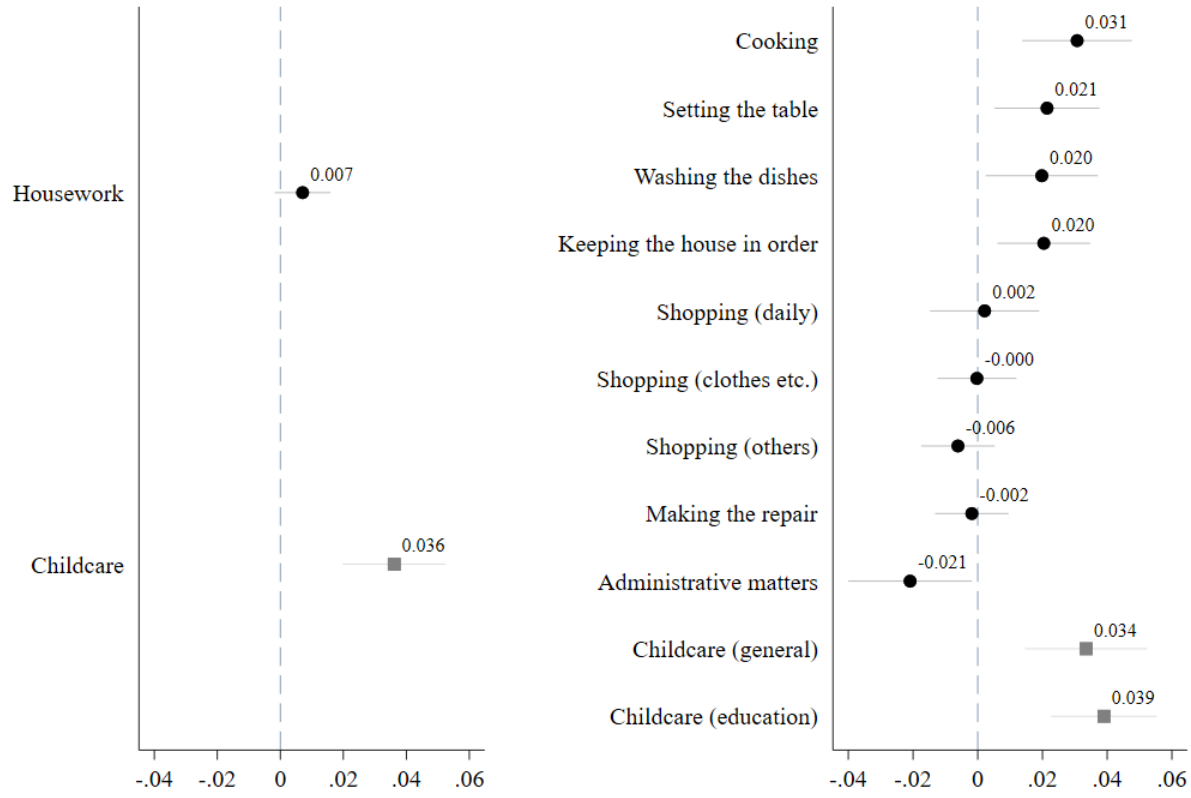

Figure 3: Coefficient estimates of standardised GGI on male involvement in housework and childcare. 95% confidence intervals.

Notes: Results are derived from multilevel regression models including individual, household, and macrolevel controls. See Tables A3 and A4 in the Appendix.

Source: Istat SCIF survey 2011–2012 (N housework = 4,601 couples; N childcare = 1,509 couples).

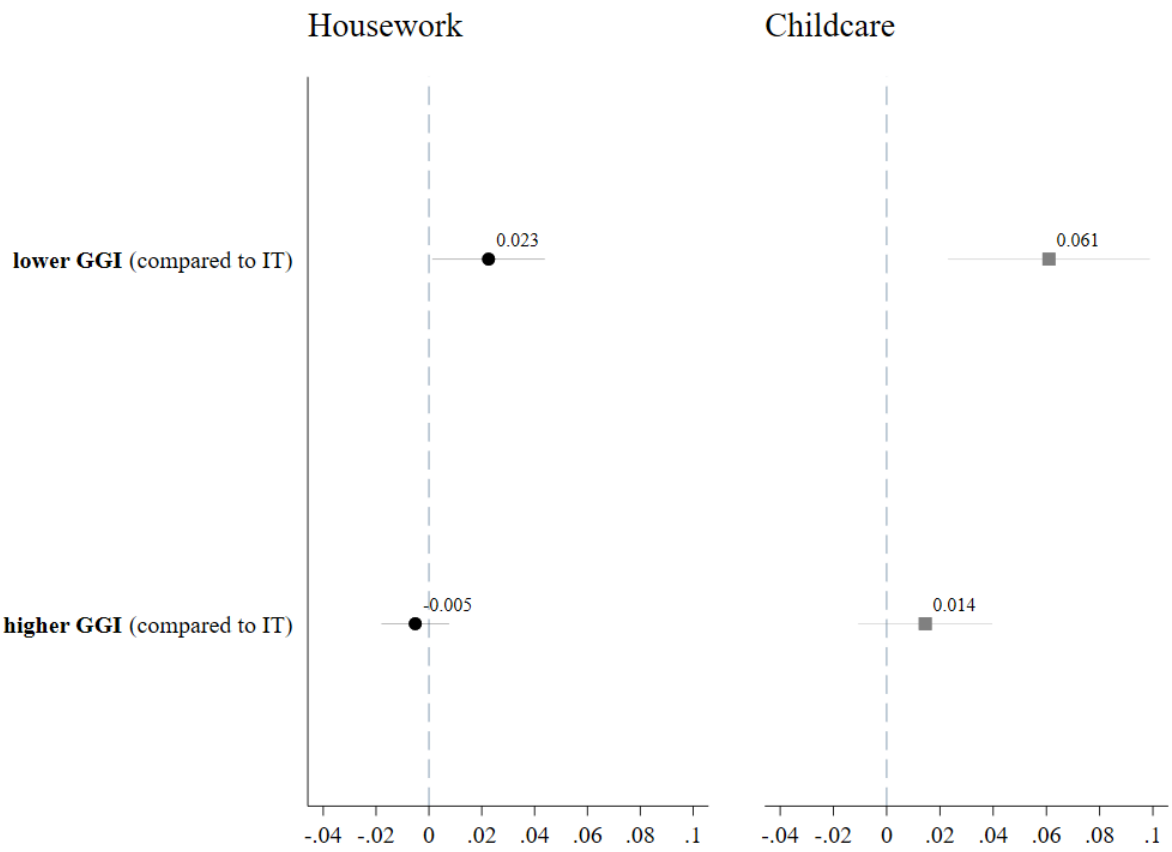

Figure 4: Coefficient estimates of standardised GGI on male involvement in housework and childcare, by GGI level compared to Italy. 95% confidence intervals.

Notes: Results are derived from multilevel regression models including individual, household, and macrolevel controls. See Table A5 in the Appendix.

Source: Istat SCIF survey 2011–2012 (N housework = 4,601 couples; N childcare = 1,509 couples).

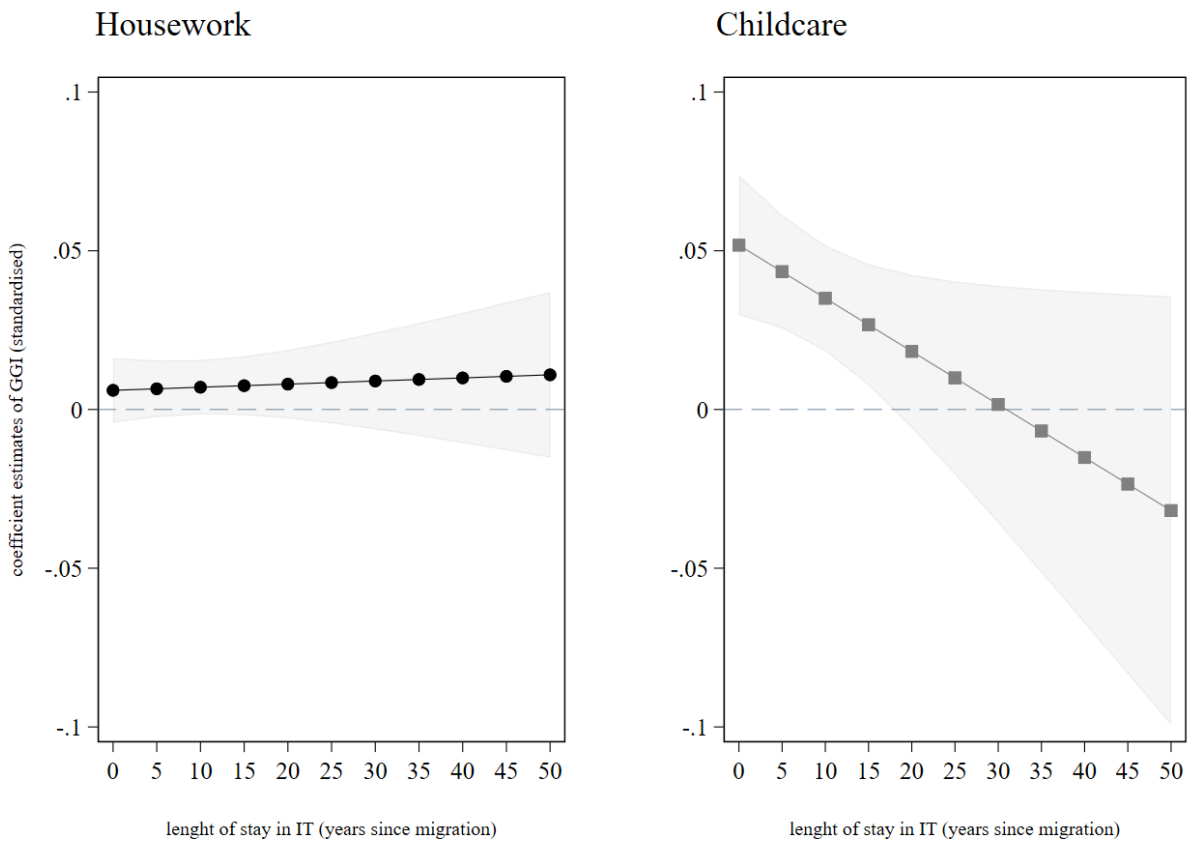

Figure 5: Coefficient estimates of standardised GGI on male involvement in housework and childcare, over length of stay in Italy. 95% confidence intervals.

Note: Results are derived from multilevel regression models including individual, household, and macrolevel controls. See Table A6 in the Appendix.

Source: Istat SCIF survey 2011–2012 (N housework = 4,601 couples; N childcare = 1,509 couples).

Culture portability from origin to destination country.

The gender division of domestic work among migrants in Italy.

Elisa Brini[1], Anna Zamberlan[2], Paolo Barbieri[2]

[1]*University of Oslo,* [2]*University of Trento*

Appendix

Appendix Section A: Descriptive statistics

Table A1: Sample composition based on partners' country of origin.

	Housework sample		**Childcare sample**	
	N couples	**%**	**N couples**	**%**
Migrant background from same country	3,255	70.75	990	65.60
Migrant background from different countries	161	3.50	65	4.31
Migrant background (her), Italian native (him)	1,185	25.75	454	30.09
Total	4,601	100%	1,509	100%

Notes: Second-generation immigrants (i.e., born in Italy from at least one parent with migration background) are imputed their mother's country of origin.

Table A2: Descriptive statistics of dependent, individual, household, and macrolevel variables included in the analyses.

	Housework sample (N=4,601)			**Childcare sample** (N=1,509)		
	mean/ proportion	std. dev.	min-max	mean/ proportion	std. dev.	min-max
Dependent variables						
Male involvement in housework (aggregate tasks)	0.38	0.13	0–1	–	–	–
Male involvement in childcare (aggregate tasks)	–	–	–	0.35	0.20	0–1
Individual-level variables						
Age (F)	37.14	8.94	18–65	36.96	8.55	19–65
Age squared (F)	1,459.47	704.73	324–4,225	1,438.76	674.00	361–4,225
Age (M)	42.11	9.23	20–65	41.97	8.84	20–65

Age squared (M)	1,858.46	805.87	400–4,225	1,839.48	771.15	400–4,225
Marital status (F)						
Not married	0.11			0.14		
Married	0.84			0.81		
Separated	0.00			0.00		
Separated (legally)	0.01			0.01		
Divorced	0.03			0.03		
Widowed	0.01			0.01		
Marital status (M)						
Not married	0.11			0.14		
Married	0.84			0.81		
Separated	0.01			0.01		
Separated (legally)	0.02			0.02		
Divorced	0.02			0.02		
Widowed	0.00			0.00		
Highest education level (F)						
No title	0.08			0.07		
Primary	0.05			0.05		
Lower secondary	0.28			0.26		
Vocational	0.16			0.17		
Upper secondary	0.30			0.30		
Post-secondary non-academic	0.01			0.01		
Tertiary	0.12			0.14		
PhD	0.00			0.00		
Relative education, deciles (F)	4.04	2.07	0–10	3.99	2.05	0–10
Highest education level (M)						
No title	0.06			0.07		
Primary	0.07			0.06		
Lower secondary	0.35			0.3		
Vocational	0.17			0.17		
Upper secondary	0.27			0.28		
Post-secondary non-academic	0.01			0.00		
Tertiary	0.07			0.08		
PhD	0.00			0.00		
Relative education, deciles (M)	4.60	4.04	0–10	3.59	1.73	0–10
Length of stay in Italy (F)	9.58	5.87	0–52	9.58	5.83	0–42
Hours worked the week before the interview (F)	13.55	18.34	0–144	15.33	19.12	0–100
Hours worked the week before the interview (M)	24.59	21.83	0–160	22.18	22.10	0–100
Household-level variables						
N. of children aged 0–5	0.46	0.66	0–3	0.48	0.64	0–3
N. of children aged 6–12	0.40	0.66	0–4	0.45	0.70	0–4
N. of children aged 13–17	0.22	0.48	0–4	0.23	0.50	0–4
Region of residence						
North-West	0.20			0.22		
North-East	0.19			0.19		
Centre	0.17			0.20		
South and Islands	0.44			0.39		
Macro-level variables						
GGI (non-standardised)	0.66	0.04	0.55–0.81	0.67	0.04	0.55–0.81
GGI (standardised)	0	1	–2.74–3.44	0	1	–2.74–3.44
GGI relative to IT						
Higher	0.22			0.20		
Lower	0.78			0.80		
GDP	8,230.86	10,751.82	592.81–620,872	8,486.81	6,256.51	592.81–41,386.26
Total fertility rate	2.01	0.96	1.2–6.82	1.97	0.92	1.2–6.36
Female labour force participation rate	44.15	12.65	6.65–81.91	45.47	12.51	6.65–81.91

Appendix Section B: Regression tables

Table A3: Coefficient estimates from multilevel regression models predicting male involvement in housework and childcare (aggregate tasks).

	Housework beta	95% ci	Childcare beta	95% ci
FEMALE				
Age	–0.002	[–0.006,0.002]	–0.001	[–0.011,0.009]
Age squared	0.000	[–0.000,0.000]	0.000	[–0.000,0.000]
Marital status (base=not married)				
Married	–0.031	[–0.044,–0.017]	–0.048	[–0.078,–0.019]
Separated	0.018	[–0.034,0.069]	–0.009	[–0.134,0.115]
Separated (legally)	0.004	[–0.046,0.054]	0.014	[–0.109,0.137]
Divorced	0.012	[–0.014,0.039]	–0.087	[–0.152,–0.021]
Widowed	–0.006	[–0.056,0.044]	–0.102	[–0.197,–0.008]
Education (base=none)				
Primary	0.011	[–0.013,0.035]	–0.012	[–0.072,0.049]
Lower secondary	–0.005	[–0.028,0.019]	–0.029	[–0.084,0.027]
Professional diploma	0.008	[–0.016,0.033]	–0.002	[–0.060,0.057]
Upper secondary	0.008	[–0.016,0.032]	–0.001	[–0.058,0.056]
Post-secondary non-tertiary	0.006	[–0.033,0.045]	0.041	[–0.062,0.145]
Tertiary	0.016	[–0.018,0.049]	–0.042	[–0.120,0.036]
PhD	–0.005	[–0.088,0.078]	–0.075	[–0.227,0.077]
Relative education	0.001	[–0.003,0.005]	0.009	[–0.000,0.019]
Length of stay in Italy	–0.001	[–0.001,0.000]	–0.001	[–0.003,0.001]
MALE				
Age	0.003	[–0.001,0.007]	0.005	[–0.005,0.016]
Age squared	–0.000	[–0.000,0.000]	–0.000	[–0.000,0.000]
Marital status (base= not married)				
Married	0.000	[0.000,0.000]	0.000	[0.000,0.000]
Separated	–0.009	[–0.060,0.041]	0.109	[–0.011,0.230]
Separated (legally)	–0.040	[–0.070,–0.009]	–0.042	[–0.119,0.036]
Divorced	–0.013	[–0.042,0.017]	–0.012	[–0.082,0.059]
Widowed	–0.052	[–0.116,0.013]	–0.301	[–0.473,–0.128]
Education (base=none)				
Primary	–0.001	[–0.023,0.022]	0.056	[–0.001,0.113]
Lower secondary	–0.002	[–0.027,0.024]	0.036	[–0.024,0.097]
Professional diploma	0.007	[–0.020,0.034]	0.027	[–0.038,0.092]
Upper secondary	0.017	[–0.009,0.043]	0.050	[–0.013,0.113]
Post-secondary non-tertiary	0.024	[–0.026,0.075]	0.074	[–0.078,0.225]
Tertiary	0.026	[–0.012,0.064]	0.108	[0.016,0.200]
PhD	0.095	[–0.009,0.199]	0.114	[–0.121,0.348]
Relative education	–0.002	[–0.007,0.003]	–0.007	[–0.019,0.005]
HOUSEHOLD				
Region of residence (base=N-W)				
N-E	0.015	[0.003,0.027]	0.053	[0.023,0.084]
Centre	–0.010	[–0.022,0.002]	–0.006	[–0.036,0.024]
South and Islands	–0.021	[–0.032,–0.011]	–0.004	[–0.030,0.022]
N. kids aged 0–5				
1	–0.010	[–0.019,–0.001]	–0.069	[–0.092,–0.046]
2	–0.017	[–0.032,–0.002]	–0.083	[–0.123,–0.043]
3	–0.037	[–0.084,0.011]	–0.121	[–0.271,0.030]
N. kids aged 6–12				
1	–0.008	[–0.017,0.001]	–0.048	[–0.071,–0.025]
2	–0.027	[–0.042,–0.012]	–0.083	[–0.123,–0.043]
3	–0.011	[–0.053,0.031]	–0.041	[–0.131,0.049]
4	0.050	[–0.074,0.174]	0.091	[–0.119,0.301]

N. kids aged 13–17				
1	–0.014	[–0.024,–0.003]	–0.033	[–0.060,–0.005]
2	–0.020	[–0.044,0.003]	–0.035	[–0.094,0.024]
3	–0.093	[–0.181,–0.006]	–0.184	[–0.395,0.026]
4	–0.092	[–0.339,0.155]	0.102	[–0.262,0.466]
MACROLEVEL				
GGI (std)	0.007	[–0.002,0.016]	0.036	[0.020,0.052]
GDP per capita	0.000	[–0.000,0.000]	–0.000	[–0.000,0.000]
TFR	0.005	[–0.002,0.013]	0.008	[–0.007,0.023]
Constant	0.391	[0.311,0.472]	0.295	[0.074,0.517]
Variance (origin country)	0.018	[0.126,0.027]	0.011	[0.002,0.049]
Variance (household)	0.125	[0.123,0.128]	0.183	[0.177,0.190]
N	4,601		1,509	

Table A4: Coefficient estimates from multilevel regression models of standardised GGI on male involvement in housework and childcare (detailed tasks).

	beta	**95% ci**
Cooking	0.031	[0.014,0.048]
Setting the table	0.021	[0.005,0.038]
Washing the dishes	0.020	[0.002,0.037]
Keeping the house in order	0.020	[0.006,0.035]
Shopping (daily)	0.002	[–0.015,0.019]
Shopping (clothes etc.)	–0.000	[–0.012,0.012]
Shopping (others)	–0.006	[–0.017,0.005]
Making the repair	–0.002	[–0.013,0.010]
Administrative matters	–0.021	[–0.040,–0.002]
Childcare (general)	0.034	[0.015,0.052]
Childcare (education)	0.039	[0.023,0.055]
N housework	4,601	
N childcare	1,509	

Notes: All control variables included (see Table A3), estimates not shown.

Table A5: Coefficient estimates from multilevel regression models of standardised GGI on male involvement in housework and childcare (aggregate tasks). Interaction by GGI and a dummy capturing if GGI is higher/lower than the Italian one.

	Housework		**Childcare**	
	beta	**95% ci**	**beta**	**95% ci**
GGI (std)	0.023	[0.001,0.044]	0.061	[0.023,0.099]
Higher GGI than IT	–0.005	[–0.042,0.032]	–0.012	[–0.084,0.060]
GGI#higher	–0.028	[–0.052,–0.003]	–0.046	[–0.092,–0.001]
Variance (origin country)	0.016	[0.011,0.024]	0.006	[0.000,0.235]
Variance (household)	0.125	[0.123,0.128]	0.183	[0.176,0.190]
N	4,601		1,509	

Notes: All control variables included (see Table A3), estimates not shown.

Table A6: Coefficient estimates from multilevel regression models of standardised GGI on male involvement in housework and childcare (additive indexes). Interaction by GGI and (female) length of stay in Italy (i.e., years since migration).

	Housework		**Childcare**	
	beta	**95% ci**	**beta**	**95% ci**
GGI (std)	0.006	[–0.004,0.016]	0.052	[0.030,0.074]
Length of stay in IT	–0.001	[–0.001,0.000]	–0.001	[–0.003,0.001]
GGI#length	0.000	[–0.001,0.001]	–0.002	[–0.003,–0.000]
Variance (origin country: length)	0.007	[0.003,0.016]	0.001	[0.003,0.016]
Variance (origin country)	0.011	[0.003,0.041]	0.000	[0.003,0.041]
Variance (household)	0.125	[0.123,0.128]	0.182	[0.123,0.128]
N	4,601		1,509	

Notes: All control variables included (see Table A3), estimates not shown.

Appendix Section C: Sensitivity checks

Table A7: Sensitivity checks: coefficient estimates of standardised GGI on male involvement in housework and childcare (additive indexes). Different model specifications.

	empty: only macrolevel controls		**+ age (also squared)**		**main model + n. hours worked the previous week (both male and female ones)**		**+ macro-level FLFP**	
	beta	**95% ci**	**beta**	**95% ci**	**beta**	**95% ci**	**beta**	**95% ci**
Housework	0.010	[0.001,0.019]	0.011	[0.002,0.019]	0.006	[–0.002,0.014]	0.003	[–0.006,0.012]
Childcare	0.045	[0.029,0.060]	0.043	[0.028,0.058]	0.040	[0.024,0.057]	0.037	[0.019,0.054]
N housework	4,601		4,601		4,169		4,582	
N childcare	1,509		1,509		1,368		1,504	

Notes: Estimates of control variables not shown.
The lower number of cases of the last two model specifications is due to missing cases in the variables added (individual paid work and macrolevel FLFP, respectively).

Table A8: Sensitivity checks: coefficient estimates of standardised GGI on male involvement in housework and childcare (additive indexes). Changes in macrolevel control variables, sample definition, and measurement of culture of origin.

	Italy first destination country		**division of housework in the childcare sample**		**excluding countries with less than 100 obs.**		**excluding industrialised countries of origin**		**aggregate geographical regions**		**male GGI**		**EVS/WVS gender equity scale**[a]	
	beta	**95% ci**	**beta**	**95% ci**	**beta**	**95% ci**	**beta**	**95% ci**	**beta**	**95% ci**	**beta**	**95% ci**	**beta**	**95% ci**
Housework	0.009	[–0.000,0.018]	0.018	[0.005,0.031]	0.015	[0.000,0.030]	0.007	[–0.003,0.018]	0.006	[–0.005,0.017]	0.007	[–0.000,0.015]	–0.001	[–0.010,0.007]
Childcare	0.037	[0.020,0.053]	–	–	0.043	[0.018,0.068]	0.039	[0.022,0.057]	0.028	[0.012,0.045]	0.036	[0.021,0.051]	0.014	[–0.004,0.031]
N housework	4,423		1,424		3,217		4,405		4,793		4,660		3,924	
N childcare	1,434		–		1,031		1,435		1,560		1,521		1,291	

Notes: All control variables included (see Table A3), estimates not shown.

[a] The EVS/WVS gender equity scale was theorised and validated by Inglehart and Norris (2003). We rely on EVS/WVS data preceding 2011–2012 (years in which the SCIF survey was collected). When more than one wave is available for a country, period averages are used. The scale is constructed as an additive index of five individual-level items aggregated at the country level. Specifically, we rely on the level of agreement with the statements: "On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do"; "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women"; "A university education is more important for a boy than a girl"; "Do you think that a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled or is this not necessary?"; "If a woman wants to have a child as a single parent but she doesn't want to have a stable relationship with a man, do you approve or disapprove?". All items are recoded so that higher values represent higher gender equity. An exploratory factor analysis confirmed the presence of one single latent factor. The final index is constructed using confirmatory factor analysis and it is then normalised and transformed on a 0–100 scale.