

# Fatherhood and men's working hours in a part-time economy

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How do fathers adjust their working hours after the birth of their first child? Though the impact of childbirth on women's employment is well-established, less is known about its effect on fathers. We investigate this question in the Netherlands (2006–2017), a country characterized by high prevalence of part-time work. We focus on two contexts that might shape the extent to which first-time fathers reduce their working hours after childbirth: the household and the organization. For this purpose, we use detailed longitudinal register data. The results reveal that men's employment displays a high degree of stability around childbirth: even in the Dutch "part-time economy," the vast majority of fathers remain full-time employed. We do find substantial heterogeneity in labor market responses after childbirth. Fathers earning relatively less than their partner pre-childbirth are more likely to scale down their working hours. The organizational gender composition is also associated with work hours reductions following childbirth. Although we find that fathers' employment is contingent on both the household and organizational context, the substantial stability in men's labor supply remains an obstacle to a more equal division of (un)paid labor.

**Key words:** fatherhood; working hours; part-time work; labor market; organizations.

## Introduction

Over the past decades, family life in industrialized societies has undergone significant transformations with the rise of mothers' employment, declining marriage and increasing union dissolution rates, and the reversal of the gender gap in education (Esping-Andersen 2009; Goldscheider, Bernhardt, and Lappégård 2015). While gender norms have become more egalitarian, the transition to parenthood remains critical in shaping gender inequality in (un)paid work (McGill 2014; Musick, Bea, and Gonalons-Pons 2020). This has prompted scholars to declare the gender revolution as "stalled" or "incomplete" (England, Levine, and Mishel 2020; Esping-Andersen 2009; Hochschild and Machung 1989), though others view it as an ongoing process (Goldscheider et al. 2015).

In this article, we investigate the relationship between first-time fatherhood and men's employment. Our aims are twofold. First, we examine whether men reduce their working hours

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after the birth of their first child. The persistent role of motherhood on women's labor market outcomes is thoroughly documented (e.g., Aisenbrey, Evertsson, and Grunow 2009; Budig and England 2001; Gangl and Ziefle 2009), but far fewer studies have addressed (variation in) men's labor market responses to fatherhood (Weinshenker 2015).

Our second aim is to investigate heterogeneity in fathers' employment: under which conditions are first-time fathers more likely to reduce their working hours? We assess the role of the household and the organizational context. In the household context, we focus on fathers' economic resources relative to their partner. Drawing on economic theories (Becker 1985; Lundberg and Pollak 1996), reductions in working hours may be more likely among fathers with lower relative resources pre-childbirth. This factor is highly debated: despite being recognized as a crucial aspect driving men's (intended) labor market decisions, fathers' employment is also found to be less responsive than expected to this "gender-neutral" mechanism (Artmann et al. 2022; Begall 2024; Kühhirt 2012; Van Breeschoten, Roeters, and Van der Lippe 2018).

The organization arguably forms an important context in shaping fathers' employment. Within organizations, rights to work-family policies are translated into entitlements, thereby having a more direct impact on employee outcomes than national policies (Van der Lippe, Van Breeschoten, and Van Hek 2019). Considering the gendered structure of organizations and "ideal worker" norms (Lewis 1997; Acker 1990), formal work-family policies may not be widely adopted if the organizational culture is not aligned (Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002). A supportive organization may be even more critical for fathers than mothers, as the uptake of work-family policies challenges traditional gender norms (Lott and Klenner 2018; Van Breeschoten and Evertsson 2019). Organizations show substantial variation in both formal and normative support for balancing work and family life (Den Dulk and Peper 2007; Den Dulk and Groeneveld 2013; Bächmann, Frodermann, and Müller 2020). Most prior research on organizational support and work hour reductions has not focused on fathers (exceptions include Haas and Hwang 2007, 2016) and is based on case studies of a limited number of organizations. Our contribution lies in the use of register data with organizational-level information for the entire workforce, allowing for a large-scale assessment of the relation between the organizational context and fathers' labor market responses.

Our study is situated in the Netherlands, which is a particularly interesting case for our research question. With nearly half of the working age population employed part-time in 2018, the Netherlands has Europe's highest part-time employment rate. This applies to both men and women, though gender disparities are large (75 versus 22 percent; Eurostat 2019). Furthermore, part-time work enjoys legal support: employees can reduce contractual working hours and employers are prohibited from discriminating based on working hours (Portegijs and Keuzenkamp 2008). Given the normalization of part-time work (Visser 2002), reducing paid work may be a more viable option for Dutch fathers than for fathers from the United States or other European countries, where part-time work enjoys less legal and normative support.

For the analyses, we rely on the Dutch registers, including comprehensive information on (non-)marital unions, fertility, working hours, and wages of all legal inhabitants. An important innovation is that these data allow us to construct measures at the organizational level to test ideas about the role of this context on fathers' employment. Although our design is novel, some limitations need to be clarified beforehand. Most importantly, it should be recognized that we cannot analyze self-selection of men into (non-)marital unions and organizations based on gender norms and preferences regarding the intra-household division of (un)paid work. We assess associations between two contexts and changes in men's working hours following childbirth for a nationally representative sample, but establishing causal effects would require a different design.

## Fatherhood and working hours

The transition to parenthood is a significant life event. It introduces competing demands between work and family life and a potential reordering of priorities and commitments, along with gendered expectations for fulfilling parental roles (Baxter et al. 2015; Knoester and Eggebeen

2006). Traditionally, parenthood intensified the gendered division of labor, and being the primary “breadwinner” or “good provider” was central to men’s fathering role (Dill and Frech 2018; Kaufman and Uhlenberg 2000). Over the last decades, cultural expectations surrounding fatherhood have changed: fathers are now expected to actively engage in childcare and housework, alongside their commitment to paid work (Goldsteiner et al. 2015; Knoester and Eggebeen 2006; McGill 2014). This shift toward more egalitarian views on parenthood may have affected fathers’ employment. Conversely, research has documented the pervasiveness of gender-essentialist ideas and the existence of ambivalent gender ideologies. For instance, egalitarian views on fathers’ caregiving responsibilities and dual earnings can coexist with gender-essentialist views on intensive parenting (Begall, Grunow, and Buchler 2023). Furthermore, increased paternal involvement at home does not necessarily coincide with a reduction in paid work—or vice versa, as illustrated by mothers’ “second shift” (Hochschild and Machung 1989).

Empirical evidence on the impact of parenthood on men’s employment is inconclusive and varies by country, research design, and study population. In the United States, the transition to fatherhood is associated with increased working hours (Kaufman and Uhlenberg 2000; Knoester and Eggebeen 2006; Lundberg and Rose 2002), especially or exclusively among cohabiting fathers (Astone et al. 2010; Percheski and Wildeman 2008; Weinschenker 2015). Additionally, a higher share of fathers than non-fathers work long (>50) hours (Weeden, Cha, and Bucca 2016). Scandinavian studies have found a negative relation between fatherhood and working hours (Dommermuth and Kitterød 2009; Dribe and Stanfors 2009), but more recent Danish research highlights the stability in fathers’ employment (Kleven, Landais and Søgaaard 2019). Longitudinal research from the United Kingdom has shown that fatherhood increases the working hours of men with unemployed partners but reduces the working hours of men with (part-time) employed partners (Hoherz and Bryan 2020). Studies in Australia (Argyrous, Craig, and Rahman 2017), Germany (Kühhirt 2012; Pollmann-Schult and Reynolds 2017), and continental European countries (Musick et al. 2020; Smith Koslowski 2011) have revealed minimal or no effect of fatherhood on employment. Prior research in the Netherlands has found minimal differences in paid work between fathers and non-fathers (Keizer et al. 2010; Kluwer, Heesink, and Van de Vliert, 2002). A recent Dutch study also finds men’s employment trajectories to be largely unaffected by childbirth (Artmann et al. 2022).

## The role of context

First-time fathers comprise a heterogeneous group, embedded in diverse contexts that shape the costs and benefits associated with work-family arrangements (Astone et al. 2010; Begall and Grunow 2015; Weinschenker 2015). Consequently, comparing fathers to non-fathers or focusing on average fatherhood effects can obscure important variations between subgroups. Instead of deriving hypotheses on overall fatherhood effects, we formulate hypotheses on changes in the time that subgroups of fathers spend in paid work, contingent on the household and organization they are embedded in.

## The household context

Fathers’ employment constitutes one component of the gendered division of (un)paid labor in the household. In theorizing about the link between fatherhood and employment, economic approaches focus on the household’s resource constellation. According to neoclassical economic theory (Becker 1985), changes in how partners allocate their time in (un)paid labor to meet increasing care and housework demands result from an ongoing specialization process based on comparative advantages. Earning potential is a key determinant of these comparative advantages. Consequently, it is expected that the extent to which fathers adjust their working hours depends on their resources relative to those of their spouse.

Bargaining theories have criticized this common preference framework for discarding disagreements, negotiations, and notions of power in decisions about the division of labor (Bittman

et al. 2003; Evertsson and Nermo 2007; Lundberg and Pollak 1996). Bargaining processes are argued to depend on “threat points,” either specified in terms of the partner’s utility in case of divorce or separation, or non-cooperative outcomes internal to the union. Under the assumption that bargaining power depends on economic resources and that most people prefer to avoid housework, the expectation is that the partner with the most resources will increase time in paid labor at the expense of housework post-childbirth (Bittman et al. 2003; Lundberg and Pollak 1996).

While relying on a different mechanism (i.e., specialization or bargaining), both theories predict that men earning relatively more than their female partner will remain full-time employed or increase their time in paid labor after becoming a father. In contrast, men with a female partner with higher earnings are anticipated to decrease their share of paid work and increase their share of housework post-childbirth—assuming that women’s comparative advantage in childcare does not “outweigh” the advantages of such “role reversal” specialization (Kanji 2013; Kühhirt 2012). We therefore hypothesize that *the more men earn relative to their female partner before the transition to fatherhood, the less likely they are to reduce their time in paid labor from full-time to part-time after childbirth (H1)*.

Empirical evidence on the role of relative resources is mixed. In the United Kingdom, fathers in female-breadwinner households are found to work fewer hours than fathers in equal-earners or male-breadwinner households (Kanji 2013). Additionally, a factorial survey experiment has identified relative earnings as one of the main drivers of Dutch fathers’ intentions to reduce working hours (Van Breeschoten et al. 2018; Begall 2024). However, even in equal-earner and female-breadwinner scenarios, preferred working hours do not change to the (gender-neutral) degree predicted by specialization or bargaining (Begall 2024). Other Dutch research also suggests that fathers’ labor supply is far less responsive to earning potential than that of mothers (Artmann et al. 2022). Finally, studies from Germany and the UK show that relative earnings are not or only weakly related to fathers’ employment (Kühhirt 2012; Schober 2013).

This points to the pervasiveness of (essentialist) gender ideologies on the intra-household division of labor. As earlier mentioned, parenthood comes with cultural expectations on how men and women should fulfill parental roles, and serves as a key stage for the enactment of gender identities (see “doing gender” theory, West and Zimmerman 1987). This can lead to gender-conforming trade-offs as individuals internalize these cultural expectations and seek to avoid social disapproval or discomfort (Begall 2024). For instance, men are found to reduce their involvement in housework when they earn less than their spouse to “neutralize” this deviation from traditional gender norms (Bertrand, Kamenica and Pan 2015; Bittman et al. 2003). Prior research also emphasizes a cultural tasks hierarchy, revealing that fathers are more inclined to invest time in childcare than in routine and time-inflexible chores traditionally seen as “female” (Coltrane 2000; Hook 2010). In the context of paid work, the relation between relative resources and men’s labor market responses following childbirth may thus be hampered by these deeply embedded gendered expectations. Though our data do not enable a direct test of the role of gender ideologies, this perspective is key to understanding potentially limited responsiveness in fathers’ employment to relative resources.

## The organizational context

We argue that the organizational context might relate to fathers’ employment through two interrelated mechanisms: (1) the implementation of formal work-family policies, facilitating the reconciliation of paid work and family life; and (2) organizational cultures, shaping the degree to which employees feel entitled to use these arrangements.

Work-family policies at the organizational level can shape fathers’ opportunities to adjust working hours. Three main types of work-family policies are flexible work arrangements (e.g., part-time contracts, working from home), paternal leave, or childcare facilities (Den Dulk and Groeneveld 2013). Related work on national work-family policies suggests that opportunities to work reduced hours or to take up supplementary paternity leave may lead fathers to scale back

working hours (Brandth and Kvande 2016; Bünning 2015; Bünning and Pollmann-Schult 2016). It should be noted that empirical evidence for policy effects on paternal employment is not unequivocal. To illustrate, some studies find no evidence for the expected impact of paternity leave on fathers' labor supply (Cools, Fiva, and Kirkeboen 2015), and flexible work arrangements can also increase working hours if not coupled with paternity leave (Wanger and Zapf 2022). While prior quantitative research has mostly examined (the impact of) work-family policies at the national level, organizational policies arguably more directly affect employee outcomes (Van der Lippe et al. 2019). Employers can either adopt policies above those mandated by national law or not fully implement statutory policies (Bächmann et al. 2020). For instance, Dutch employees have the formal right to request adjustments of contractual working hours, but the fraction of firms implementing "full reversibility" and "partial adjustment" arrangements was, respectively, about 30 and 20 percent in 2005 (Fagan and Walthery 2011:282).

The formal provision of organizational work-family arrangements may not see widespread adoption if the informal culture is not aligned (Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002; Den Dulk and Peper 2007; Van der Lippe et al. 2019). As argued by Acker (1990), organizations tend to be organized around the "ideal worker," traditionally characterized as the (male) full-time worker who is fully devoted to the job and prioritizes work over family responsibilities. In organizations strongly adhering to these ideal worker norms, employees aspiring to reduce their working hours may be perceived as less ambitious and not fully committed to their job. Consequently, working full-time—or even overtime hours—may be deemed necessary for employees to keep their job or pursue promotion (Lott and Klenner 2018). These (perceived) negative career consequences are considered a primary factor contributing to the gap between the supply and uptake of work-family arrangements (McDonald, Brown, and Bradley 2005).

Organizational cultures differ, and those with less stringent ideal worker norms may better accommodate fathers' reductions in paid work. The most apparent division is between the public sector and the private sector, with the former being "family-supportive" due to public visibility, policy pressures, and lower profit-mindedness (Den Dulk and Groeneveld 2013), but further within-sectoral differences exist. Since the uptake of work-family arrangements by men is at odds with traditional gender norms (Van Breeschoten and Evertsson 2019; Lewis 1997; Lott and Klenner 2018), a family-supportive organizational culture is arguably even more critical for fathers than for mothers if they wish to reduce working hours.

Following this line of reasoning, we hypothesize that *the more supportive the organization in terms of formal policies and organizational culture, the more likely men are to reduce their time in paid labor from full-time to part-time after childbirth (H2).*

## The Dutch case

The Netherlands is a hybrid welfare state with a relatively generous social security system and conservative elements, such as the "one-and-a-half earners model." The country is known for its high prevalence of part-time work. In the 1960s, Dutch organizations introduced part-time contracts to increase the labor force participation of married women and mothers. Nowadays, part-time work remains one of the main ways of reconciling paid work and care, especially for mothers. In 2016, about 75 percent of working women were part-time employed, versus 22 percent of working men (Eurostat 2019). Among parents, gender differences were even more pronounced, with 83 percent of mothers versus 16 percent of fathers employed part-time (CBS 2018). The country's legislative system prohibits discrimination based on working hours and grants employees the legal right to request adjustments in contractual working hours. Consequently, part-time work is part of the "mainstream" economy, and less disproportionately concentrated in lower-skilled and lower-paid occupations compared to other countries (Portegijs and Keuzenkamp 2008; Visser 2002), like the United States (Weeden et al. 2016).

Dutch mothers are entitled to 16 weeks of fully paid pregnancy leave, while paid partner leave was only two working days in the study period. Additionally, both parents can request (partially)

Table 1. Sample restrictions.

|  | N         | %Δ     | n      | %Δ     |
|--|-----------|--------|--------|--------|
| <i>Starting sample (10%)</i>                                 | 3,872,969 |        | 85,672 |        |
| 1. Period with (non-)marital partner up to second child      | 2,897,771 | -25.2% | 72,432 | -15.4% |
| 2. Drop men in same-sex unions and institutional households  | 2,892,680 | -0.2%  | 72,183 | -0.3%  |
| 3. Drop self-employed  | 2,598,205 | -10.3% | 67,275 | -6.8%  |
| 4. Drop missings weekly working hours                        | 2,589,106 | -0.4%  | 67,159 | -0.2%  |
| 5. Drop missings education level                             | 2,017,141 | -22.1% | 52,082 | -22.5% |
| <i>Sample descriptive statistics</i>                         | 2,017,141 |        | 52,082 |        |
| 6. Drop if not observed 9 m pre-childbirth                   | 1,941,724 | -3.8%  | 49,285 | -5.4%  |
| 7. Registered partnership (at least) 9 months pre-childbirth | 1,805,429 | -7.2%  | 43,523 | -11.7% |
| 8. Select dual-earner couples 9 months pre-childbirth        | 1,515,819 | -16.1% | 35,366 | -18.8% |
| 9. Select men working full-time 9 months pre-childbirth      | 1,267,256 | -16.4% | 29,388 | -16.9% |
| 10. Drop if not active in the labor market                   | 1,244,685 | -1.8%  | 29,388 | 0.0%   |
| 11. Drop missing values relative resources                   | 1,242,345 | -0.2%  | 29,333 | -0.2%  |
| <i>Sample regression models, household context</i>           | 1,242,345 |        | 29,333 |        |
| 12. Drop if employed in an organization with < 10 employees  | 1,081,230 | -12.9% | 25,428 | -13.3% |
| <i>Sample regression models, organizational context</i>      | 1,081,230 |        | 25,428 |        |

**Source:** CBS microdata, own calculations.

unpaid parental leave from the employer, up to a maximum of twenty-six times their weekly working hours. In 2017, 90 percent of employed fathers took up short paid leave, while only 10 percent made use of the supplementary leave scheme (Korvorst 2019).

Since 2007, eligible parents can receive reimbursements for a portion of formal childcare costs through an income-dependent childcare allowance, funded by employers and the state. In the study period, formal childcare usage initially increased, followed by a decline in the period 2012–2014 due to unemployment and austerity measures. Later, allowances expanded again, leading to increased demand, particularly in middle-class families (CBS 2022). Attitudes toward formal childcare showed little change, with people generally not supportive of outsourcing care for young children to the market for more than a few days a week (Portegijs and Van den Brakel 2016).

## Data and methods

### Data

We use longitudinal register data hosted by Statistics Netherlands (CBS). These data are very suitable for examining first-time fathers' labor market patterns since they contain detailed (monthly) information on household configurations, working hours, and wages. These data cover the full registered population of the Netherlands, thereby avoiding common problems related to selective non-response or attrition. The study population includes men aged 18 to 40 years in January 2006, who became first-time fathers between January 2006 and December 2017 (856,724 individuals). To identify this population, we use data from the municipal personal records on all legal (i.e., biological and adopted) children. For computational reasons, we draw a random 10 percent sample (85,672 individuals). All further sample restrictions are summarized in Table 1. Different samples are used for the descriptive analyses and the regression analyses.

For the descriptive analyses, we select men in different-sex (non-)marital unions at the time of the first childbirth, irrespective of employment. Men are followed from up to 24 months pre-childbirth (or January 2006) to 24 months post-childbirth (or December 2017). Right-censoring occurs when a second child is born, or when men get divorced, separated, or widowed. Furthermore, self-employed men are dropped as their work conditions strongly differ from those of wage-and-salary workers (also see Dermott 2006; Pollmann-Schult and Reynolds 2017). Finally, men whose education level is not registered are excluded. Education has not always been centrally

administrated, explaining the high share of missing values. Sensitivity analyses on a larger sample, including men with missing values on education (not shown), confirm the main findings. Together, these restrictions result in a sample of 2,017,141 person-month observations (52,082 individuals).

The sample for the regression analyses includes men in *dual-earner* couples who were full-time employed 9 months pre-childbirth. The first criterion excludes men in male breadwinner couples or not cohabiting with their partner (at least) 9 months pre-childbirth. While this increases the sample's selectivity, it is important to measure relative resources when the union has already been formed, as considerations regarding the division of labor depend on the household configuration. Additionally, our relative resources measure can only be constructed if both partners are active in the labor market pre-childbirth (see Measures).

The second criterion drops men in part-time employment pre-childbirth from the main results. We report on this subgroup in supplementary analyses. Decisions about union formation, family formation and employment are intertwined (Astone et al. 2010; Dill and Frech 2018; Dommermuth and Kitterød 2009). This can result in ceiling effects and opposing effects for subgroups of fathers. Prospective fathers with an "unsettled" career may be compelled to increase working hours to advance their career and meet the heightened household costs linked to childbirth (though precarity can complicate such adjustments). In contrast, those with "settled" careers typically work full-time and cannot increase hours further. Our descriptive results show that the majority of men (around 80 percent) are full-time employed pre-childbirth. Since we are mainly interested in the conditions under which fathers *reduce* their time in paid labor, the sample is conditioned on having a full-time job 9 months pre-childbirth. This way, work hour reductions can be "isolated" from labor market responses in the opposing direction. This results in a sample of 1,081,230 person-month observations (25,428 individuals).

## Measures

*Dependent variable:* Working hours are defined as contractual working hours, including paid leave, and excluding overtime hours and unpaid leave. Employees may hold multiple jobs simultaneously, sometimes with the same employer. We calculate average weekly working hours over up to three jobs per month. In rare cases when a man has more jobs, we select the three jobs in which he works the most hours. Average weekly working hours are recoded into two categorical measures. For the descriptive analyses, we use an ordinal measure: (1) non-employed, (2) 0–20 hours, (3) 20–28 hours, (4) 28–36 hours, or (5)  $\geq 36$  hours a week. For the regression models, we use a dummy distinguishing between part-time (0 < weekly working hours < 36; 1) and full-time ( $\geq 36$ ; 0) employment. This cut-off is chosen as most full-time contracts in the Netherlands are between 36 and 40 hours a week (the results remain robust to 1 or 2-year downward adjustments).

*Independent variables:* Having a child is operationalized with a dummy indicating if a male respondent has a first child (1) or not yet (0) in the respective month, and a categorical variable indicating the number of months after childbirth (0 = no child; 1 = 1–6 months post-childbirth, 2 = 7–12 months, 3 = 13–18 months, 4 = 19–25 months). This allows us to estimate the average effect of fatherhood on employment, as well as potential non-linearities over time.

*Relative resources* are measured as the natural logarithm of the ratio between the man's mean gross hourly wage and that of his partner over the period between 20 and 9 months pre-childbirth.<sup>1</sup> Relative resources are averaged over 1 year to reduce the impact of monthly fluctuations. Information up to 9 months pre-childbirth is used to minimize the risk of erroneously measuring changes in work and earnings that arise from anticipating parenthood (also see Schober 2013). The log transformation is used to reduce right-skewness.

Organizational support for reducing working hours following childbirth is proxied with two measures: (1) the proportion of women, and (2) the proportion of part-time workers in the organization.<sup>2</sup> The gender composition of the workforce is related to the prevalence of work-family policies: organizations with a high share of women are more likely to adopt such policies as a recruitment strategy or to prevent turnover (Bächmann et al. 2020; Poelmans, Chinchilla, and

Cardona 2006). Furthermore, in the Netherlands, the proportion of part-time workers proxies how common and acceptable part-time employment is. Part-time contracts are not exclusively offered for work-family support but also for operational flexibility (Fagan and Walthery 2011). This indicator cannot distinguish between different organizational motivations for offering part-time contracts. Additionally, neither of the organization-level measures provides evidence to differentiate between formal (policies) and informal (cultural) mechanisms, yet they do facilitate a large-scale assessment of the role of the organizational context in decision-making.

Both organization-level measures are derived from data for all employees in the same organizations as the sample members. These indicators are also measured 9 months pre-childbirth to prevent capturing changes in anticipation of parenthood. Organizations are defined in the registers as autonomous units engaged in one type of economic activity that maintains an independent accounting. Small organizations (<10 employees) are excluded (see Table 1) to ensure our organization-level indicators are based on sufficient cases. In cases where a man is employed in multiple organizations, the indicators of his main job are selected.<sup>3</sup>

At the individual level, we control for men's education level. Education is associated with gender role attitudes and taps into unmeasured aspects of men's economic potential. We measure *education level* as the highest attained education level, recoded into two categories: up to vocational post-secondary education (ISCED 2011 0-4) and professional or academic tertiary education (ISCED 5-8). We do not include other control variables in the main models since the sample is already selective in terms of the event (all men become first-time fathers), age, employment, and marital status.

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics for all variables of interest, including those used in supplementary analyses.

## Analytical approach

We use two-level random effects models where monthly observations  $t$  are clustered in individuals  $i$ .<sup>4</sup> We include year-fixed effects to account for period effects and estimate cluster-robust standard errors to account for the clustering in organizations. All models with cross-level interactions include (a) random slope(s) on the lower-level unit(s) to avoid downwardly biased standard errors (Heisig and Schaeffer 2019).

The dependent variable is a dichotomous variable indicating if a man is part-time or full-time employed. We focus on this outcome since we are primarily interested in estimating the likelihood that fathers, dependent on the household and organization they are embedded in, reduce their contractual working hours, rather than average changes in working hours. We estimate linear probability models (LPMs), where coefficients represent discrete changes in the probability that a man is part-time employed for a one-unit change in the covariate of interest. We prefer LPMs over logistic models because LPM estimates offer a more intuitive interpretation than (log-)odds and are easier to compare across models. Logistic models (not reported) yield similar results.

We use two fatherhood measures (a child dummy and a set of dummies for months after childbirth) and estimate similar models for each. Model 1 represents the analysis of the main effect of having a child on the probability of working part-time after childbirth. To assess the role of the household context ( $H1$ ), we include a cross-level interaction between relative hourly wage and having a child (Model 2). To assess the role of the organizational context ( $H2$ ), we include cross-level interactions between having a child and the proportion of women (Model 3) and part-time workers in the organization (Model 4).

## Results

### Fatherhood and working hours

Figure 1 presents descriptive statistics of men's working hours from 24 months pre-childbirth to 24 months post-childbirth. As described earlier, the sample is restricted to men in different-sex (non-)marital unions in wage-and-salary employment. The figure illustrates that the vast



Table 2. Descriptive statistics.

|   | M     | SD   |
|---|-------|------|
| Part-time job ( <i>full-time</i> = 0)                           | 0.10  |      |
| Weekly working hours  | 38.57 | 5.09 |
| Working hours (categories)                                      |       |      |
| <20 hours   | 0.01  |      |
| 20–28 hours   | 0.01  |      |
| 28–35 hours   | 0.09  |      |
| ≥36 hours   | 0.90  |      |
| Child ( <i>no child</i> = 0)                                    | 0.50  |      |
| Months after childbirth   |       |      |
| No child  | 0.50  |      |
| 1–6 months  | 0.14  |      |
| 7–12 months   | 0.13  |      |
| 13–18 months  | 0.12  |      |
| 19–25 months  | 0.11  |      |
| Education level ( <i>ISCED 0–4</i> = 0)                         | 0.64  |      |
| Relative hourly wage (log)                                      | 0.14  | 0.38 |
| Working hours partner (lagged)                                  |       |      |
| <20 hours   | 0.06  |      |
| 20–28 hours   | 0.12  |      |
| 28–35 hours   | 0.32  |      |
| ≥36 hours   | 0.50  |      |
| Prop. women in organization                                     | 0.31  | 0.21 |
| Prop. part-time workers in organization                         | 0.22  | 0.19 |
| Public sector ( <i>private sector/subsidized companies</i> = 0) | 0.13  |      |

**Source:** CBS microdata, own calculations. **Notes:** All descriptive statistics are based on the sample used in the regression models ( $N = 1,242,345$ ;  $n = 29,333$ ; see Table 1). For organization-level variables, men employed in organizations with less than ten employees are excluded ( $N = 1,081,230$ ;  $n = 25,428$ ). Weekly working hours are top-coded to 80.

majority of soon-to-be fathers are full-time employed: the share of men in full-time employment ranges between 78.7 percent 20 months pre-childbirth to 71.6 percent 12 months after. Though a small decline in the share of men with a full-time job and a slight increase in the share of men with a large part-time job can be observed in the first year after childbirth, men's working hours seem relatively stable over time.

When looking at within-person changes (not displayed in the figure), it becomes clear that this stability especially occurs among the majority of men with a full-time job: among men employed full-time 9 months before childbirth, 82.0 percent continue to work full-time 12 months after childbirth. Within this subgroup, most changes (71.1 percent) remain limited to reductions of at most 1 day a week. The labor market patterns of other men show less stability. To illustrate, men with a large part-time job pre-childbirth are equally likely to stay in this category (42.7 percent) or increase their hours (43.7 percent). This confirms that changes in fathers' working hours are dependent on the pre-childbirth employment situation.

To gain a better understanding of the extent to which first-time fathers reduce their time in paid work, we turn to the regression results. These analyses focus on men in dual-earner families with a full-time job 9 months pre-childbirth (see Table 1). Table 3 presents all multilevel LPM results based on the dichotomous measure (having a child). The results based on the categorical measure (months after childbirth) are available in Table A.2 in the online Appendix. Model 1 (Table 3) is used to evaluate the effect of fatherhood on the probability to start working part-time. The results show that becoming a father increases this probability by 7.6 percentage points. This is a notable effect, though one has to keep in mind that our dependent variable does not distinguish between small and large part-time jobs. Earlier descriptive findings show that this usually involves reductions of up to 1 day a week.

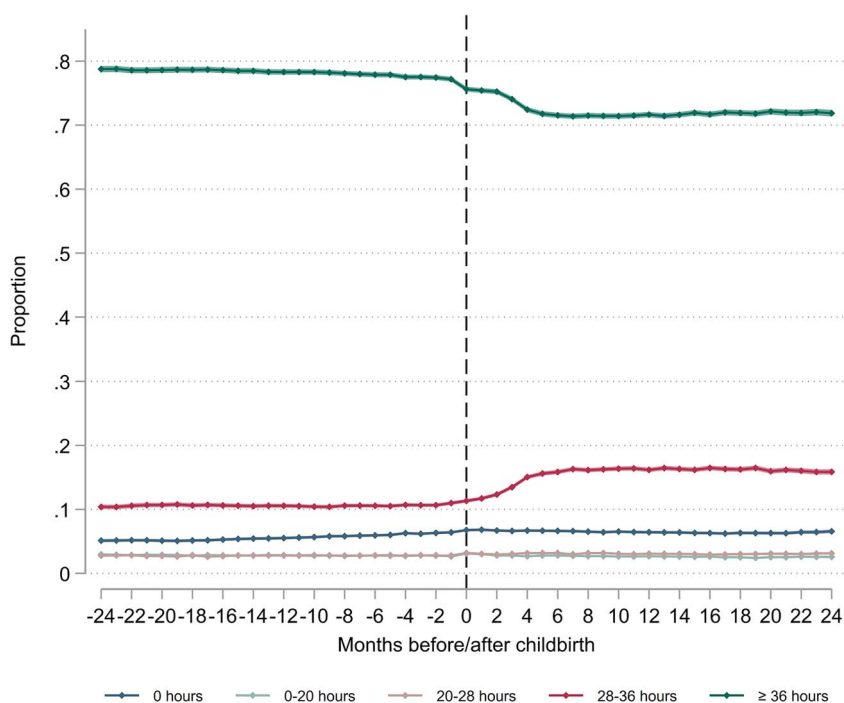


Figure 1. Descriptive statistics working hours over time. Source: CBS microdata, own calculations. Notes:  $N = 2,017,141$ ;  $n = 52,082$ . 95 percent confidence intervals are displayed.

## The household context

The next step is to evaluate under which conditions men are most likely to scale back their working hours. We first focus on the household context. Before continuing to the regression results, it is important to assess to what extent there is variation in relative resources across households. As illustrated by figure 2, this variation is substantial. The relative hourly wage distribution has a mean of 0.14 (equivalent to a geometric mean ratio of  $e^{0.14} = 1.16$ ) and an SD of 0.39. This indicates that men in dual-earner households earn on average around 16 percent more per hour than their partner pre-childbirth, though the intra-household resource constellation greatly varies.

In Model 2 (Table 3), we assess if the effect of becoming a father on the probability of switching to part-time work varies with men's relative resources. The negative interaction between relative hourly wage and childbirth ( $b = -0.028$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) indicates that, in line with  $H1$ , men are less likely to cut working hours after childbirth if they earn more than their partner. Education level also moderates the association between fatherhood and part-time employment. The interaction term is positive ( $b = 0.040$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), indicating that tertiary-educated men are more likely to start working part-time after becoming a father. This is probably due to the association between education and gender role attitudes. Note that the interaction between fatherhood and relative resources is also significant when the interaction between fatherhood and education is not included.

To gain insights into how this pattern evolves, figure 3 displays predicted probabilities of part-time employment by relative hourly wage over time. The sample is conditioned on full-time employment 9 months pre-childbirth, yet predicted probabilities before childbirth are low but not zero. This suggests that some men adjust their working hours in anticipation of parenthood. Panel a illustrates that the negative effect of having a child on the probability of working

Table 3. Multilevel linear probability model of working part-time and first childbirth.

|  | (1)                 | (2)                  | (3)                  | (4)                  |
|--|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Fixed part</i>                          |                     |                      |                      |                      |
| Child ( <i>ref.</i> = no child)            | 0.076***<br>(0.002) | 0.051***<br>(0.003)  | 0.054***<br>(0.003)  | 0.050***<br>(0.003)  |
| Rel. hourly wage (std)                     |                     | -0.005***<br>(0.001) | -0.005***<br>(0.001) | -0.003**<br>(0.001)  |
| Child × Rel. hourly wage                   |                     | -0.028***<br>(0.002) | -0.027***<br>(0.002) | -0.027***<br>(0.002) |
| Education level ( <i>ref.</i> = ISCED 0-4) |                     | -0.043***<br>(0.002) | -0.049***<br>(0.003) | -0.042***<br>(0.002) |
| Child × Education level                    |                     | 0.040***<br>(0.003)  | 0.036***<br>(0.004)  | 0.043***<br>(0.004)  |
| Prop. women (std)                          |                     |                      | 0.011***<br>(0.002)  |                      |
| Child × Prop. women                        |                     |                      | 0.014***<br>(0.002)  |                      |
| Prop. part-time workers (std)              |                     |                      |                      | 0.025***<br>(0.003)  |
| Child × Prop. part-time workers            |                     |                      |                      | 0.005<br>(0.003)     |
| Intercept                                  | 0.059***<br>(0.003) | 0.087***<br>(0.004)  | 0.090***<br>(0.005)  | 0.086***<br>(0.004)  |
| Year fixed effects                         | Yes                 | Yes                  | Yes                  | Yes                  |
| <i>Random part</i>                         |                     |                      |                      |                      |
| var(child)                                 | 0.056***<br>(0.001) | 0.055***<br>(0.001)  | 0.055***<br>(0.001)  | 0.056***<br>(0.001)  |
| var(ind)                                   | 0.014***<br>(0.001) | 0.014***<br>(0.001)  | 0.013***<br>(0.001)  | 0.013***<br>(0.001)  |
| var(res)                                   | 0.053***<br>(0.001) | 0.053***<br>(0.001)  | 0.052***<br>(0.001)  | 0.052***<br>(0.001)  |
| Loglikelihood                              | -7623.499           | -6967.271            | -3336.675            | -2987.398            |
| Individuals                                | 29,333              | 29,333               | 25,428               | 25,428               |
| Observations                               | 1,242,345           | 1,242,345            | 1,081,230            | 1,081,230            |

**Source:** CBS microdata, own calculations. **Notes:** Organization cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses. All continuous variables are mean-standardized. \**p* < 0.05, \*\**p* < 0.01, \*\*\**p* < 0.001.

part-time is strongest in the second half-year after childbirth among all men, and diminishes thereafter. On one hand, the relation between fatherhood and work time reductions depends on the pre-childbirth resource constellation. The probability of working part-time increases with 6 percentage points over time among men earning 100 percent more than their partner before childbirth, while it increases with 19 percentage points among men earning 100 percent less (see Panel b for the difference between these subgroups). On the other hand, the figure represents evidence of the unresponsiveness of men's time in paid labor to parenthood. Even in the minority of couples where the female spouse earns twice as much pre-childbirth (-100 percent), only 26 percent of the men work part-time 2 years after.

So far, we have not considered the partner's employment pre-childbirth. The findings for relative resources may be partly explained by, or depend on, the partner's working hours, since wages along with the time spent in paid labor determine the household's main earner. While the sample only includes men in dual-earner couples, the partner's working hours pre-childbirth vary considerably (see Table 2). Partners' working hours are negatively associated with men's relative resources, yet even in couples with two full-time workers, men earn on average 11 percent more.

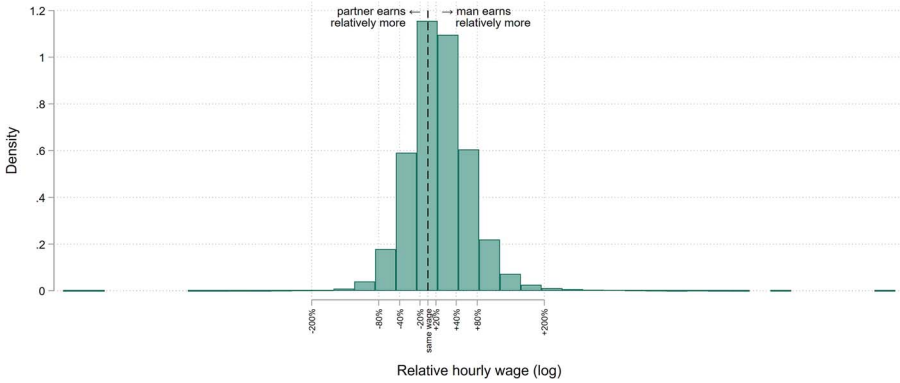


Figure 2. Descriptive statistics relative hourly wage distribution. Source: CBS microdata, own calculations. Notes: N = 29,333 (individuals).

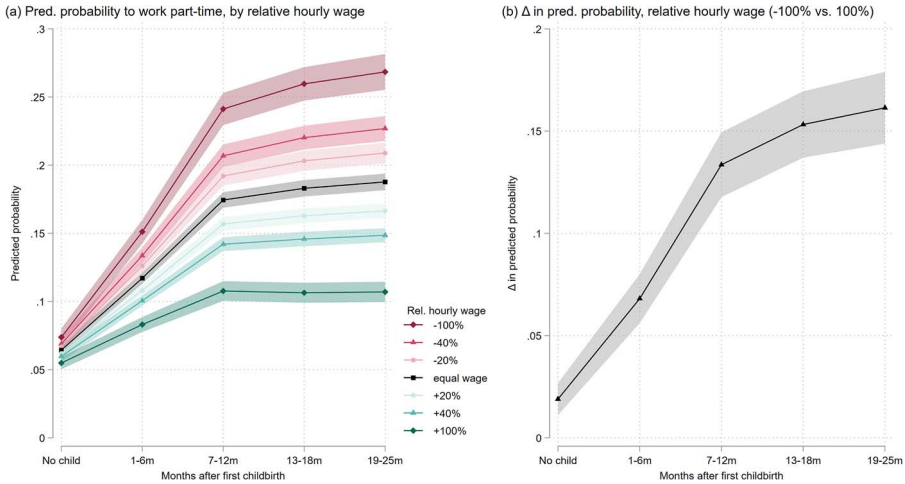


Figure 3. Predicted probability to work part-time, by relative hourly wage. Source: CBS microdata, own calculations. Notes: N = 1,242,345; n = 29,333. 95 percent confidence intervals displayed. Predicted probabilities are based on Model 2, Table A.2, and estimated at the observed values of all other variables in the model (e.g., education level). By choosing for the -100 percent to +100 percent interval, this plot covers circa 92 percent of the relative hourly wage distribution.

Supplementary analyses (fig. A.1 in the online Appendix) show that the interaction between having a child and relative hourly wage remains unchanged after accounting for the partner’s working hours pre-childbirth. However, the probability to start working part-time after childbirth is *more* conditional on relative resources the higher the partner’s working hours. This is not surprising, since “full” dual-earner couples are more similar in terms of bargaining power and have more financial leeway to reduce working hours.

**The organizational context**

We now turn to the role of the organization in explaining which fathers are most likely to reduce their working hours. Figure 4 shows the mean proportion of women and part-time workers by industry. First, industries strongly differ in the mean proportion of women and part-timers. In industries where women are overrepresented, such as education or health and social work, a sizable share of workers is employed part-time, whereas in traditionally male-dominated

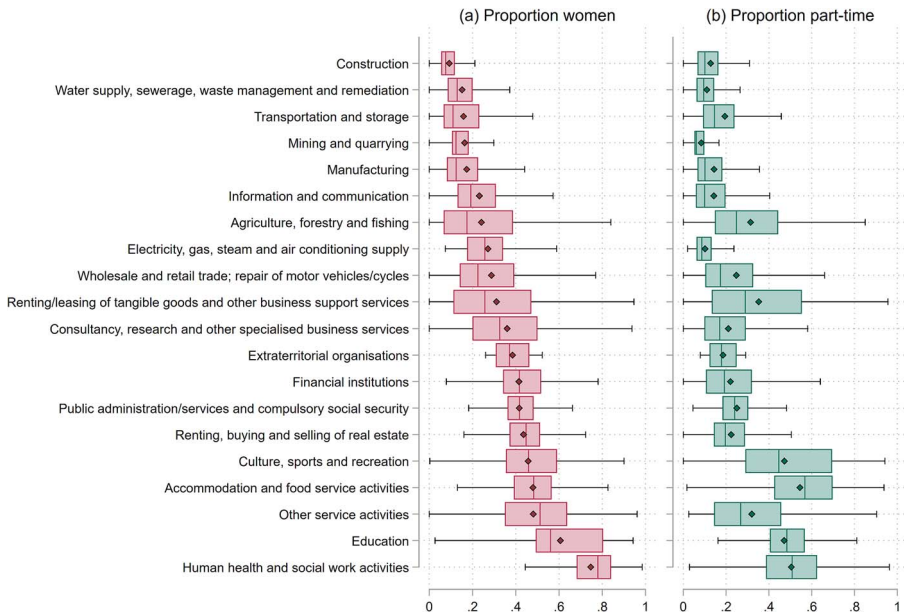


Figure 4. Descriptive statistics proportion of women and part-time workers, by industry. Source: CBS microdata, own calculations. Notes:  $N = 12,718$  (organizations). The Dutch Standard Industrial Classification (SBI 2008, first digit) is used to distinguish between industries. Industries are sorted in ascending order based on the mean proportion of women. Only organizations where sample members are employed and with at least ten employees are included. The industries strongly differ in size, with the three largest in our sample being manufacturing, wholesale and retail, and consultancy and research.

industries, such as construction or manufacturing, the proportion of part-timers is low. Though the organizational-level indicators correlate positively ( $r = 0.64$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ,  $N = 12,718$ ), deviations from this pattern exist. For instance, in agriculture, the share of part-timers is high compared to the share of women. Second, there is considerable within-industry variation across organizations in the proportion of women and part-timers. This underscores the importance of using fine-grained indicators that go beyond the private/public sector divide or industry-level classifications.

Models 3-4 (Table 3) assess the moderating role of the organization on the relationship between having a child and part-time employment. Note that the sample differs from Models 1-2 as men in organizations with less than ten employees are excluded. Model 3 shows that, in line with H2, men employed in organizations with a high share of female co-workers—serving as a proxy for a supportive work environment in terms of work-family policies and organizational culture—experience a stronger increase in the probability of part-time employment than men in male-dominated organizations. With every one SD increase in the share of female co-workers, the positive relation between having a child and the probability of working part-time increases by 1.4 percentage points ( $p < 0.001$ ). Given the size of the main effect, the organizational gender composition is associated with fathers' labor market responses to a fair extent. The results for the second indicator of organizational support—the proportion of part-time workers—do not support H2. The interaction term with having a child is nearly zero and insignificant (see Model 4).

Figure 5 depicts (differences in) predicted probabilities to work part-time in the period around childbirth for men employed in different types of organizations pre-childbirth. The positive effect of fatherhood on the probability of working part-time is stronger in companies with a large share of female co-workers (see Panel a), and the difference in this probability between men employed in different organizational contexts (10th versus 90th percentile score) grows over time (see Panel

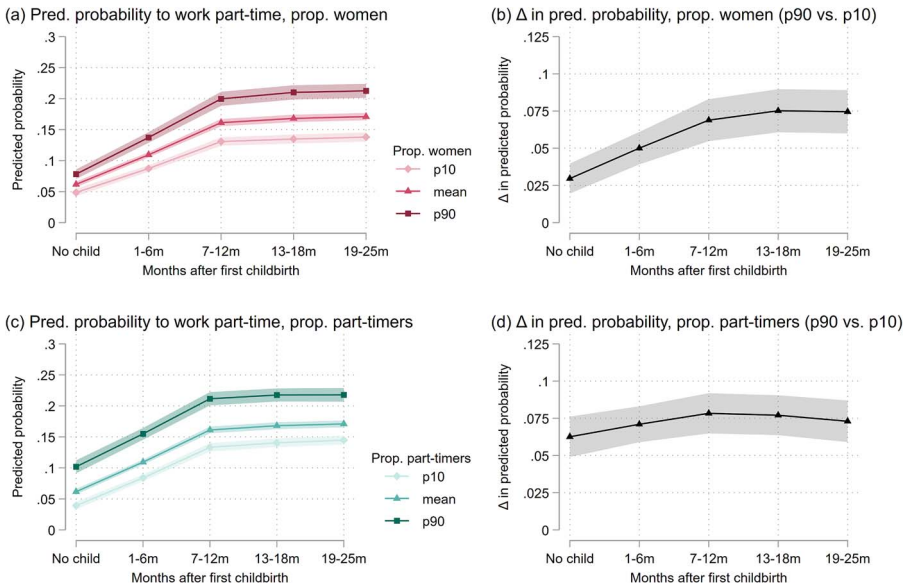


Figure 5. Predicted probability to work part-time over time, by organizational indicators. *Source:* CBS microdata, own calculations. *Notes:*  $N = 1,081,230$ ;  $n = 25,428$ . 95 percent confidence intervals displayed. Predicted probabilities are based on Model 3 (Panels a-b) and Model 4 (Panels c-d), Table A.2, and estimated at the observed variables of all other variables in the model. The 10th percentile and 90th percentile scores correspond to a proportion of women of 0.04 and 0.60, respectively, and a proportion of part-timers of 0.04 and 0.65.

b). In contrast, the lines in the plot for the proportion of part-time workers run roughly parallel, indicating the absence of an interaction effect (see Panels c-d).

Several supplementary analyses are conducted. First, one might suspect that the results for the organizational context are driven by sector or industry. To assess this, we control for the main effect of being employed in the public sector (versus the private sector) and an interaction between public sector employment and having a child in supplementary analyses (see the online Appendix, Table A.3, Models 3a-4a). The results for the proportion of women barely change. Additionally, these results cannot be explained by broad industry differences, as the inclusion of industry-fixed effects leaves the results unchanged (see Table A.3, Models 3b-4b).

A second consideration is the potential impact of men switching to another organization after the organizational indicators were measured. At the organizational level, there is no significant correlation between the share of job switchers and the share of women or part-time workers. Regression results (see Table A.3, Models 3c-4c, and fig. A.2) suggest that the positive effect of the share of female co-workers on work hour reductions is slightly weaker among fathers who switched jobs compared to those who remained in the same organization. Moreover, excluding job switchers, the results for the proportion of part-time workers more closely resemble those for the organizational gender composition. This suggests that job switchers are more likely to be employed in organizations offering part-time contracts for operational reasons. Overall, these findings suggest that our main analyses, including job switchers, provide conservative estimates of the relationship between the organizational context and fathers' employment.

Finally, all regression results apply to fathers initially employed full-time. We replicate the main models for men in part-time employment pre-childbirth (see Table A.4 in online Appendix). Confirming our suspicion, the main effect of fatherhood on the probability of part-time employment is negative for this subgroup (Model 1:  $b = -0.098$ ). Given the smaller group size, their upscaling cannot offset the downscaling observed earlier: without the sample restriction of

full-time employment pre-childbirth, the overall fatherhood effect remains positive ( $b = 0.041$ , not displayed in the table). Anticipated contextual effects on work hour reductions are complex for this subgroup due to potential financial constraints and precarity. The results reveal significant heterogeneity in labor market responses by relative resources (see Table A.4, Model 2). The interaction between childbirth and the share of women is close to zero and insignificant. The significant negative interaction with the share of part-timers suggests that this subgroup is more likely to increase working hours if employed in organizations with a high share of part-timers (see Table A.4, Models 3-4). A plausible explanation is that this subgroup is more likely to work in organizations using part-time contracts for organizational flexibility rather than work-family support.

## Conclusion and discussion

How do men adjust their working hours upon becoming fathers? This study uses detailed register data (2006–2017) to examine first-time fathers' employment in a country that has been described as "the first part-time economy in the world" (Visser 2002). Furthermore, this study investigates how fathers' working hours depend on the household in which they live and the organization in which they work—two primary contexts that likely shape labor market responses to fatherhood. While prior research has suggested that both the household and workplace are important in shaping men's employment around childbirth, in the absence of suitable data, the role of organizations was difficult to study. Moreover, these contexts have not been studied simultaneously. In this paper, we addressed these gaps.

The first key finding of this study is that the majority of men do not change their employment after the transition to fatherhood—even in a country known for its high availability of part-time contracts. Among men in dual-earner couples who were full-time employed before childbirth, fatherhood is associated with an increase in the overall probability of part-time employment. These work hour reductions, typically up to 1 day a week, are modest compared to the great elasticity in mothers' employment (Begall and Grunow 2015; Budig and England 2001). Once having a "settled" full-time career, fatherhood often does not result in a notable shift in men's employment.

Second, the results partially support economic theories on specialization and bargaining (Becker 1985; Lundberg and Pollak 1996). Fathers are substantially more inclined to reduce working hours if they earn relatively less than their partner. However, this effect must not be overstated. Approximately three-quarters of men earning half as much per hour as their partner remain full-time employed after childbirth. Economic theories cannot explain that the majority of these couples make employment decisions that are not efficient in terms of family income. Additionally, the heterogeneity in fathers' labor market responses by education level, net of relative hourly wage, speaks to the importance of gender ideologies. Moreover, the considerable stability in fathers' labor supply can arguably be attributed to gendered expectations related to parenting and part-time employment.

Third, this study shows with longitudinal large-scale data that organizations matter in shaping fathers' opportunities for work hour reductions. This adds to research on work-family policies and organizational cultures (Bächmann et al. 2020; Haas and Hwang 2007; Van der Lippe et al. 2019). A high share of female co-workers, indicative of a family-friendly work environment, is associated with an increased probability of work hour reductions among fathers. This applies to both the public and private sector. Results for the share of part-time workers provide less support for our hypothesis. Supplementary analyses suggest that this is because part-time contracts are also offered for reasons not related to work-family support—e.g., to buy low-paid and flexible labor for a short period, or to cover all possible work shifts across the week (Fagan and Walthery 2011). When focusing on men who stay with the same employer around childbirth (where precarious part-time work may be less common), the results closely mirror those for the organizational gender composition. Accordingly, the prevalence of part-time contracts in an organization is not always a suitable indicator of work-family support. This consideration is crucial when translating

the findings to other contexts, where part-time work is stronger linked to job insecurity and low earnings compared to the Netherlands.

A caveat inherent to research on parenthood and the workplace is self-selection. The organizational context may not only affect fathers' employment, but men may also self-select in occupations or organizations in ways related to family formation. For example, men not intending to reduce working hours after childbirth might be more likely to work in organizations that do not support part-time arrangements, and vice versa. We show that the results for the organizational context cannot be explained by industry differences, thereby partly capturing organizational segregation (Van Breeschoten and Evertsson 2019). Nonetheless, it cannot be ruled out that our results partly reflect self-selection. A similar consideration applies to the household context, where men with traditional gender role attitudes may be less inclined to form a union with a partner with egalitarian gender role attitudes.

The use of rich longitudinal data at both the individual and organizational level greatly contributes to our understanding of fathers' employment. Nevertheless, register data also have limitations. Registers lack information on norms, preferences, or policies, which necessitates reliance on indirect measures of organizational support. Alternative research designs, like vignette studies, are more suitable to tease out underlying mechanisms. For example, they could be useful to analytically distinguish between specialization and bargaining, or formal and informal support, and to examine the role of gender ideologies. Relatedly, the absence of data on all employees' occupations makes it difficult to address occupational gender segregation or define contextual measures at a more granular level ("workplaces"). Additionally, the inability to measure *actual* working hours poses a challenge, as these may differ from *contractual* hours in ways relevant to parenthood and employment. For instance, factors like leaving the office on time or working from home may vary across organizations (Dermott 2006; Dommermuth and Kitterød 2009). Conversely, unpaid overwork hours also stay unmeasured. While survey or time diary data offer alternatives, they are not necessarily better suited to capture these subtleties, given the selective underestimation of working hours (Bonke 2005).

This study also raises several new questions. First, this study focuses on the transition to parenthood and considers a relatively short period. Questions about parity effects and how fathers' employment evolves over a longer period are left for future research. Second, although this study provides new evidence that both the household and organizational context shape fathers' opportunities to reduce working hours, it is beyond its scope to study how these spheres interact. We propose a future research agenda on how different contexts interlink in shaping fathers' employment. For instance, the association between relative resources and fathers' working hours may depend on gender role attitudes (Begall 2024; Nitsche and Grunow 2018). Furthermore, being in a "family-friendly" organization may be especially important for men likely to utilize work-family arrangements, either to align with egalitarian gender role attitudes or due to incentives for intra-household specialization. Finally, for more insights into gender dynamics, an interesting follow-up would be to adopt a union perspective to dynamically study contextual effects on the intra-household division of (un)paid labor.

Overall, this study's main findings can be interpreted in two ways. A first interpretation is that focusing on "average" fatherhood effects conceals heterogeneity, as both the household and the organizational context shape how men adapt their time in paid labor after childbirth. Context does seem to matter. This also suggests that organizational work-family policies targeted at fathers could ease the reconciliation of paid work and family life. The second interpretation is one of stability. Even in a "part-time economy" like the Netherlands, the vast majority of first-time fathers remain full-time employed—irrespective of their relative resources or the organization where they work. A larger re-orientation of gendered expectations regarding parenthood seems needed to encourage fathers' active involvement in family life. While the household and organizational context matter in shaping fathers' employment, their stable participation in (full-time) paid work remains a barrier to achieving a more equal division of (un)paid labor in the household.



## Endnotes

1. The hourly wage is the gross income per hour (excluding holiday allowances, overtime pay, and end-of-year bonus), calculated over at most three jobs. We created two alternative measures using other income definitions: (1) gross income including holiday allowances and end-of-year bonus (evenly spread over a year); (2) gross income including all of the above, overtime pay, and all bonuses. Analyses using these measures (not shown) confirm the main results.
2. Due to collective bargaining agreements, what is considered “full-time” differs across industries and organizations (often ranging between 36 and 40 hours). We used men's modal working hours in an organization to choose this cutoff point (i.e., full-time is defined as > 80 percent of modal hours—the equivalent of four working days).
3. 1.7 percent of men work in multiple organizations 9 months pre-childbirth. Randomly selecting the organizational characteristics of one of these jobs (instead of the main job) did not alter the results.
4. We prefer random effects over fixed effects models as the former makes it easier to include (cross-level interactions with) time-invariant covariates. Furthermore, as all sample members experience the transition to fatherhood, the use of person-fixed effects to control for the time-constant (un)observable ways in which (expectant) fathers differ from childless men is less needed. However, fixed effects models (see [Table A.1](#) in the online Appendix) yield similar results.

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**Dieuwke Zwier** is a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Amsterdam. Her research interests include social stratification and the sociology of education. Her PhD research focuses on socio-economic disparities in secondary school choice and the role of peers in educational decision-making. A recent publication titled “Knowing me, knowing you: Socio-economic status and (segregation in) peer and parental networks in primary school” has appeared in *Social Networks* (2023).

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**Thijs Bol** is a full professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Amsterdam. His research interests are in social stratification and inequality in education, the labor market, and science. Recent publications include “School-to-Work Linkages, Educational Mismatches, and Labor Market Outcomes” (*American Sociological Review*, 2019). For the next years, he will work on CAREER, a project that studies the career effects of vocational and general education, funded by an ERC Starting Grant.

## Supplementary material

Supplementary material is available at *Social Forces* online.

## Conflicts of interest

None declared.

## Data availability

This study uses non-public microdata from Statistics Netherlands (CBS) that are under certain conditions accessible for scientific research. For further information, and to request access to the data, please visit <https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/onze-diensten/customised-services-microdata/microdata-conducting-your-own-research>. Replication files for the data preparation and main analyses can be found here: <https://osf.io/q23cs>.

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