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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE IMPACT OF ELDERCARE DEMANDS ON EMPLOYMENT: THE COST AND REWARD OF GENDER

BY

CATHRYN J. PERRIER 

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **THE IMPACT OF ELDERCARE DEMANDS ON EMPLOYMENT: THE COST AND REWARD OF GENDER** submitted by **CATHRYN JOYCE PERRIER** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **MASTER OF SCIENCE** in Family Ecology and Practice.

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ABSTRACT

The Interactive Model of Work and Family, Choice and Exchange theory and Feminist theories emphasize that characteristics of the mutually interdependent work and home environments function as costs or rewards for employed elder caregivers, and gender determines whether these environmental factors function as costs or rewards for women and men. Multivariate data analysis of the 1996 General Social Survey was used to determine what proportion of a sample of 671 employees with eldercare demands experienced impacts to their employment due to eldercare responsibilities; to explore whether characteristics of the work and home environments were significantly correlated to employment impacts; and test the prediction that women are more likely than men to experience employment impacts. Results showed no gender differences in the incidence of experiencing employment impacts, with one exception. Empirical support is evident for significant relationships between characteristics of the environment and the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts. Once the analysis was split by gender. differences occurred in the characteristics that influenced the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts for women and men. Also, the magnitude of the relationship between environmental characteristics and employment impacts also differed for women and men. Implications of these findings are discussed.

For my

Dad

For Mom

&

Carrie

For all of the times of support and encouragement

and for believing in me.

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Balancing employment and eldercare responsibilities, a challenge faced by many employees today, is likely to increase in the future due to the combination of a few trends. First, the aging population will contribute to more elderly living into old age, increasing the possibility of these individuals experiencing chronic illness (Allen, 1994). Second, changes in health care systems are forcing families to take on more responsibility for the care of dependent family members than ever before (Allen, 1994; Scharlach, Lowe, & Schneider, 1991). The recent trend in Canada toward deinstitutionalization of the frail elderly and disabled, coupled with health care cutbacks which result in shorter hospital stays and fewer beds in hospital units, are forcing families to shoulder more care for dependent elderly family members (Martin Matthews, & Rosenthal, 1993). And third, as women increasingly are participating in the workforce, greater numbers of dual earner and single parent families are faced with balancing paid employment and family demands (CARNET, 1993; Boaz, 1996; Boaz, & Muller, 1992).

Eldercare has been recognized as an important issue in response to these recent social trends in Canada. As dual earner and single parent families increasingly are confronted with eldercare demands, issues such as effective management of conflicting employment and family demands become crucial as employment impacts of eldercare demands become evident. Consequences range from positive impacts for the employee, such as increased confidence in dealing with others and an improved relationship with the care recipient (Scharlach, 1994), to negative impacts such as decreased ability to concentrate, decreased productivity, increased tardiness and lowered work satisfaction

(Joseph, & Hallman, 1996). Despite increasing concern about the negative effects of eldercare on employees, relatively little is known about the interplay between eldercare and employment.

As employees are confronted with family demands such as eldercare, decisions must be made regarding adjustments required to manage effectively the simultaneous demands of eldercare and employment. The gendered nature of these decisions need to be clarified and better understood. The choice and exchange theory stipulates that humans are rational beings and calculate costs and rewards before making a decision (Sabatelli, & Shehan, 1993). Feminist theories conclude that a person's choices are impeded or enhanced by gender (Osmond, & Thorne, 1993). Societal expectations affect decision-making in both women and men (Hooyman, & Gonyea, 1995). Eldercare has been deemed a woman's issue, due to the expectation that they are 'natural nurturers' and take care of needs in the home, whereas men are expected to be the 'provider' of instrumental needs (Brody, 1990). Therefore, women and men who are employed caregivers may have different choices and experience the employment impacts of eldercare differently.

This study will examine the impacts of eldercare demands on employment. Characteristics of the work and home environment, such as income and hours of care, will be considered to determine whether correlations exist between each of these characteristics and the likelihood of experiencing greater or lesser employment impacts. Gender-based analysis will reveal whether the impact of eldercare demands on employment is different for women and men. Research clarifying any possible correlation of various characteristics with the experience of employment impacts of eldercare responsibilities would contribute to the understanding of this issue, and to knowledge

about ways that eldercare and employment may be more easily managed for the employed caregiver, which may be of interest for both the employee and employer. This research may inform policy regarding eldercare, employment and caregiver issues. Focusing on the influence of gender in this study may create awareness of what societal expectations exist today for women and men and how these expectations affect work and family lives of women and men.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the underlying framework of assumptions and values that form the basis of this study. Three sources of theoretical perspectives are woven together in order to highlight some of the integral issues within the topic of eldercare and employment: the interactive model of the work-family relationship, choice and exchange theory, and feminist theories. There are two key contexts to address in order to understand the interaction between eldercare and employment; the context of employment, which is the work environment, and the context of eldercare, which is the home environment. The interactive model of work and family, as discussed by Chow & Berheide (1988), sets the context for this study by emphasizing the mutual interdependence of the work and home environments. The interplay between characteristics of the work and home environments likely influence employment impacts that may be experienced by an employed caregiver. Choice and exchange theory provides this study with a basis to view characteristics of the work and home environments as costs and rewards relating to caregiving, employment and choices for women and men. Gender determines whether characteristics function as costs or rewards for women and men in each of the environments (Osmond & Thorne, 1993). Feminist theories provide a micro lens for this study, which emphasize the governing influence of gender in the structural components and expectations of society in relation to elder caregiving and employment. Each will be discussed in turn.

Interactive model of work and family:

The interactive model of work and family reflects the current theoretical thought regarding the interplay between work and family spheres. The interactive model emphasizes mutual interdependence between work and family systems, while acknowledging their independent and joint effects. Work and family may be studied by considering each system separately, as well as examining the relationship between the two. An examination of the interplay between work and family spheres is achievable with this model (Chow & Berheide, 1988). The assumption of mutual interdependence will be utilized in the framework of this study.

Both positive and negative outcomes may result from the interaction between the work and home environments when combining eldercare and employment. Some previous studies found positive effects of caregiving for the employee that include an improved relationship with the care recipient, greater confidence in handling difficult situations, and an increased tolerance of others (Scharlach, 1994). If, for example, a female employee is caring for her mother and has discovered a new level of understanding of elderly persons and their physical challenges, this may positively affect her relations in the work environment through personal growth and the display of greater patience and understanding for others. However, the effect of caregiving on the employee may be negative as well. The employee may be struggling to handle the multiple and conflicting responsibilities of being a mother, daughter, wife, and productive employee. There may be insufficient time for the employee to handle daily family tasks, caregiving tasks, and her paid job effectively. These demands may result in strained relationships, decreased level of concentration and less work satisfaction, which all culminate in

decreasing the quality of life for that individual (Skrypnek & Fast, 1996). Other negative consequences include increased tardiness, absenteeism, employee turnover, and lower productivity in completing tasks (Joseph & Hallman, 1996).

The interplay between eldercare and employment is a particularly important issue today, as more families are confronted with the task of balancing paid work and family demands (CARNET, 1993; Dellasega, 1990). Women's increasing participation in the workforce contributes to greater numbers of dual career and single parent families balancing paid employment and family demands (Boaz, 1996; Boaz & Muller, 1992). Aging population and changes in the health care system are resulting in a greater likelihood that eldercare will be a responsibility for employees in the future (Allen, 1994; Scharlach, Lowe, & Schneider, 1991).

Although literature indicates that an increasing proportion of employed individuals have eldercare responsibilities, relatively little is known about employment consequences of eldercare demands and the effect of environmental characteristics for women and men. This then, is the focus of this study.

Choice and exchange theory:

Positive or negative outcomes may depend on the interplay between characteristics of the work and home environments, such as gender role attitudes, income earned, labour force status, workplace flexibility and benefits, work satisfaction, amount of instrumental support from family and friends, multiple caregiving demands, living arrangement, hours of care, and type of care. Characteristics such as these in the home and work environments may operate as costs or rewards for an employed caregiver

attempting to manage eldercare and employment. How caregiving affects employment may greatly depend on characteristics of that caregiver's work and home environments. For example, if an employed caregiver earns a high income, he/she will have access to more resources than an employee with lower earnings. Using that income to access alternative sources of care for the elderly individual would lower the probability that the caregiver would have to adjust his/her employment to accommodate caregiving demands. Therefore, the impact of eldercare demands on employment would likely be less for a high earner than a low earner.

Choice and exchange theory stipulates that humans are rational beings and consider the rewards and costs associated with various alternatives before acting (Sabatelli & Shehan, 1993). A significant aspect of choice and exchange theory is the concept of choice. As employed individuals are confronted with conflicting eldercare demands, each employee is likely to consider alternatives related to combining eldercare and employment responsibilities before making a choice. These decisions are often difficult to make, as employment and eldercare demands may each provide opportunities for rewards, but also conflict as far as time scheduling, demanding tasks, and individual expectations associated with each role. If, for example, a female employee derives many rewards from her employee role, but is faced with the societal expectation that an honorable person should care for her family members when needed, and lacks time or other resources, she will be faced with a difficult decision when she is confronted with eldercare responsibilities.

According to choice and exchange theory, individuals make choices in order to maximize profit or minimize cost (Franklin, Ames & King, 1994; Sabatelli & Shehan,

1993). An employee evaluating the costs and rewards of the caregiver and employee roles will likely choose an alternative that offers the lowest net cost or the highest net reward. This may result in evaluating the caregiving or employee role as too costly, and therefore limiting or terminating one of the roles. An employee may greatly value the perceived rewards of employment, such as self-fulfillment, status, social interaction, and money (Scharlach, 1994). All other things equal, the 'costs' entailed in taking on caregiving, such as reduced hours of work , and foregone earnings and promotions may seem too great (Glendinning, 1992). Thus, the employee may decide that, overall, caregiving is too costly to manage with employment.

If the employee decides that the existing rewards for both roles result in a net benefit as compared to other alternatives, an attempt may be made to find a compromise that allows the employed caregiver to maintain both. Choosing to assume both caregiving and employee roles may culminate in a large expenditure of energy to manage these multiple tasks, particularly if each role is very demanding. Demanding caregiving roles can have a negative effect on the health of the caregiver, such as loss of energy, fatigue, headaches, and gastrointestinal disturbances (Hooyman & Gonyea, 1995). Perhaps the psychological costs of giving up one role or the other is high enough that enduring both demanding roles is seen as an alternative. Alternatively, other resources may be available that allow the management of both caregiving and employment roles, such as hospital day care, a cleaning lady's assistance, and long term care facilities (Glendinning, 1992). Workplace benefits such as eldercare programs, information/referral services, unpaid time off, and flexible work arrangements offer other alternatives that may aid in the management of eldercare and employment (MacBride-King, 1990).

This study will focus on the likelihood of employees making work adjustments which impact their employment when confronted with eldercare responsibilities. This may include adjustments such as decreasing hours of paid work, moving into a different position in the same company, taking an unpaid leave of absence, changing employers, or working longer hours in order to make up for missed paid work (Mutschler, 1994). Exploring these employment decisions may contribute to a better understanding of the consequences of combining eldercare responsibilities and employment.

Characteristics of the work and home environments will be considered to determine whether or not they are associated with the likelihood of women and men adjusting their employment due to eldercare demands. Considering the possible correlation of these characteristics with employment impacts by gender may contribute to the process of creating helpful alternatives for employers and employed caregivers alike in order to make multiple demands easier to handle in daily life.

The Costs and Rewards of Gender - Combining Choice and Exchange and Feminist theories:

Choice and exchange theory states that the costs and rewards of alternatives vary over time and from person to person (Sabatelli & Shehan, 1993). Options relating to employment and eldercare demands vary according to the amount and type of resources available to an individual and barriers that an individual may encounter. To take this assumption a step further and utilize an assumption from the feminist theories, the opportunities available to a person vary systematically, according to gender (Miller & Cafasso, 1992; Osmond & Thorne, 1993). Thus, choices for employed women and men

are presumed to be different because resources and barriers vary due to the governing influence of gender in society (Osmond & Thorne, 1993).

Differences in choices between women and men likely occur for many reasons, such as gender role socialization and societal expectations related to caring (Brody, 1990; Hooyman & Gonyea, 1995; Matthews & Campbell, 1995). Learning about roles and expectations first occurs in the home; gender relations are an ongoing social process and men are as deeply influenced by gender role expectations as women (Osmond & Thorne, 1993). Women are socialized at an early age to fulfill the expressive, nurturing role and therefore learn that they should care for elderly family members who are in need (Brody, 1990). Men, on the other hand, are socialized to fulfill the instrumental needs, and learn to expect nurturing behavior from women in their lives. There is an implicit belief in society that an honorable woman who is not self-centered should care for needy family members to her fullest capacity. Thus, choices for women and men regarding employment would be influenced by these expectations from society. It is well documented in the research literature that the majority of caregivers are women (Brody, 1990).

These expectations of society may be perceived as 'costs' by some women. Feminist theorists argue that women take on caring roles not because it is 'natural', but because of the dominant societal ideologies of separate public and private spheres for men and women, and the low value placed on women's unpaid work in the home (Hooyman & Gonyea, 1995). In the event that a female employee considers the possibility of not fulfilling the caregiving role in the interest of maintaining a productive career, she may suffer psychological 'costs' of shame and guilt over failing to meet

societal expectations. She may evaluate the psychological cost of guilt as too high, and may consequently decide to limit her employment in order to avoid punishment, or 'costs', from society. Men, on the other hand, are less likely to encounter the same expectations and feelings. Gibeau & Anastas (1989) found that even women in managerial and professional positions were more likely than men to contemplate changing their employment status when confronted with eldercare responsibilities. This supports the idea that women faced with eldercare demands are confronted with different societal expectations than men.

Gender role socialization contributes to the expectations that men will hold paid work as their top priority while women will be most committed to family (Brody, 1990; Hooyman & Gonyea, 1995). These expectations may result in rewards for men and costs for women in their employment roles, as workplace attitudes may uphold the idea that men 'belong' in the workplace while women may not. Role expectations play a central part in decision-making for women and men (Osmond & Thorne, 1993). Therefore women and men encounter different resources and barriers in the workplace, home and in themselves regarding employment and eldercare which can be attributed to attitudes and expectations that are learned as individuals grow and develop in society.

A gender-based analysis of work and home characteristics will determine whether their association with employment impacts are different for women and men. Considering adjustments to employment and the possible relationship to characteristics of the work and home environments by gender may further clarify the interplay between eldercare demands and employment for women and men.

Characteristics of Cost and Reward in the Environment - Combining all three theories:

Characteristics of the work and home environments will be discussed in terms of how they may function for employed caregivers within these domains, as either costs or rewards according to gender. The characteristics of the work environment that will be discussed within this conceptual framework include gender role attitudes, income, labour force status, work flexibility and benefits, and work satisfaction. The characteristics of the home environment that will be addressed include instrumental support of family and friends, marital status, multiple caregiving demands, living arrangement, hours of care and type of care.

Work environment:

Gender role attitudes:

Gender role attitudes among coworkers and executives may be a cost or reward to employees who are confronted with eldercare and employment responsibilities. Traditional gender role attitudes include beliefs that women should manage family responsibilities in the domestic sphere, while men provide for the family in the public sphere (Hooyman & Gonyea, 1995). Individuals with egalitarian gender role attitudes believe that women and men should contribute to both public and private spheres, and that family responsibilities be shared equally by women and men (Hooyman & Gonyea, 1995).

Coworkers and executives with traditional gender role attitudes may create more conflict for women as they attempt to maintain paid work roles and eldercare demands. Persons in the work environment who possess these attitudes may be more likely to

discourage women from maintaining their employment. Coworkers and executives with egalitarian gender role attitudes would likely benefit female employees, as men are encouraged and expected to share in the responsibility for family demands, including eldercare. These expectations would likely result in expectations that both women and men share domestic responsibilities, which would result in creating an atmosphere where women are valued equally to men in their employment roles, and balancing work and family demands would be perceived as legitimate for both women and men.

Gender role attitudes may have the opposite affect on men's employment. Traditional gender role attitudes would result in less conflict for men, in that the expectation to share in familial responsibilities would not exist, and their employment roles would be reinforced. Egalitarian gender role attitudes, however, may be a cost to men. They would experience more conflict between paid work and eldercare, as they are expected to share equally in family responsibilities, and therefore be confronted with balancing work and family demands. Therefore, traditional gender role attitudes may be associated with more employment impacts for women than men. Men employed in a workplace culture of egalitarian gender role attitudes may be more likely to experience employment impacts than women, all other things equal.

Income:

Income is a resource for employees. As income increases, choices become more numerous. For those employees who are confronted with eldercare responsibilities, higher earners have more options available to them, such as purchasing eldercare services and utilizing day homes or eldercare programs. Also, the reward of higher earnings would likely increase commitment to the employment role. Modifying employment may be

perceived to have greater costs for an employee earning a higher wage than to an employee earning a lower wage. Therefore, with the ease of access to alternative resources, coupled with the reinforcing reward of income in the employment role, those employed caregivers with higher earnings are less likely to experience employment impacts due to eldercare demands.

Although income is a resource for women, barriers exist that affect the utilization of their earnings. Since women are expected by some employers, coworkers and society to hold family as their top priority, purchasing eldercare services in order to avoid modifying employment may be discouraged or considered unacceptable for female employees. The reward of high earnings may make it reasonable for female employees to purchase eldercare services, but the existence of these societal attitudes create barriers in accessing resources for managing eldercare and employment.

Conversely, income may be a reward that serves as additional justification for men to remain committed to their 'provider' role in the family. Men are confronted with a societal expectation that they hold employment as their top priority, and the reward of income would further reinforce their employment role attachment. Other attitudes in society stipulate that men lack the 'natural caregiving ability' which women possess (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, Emlen, & Boise, 1990). Therefore, there is a greater acceptance regarding the purchasing of eldercare services for men than women.

Therefore, income may be a reward to both women and men, but probably affects their choices regarding eldercare and employment differently. Men may be seen as more justified in employing alternative resources to aid with eldercare responsibilities, resulting in a greater access to resources for managing eldercare and employment as

compared to women. Therefore, men with higher incomes may be less likely to experience employment impacts as compared to women who are high earners.

Labour force status:

Labour force status may influence the impacts on employment for women and men who are confronted with eldercare demands. As hours of work increase, conflict between work and family responsibilities may increase.

Part time employment, on the other hand, may result in less conflict between work and eldercare demands for the caregiver, as more time would be available to handle both roles. Along with less hours of work, part time employment may also result in less commitment and attachment to paid work through lower rewards in that role, such as less opportunity for social interaction and fewer employee benefits. The lower rewards of part time employment would likely decrease the conflict between work and eldercare responsibilities, such that the cost of modifying the work role would not be perceived as costly as compared to those employees with higher rewards of full time employment. These costs and rewards of full and part time employment would not likely differ by gender. Therefore, employees working full time are more likely than those employed part time to experience employment impacts.

Work flexibility and benefits:

Resources within the workplace, such as flexibility of work schedules and other family-friendly policies and benefits, would affect the choices available to women and men who are managing eldercare and employment. Flexible work arrangements may make it easier to achieve a balance in juggling conflicting timetables. Information on handling family and work challenges provided by the workplace may enable the

employee to better manage conflicting eldercare demands, thus resulting in the ability to maintain high productivity at work and at home (Marshall & Barnett, 1994).

For women, utilization of workplace benefits, such as family-related leaves, coincides with the societal expectation of holding family as their top priority. Therefore, barriers such as disapproval from executives or coworkers are not as likely when women utilize workplace benefits in an attempt to balance eldercare and employment as it is when men do so. Utilizing these options in the workplace may lower the likelihood that women will suffer employment impacts.

In contrast, workplace flexibility and benefits such as family-related leaves used for family demands may be a cost to men's employment. Barriers to the utilization of work flexibility options and benefits for family demands exist for male employees; those who are highly involved in their family and access these benefits may be perceived as being less committed to their employment (Duxbury, & Higgins, 1991). Men may be less likely to utilize opportunities for flexibility and benefits in an effort to avoid this cost to their employment. For example, while parental leaves are available to men, their use remains limited, for fear of appearing less committed to their positions, and to avoid negative comments from their coworkers (Coburn, 1997).

Therefore, utilization of workplace flexibility opportunities and benefits may be a cost to men, who may encounter censure from coworkers and executives if they utilize these options, and are a reward for women, who may not encounter these same barriers. Therefore, men who utilize family- related flexibility and benefit options in the workplace maybe more likely to experience employment impacts than women who utilize these options.

Work Satisfaction:

Satisfaction or enjoyment derived from employment is a reward for employees. Employees who receive great intrinsic reward from their career would likely be highly committed and attached to that role. The higher the work satisfaction, the more conflict may be experienced when eldercare demands arise, as modifying employment might seem too costly to the employee.

For female employees, high levels of work satisfaction may create more conflict, in that modifying their employment may be perceived as a great cost. The societal expectation that one should care for dependent family members is much greater for women than for men. Therefore, if the reward of work satisfaction results in the decision to prioritize employment over eldercare demands, a psychological cost of encountering disapproval in society may result. Therefore, high commitment to work resulting from high satisfaction in that role would be countered by a cost of disapproval in society, which may affect women's commitment and attachment to employment.

For male employees, high levels of work satisfaction would strengthen their work attachments and commitments. Men gain more approval from society when employment is their highest priority, which would further reinforce their employment role. The existence of eldercare demands may cause some conflict for men, where they feel the pressure of added family demands. However, there is not an expectation that men should take on eldercare responsibilities, therefore eldercare demands are not as likely to influence men to change their employment behaviour as compared to women. Thus, men with high levels of work satisfaction may be less likely to experience employment impacts than women with high levels of work satisfaction.

Home Environment:

Instrumental Support from family and friends:

Instrumental support from others who can share in the responsibility for the care of an elderly individual is a resource for the employed caregiver. This would decrease time and energy demands, conflicting schedules, and employment impacts.

Instrumental support from others may lessen the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts for women and men. However, barriers exist for women in accessing support from others due to the expectation that they are 'natural nurturers'. Others may perceive female employed caregivers as more able to handle the dual responsibility of eldercare and employment and consequently would not offer assistance. Others in and out of the workplace may believe that the woman is choosing to be employed when she 'should' be at home, and would feel no empathy for her situation.

Due to an expectation that men lack the 'natural' ability of caregiving that is believed to exist in women (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, Emlen & Boise, 1990), it may be reasoned that male caregivers would be perceived as requiring and being entitled to assistance with elder caregiving from others. The support received by a male employed caregiver may diminish the likelihood of eldercare responsibilities impacting his employment.

Therefore, instrumental support from family and friends may function as a greater benefit for employed men than employed women. Therefore, greater employment 'costs' may be associated with women than men who are receiving instrumental support.

Marital Status:

The presence of a spouse may be a cost or reward in combining eldercare and employment. When a married couple is confronted with eldercare demands, it is often the woman who is expected to take on caregiving demands, regardless of whether that family member is her own or her husband's (Brody, 1990). Husbands are less likely to assist in helping their family members than are wives. Given the expectation that women hold family as their top priority, then, the presence of a spouse may constitute a cost for female employees, as the likelihood of taking on an elder caregiving role may actually be doubled upon marriage.

For men, marriage may be a reward with respect to their employee role, as the likelihood of tending to an elderly family member diminishes with the presence of a partner. For men, a spouse may actually reinforce their employment attachment, whereas for women it would likely be the opposite. Therefore, married women may be more likely to experience impacts to their employment than married men.

Multiple caregiving demands:

A cost that may affect choices related to eldercare demands and employment is the existence of additional caring responsibilities such as child care and/or caring for more than one elderly person. It may be reasoned that more responsibilities contribute to more time strain, schedule conflicts and energy demands, which may detract from the effective management of responsibilities.

However, multiple caregiving demands may affect men's and women's employment differently. Women are more likely to be the primary carers for their children. This may be derived from the societal ideology that the public and private

spheres are designated for men and women respectively. Since women are seen as 'natural' child and elder caregivers, caring for multiple dependent individuals may be seen as a natural extension of this role. Multiple caregiving demands may lead to employment consequences, as productivity and work satisfaction decline, and the demands of caregiving become too great to manage with the demands of employment.

Multiple caring demands may reinforce men's attachment to employment, so that they may 'provide' for these extra demands financially. Therefore, women may be more likely than men to experience difficulty in managing these roles. Therefore, multiple caregiving demands may be more likely to result in employment impacts for women than men.

Living Arrangement:

Co-residing with the dependent elderly family member may be a cost or reward for the employed caregiver. Living with the elder may be beneficial to balancing work and family demands, as there may be less commuting involved in the eldercare tasks (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen, 1993). However, co-residing frequently occurs when the elderly person can no longer maintain their activities of daily living, therefore caregiving demands may be greater in this situation as compared to other living arrangements (Lee, Dwyer, & Coward, 1990).

An elderly family member in the home may result in a reward for the caregiver through activities of reciprocation between the caregiver and care receiver. For example, an elderly person may watch over school-aged children during the period before both parents return home from work for the day (Scharlach, 1994; Steuve, & O'Donnell, 1989). Co-residing with an elderly individual may be a reward to employment, as

balancing the demand of childcare and employment may be alleviated for that period of time.

However, there may be a cost of decreased privacy and personal space for both the caregiver and care receiver (Brody, 1990), resulting in greater likelihood of tension in the relationship. This may result in a cost to the employed caregiver, and may affect his/her commitment to eldercare responsibilities and level of difficulty in managing these tasks, thus affecting employment decisions.

There are also significant out of pocket expenses that are incurred as a result of residing with the elderly individual. Costs such as incontinence supplies, extra laundry costs, clothing and bedding wear and tear, and renovations to homes (Glendinning, 1992) may not feasibly be covered by the elderly individual, leaving the employed caregiver to pay the extra expense. Financial strain may put added pressure onto the employed caregiver to work more hours in order to cover the extra expenses.

The farther an employed caregiver lives from the care receiver, the more likely the caregiver would experience employment impacts. Time demands would be greater, over and above providing care, because of travel time. However, just as those elderly persons living with their caregivers are likely to have more serious long term health or physical limitations, those living on their own, farther away, are likely to have less severe limitations. Therefore, it may be reasoned that eldercare demands would be less severe as well. Therefore, residing with an elderly person would result in a greater likelihood of experiencing employment impacts than living farther away.

Residing with a dependent elderly individual may operate differently for women and men. With the closer proximity resulting from the elderly family member living in

their home, the caregiver's expectations and feelings of responsibility for the care of the elderly individual may increase. Therefore, female employed caregivers may experience increased pressure to remain at home to care for the elderly member when he/she is a co-resident. This may greatly affect the employment of women, as those who live with the elderly individual may experience more conflict in attempting to maintain both roles than those who do not reside with the elderly family member.

Co-residing with the elderly family member, especially an elderly woman, may affect men's choices regarding employment differently than women. In response to a societal 'taboo' of men tending to women's personal needs (Kaye, & Applegate, 1990; Martin Matthews, & Campbell, 1995), obtaining alternative care for an elderly woman would likely be preferred. There are no existing 'taboos' regarding women providing care. Added reinforcement to men's paid work role would likely occur, as men may feel they should work more hours in order to provide for the purchasing of the outside assistance. Therefore, co-residing with an elderly family member may result in a higher likelihood of employment impacts for women than men.

Hours of care:

Hours of care is a cost to the employed caregiver in managing eldercare and employment responsibilities. The more hours required to care for an elderly relative, the greater the time constraint for an employed caregiver.

However, hours of care may affect employment impacts differently for women and men. Women are expected to take on family demands, and are more likely to feel they should continue providing care even when the required hours of care increases. When men are confronted with increased hours of care, they may feel the need to

purchase eldercare assistance. Men may feel more pressure to provide financial resources and maintain their work role when confronted with increased hours of care. Therefore, hours of care may be more likely to result in employment impacts for women than men.

Type of care:

Personal care tasks include bathing, dressing, eating, taking medication, and other daily living activities. Instrumental tasks include shopping, transportation, financial management and house maintenance. Personal care may be more costly to the employed caregiver than instrumental care, as personal care is higher in intensity and more immediate. Personal care would then result in higher the energy and schedule demands. This would likely result in increased conflict with other responsibilities, including employment, for the employed caregiver.

However, type of care may affect employment impacts for women and men differently. Perhaps due to the societal 'taboo' of men tending to women's personal needs, coupled with the expectation that men hold employment as their top priority, they may feel justified to increase their employment attachment in order to provide for increased need for eldercare services. Women, on the other hand, are expected to take on the caregiving tasks, which may be demanding and result in negative consequences to their employment. Therefore, type of care tasks may be significantly associated with the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts, which may be different for women and men. Personal care demands may be more likely to result in employment impacts for women than men.

Gender and Adjusting Employment:

Modifying paid employment in order to take on caregiving responsibilities may entail greater costs for men than women. According to the choice and exchange theory, the greater the amount of reward offered or accessible to an employee, the more likely she/he will remain highly committed and attached to their employment. Men receive more rewards, such as earnings and status, in the work environment than women. Women, on the other hand, experience more costs as greater societal expectations regarding family responsibilities result in greater conflict between paid work and family demands for female employed caregivers.

Men have more reason to remain attached to their employment roles than women, as they are paid more for their employment. Men working full time earned an average of $40,610 in 1995, while women who worked full time earned an average of only $29,700; women earned 73 cents for each dollar earned by their male counterparts (Foulds, 1997). Men's higher income provides them with more resources with which to purchase alternative eldercare services, which would reduce the time and energy demands of caregiving. Women are less likely to have those options. Mutschler (1989) found that the women who earned $22,000 or less per year took four times as many days off as those who earned a higher income. This coincides with the notion that the absence of reward creates less attachment to the employee role.

Women are not offered the same rewards or promotional opportunities as men, largely due to beliefs about women's commitment to their employee roles (Martin Matthews, & Campbell, 1995). Perhaps related to the expectation that women hold family

as their top priority, they are perceived as having less commitment to their employment as compared to men and so as being less attached to paid work (Skrypnek & Fast, 1994).

These attitudes regarding women's work commitment result in 'costs' for women in the work environment in two ways. First, women are not offered the same opportunity for full time employment as compared to men. Women occupy the majority of part time positions (MacBride-King, 1990). Part time work often helps them better manage family responsibilities, but many accept these positions because of a lack of full time employment opportunities (Betcherman & Lowe, 1997; Schellenberg, 1995). When considering the amount of reward received from a choice & exchange perspective, the part time employee's earnings would be lower, social interaction less frequent, and benefits more limited than a full time employee; less reward would be derived from that role. Women who work part time may be less attached and more willing to further limit their employment due to societal expectations regarding women and caregiving, and low rewards in that role.

Second, once women are employed full time, they are not as likely to attain supervisory or managerial positions as men (Boyd, Miller & Hughes, 1997). Men occupy the majority of executive positions, while women are concentrated in the lower pay, lower status positions (Boyd, Miller, & Hughes, 1997; Cuneo, 1990; MacBride-King, 1990). Boyd, Miller & Hughes (1997) concluded that women benefit less than men from their education and face negative consequences to attainment of authority, especially in occupations dominated by women. As a result, there is a presence of gendered occupational segregation in the work environment.

Sociologists use metaphors of "glass escalator" for men, and "glass ceiling" for women (Boyd, Miller, & Hughes, 1997) to illustrate how easily men climb to the upper positions in the corporate sector relative to women. These metaphors signify the tendency for individuals to perceive men as more committed to a position and subsequently to see them as more valued employees and more worthy of promotion than women (Cuneo, 1990).

Women's and men's rating of work satisfaction may reflect attitudes and structure of the work environment. In one of the few studies correlating gender and work satisfaction, men reported higher levels of work satisfaction as compared to women (Gignac, Kelloway, & Fraboni, 1996). This suggests that men obtain higher intrinsic reward in their employment than women. This may be a result of higher earnings, higher status and higher social reinforcement derived from their paid work.

Women face greater societal expectation regarding family responsibilities than men, including eldercare demands. The public and private ideology designates women to be the caregiver and men the provider. The expectation that women have 'natural' caregiving ability (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, Emlen, & Boise, 1990) may contribute to the fact that the majority of women are sole carers for the elderly (Allen, 1994; Boaz & Muller, 1992; Chappell & Havens, 1985; Penrod, Kane, Kane, & Finch, 1995), whereas men may be perceived as being more entitled to assistance from others due to the lack of this ability.

As a result, married women face the expectation that they should take on caregiving demands, whether the dependent family member is her own or her husband's family (Brody, 1990). As well, multiple caring demands, such as combined childcare and

eldercare or the need to care for more than one elderly individual, often fall to women. As carers who tend to the personal needs of the elderly individual are predominantly women, co-residing with the dependent elderly may create greater feelings of responsibility for the female caregiver due to the effect of proximity and increasing personal care demands of the care receiver. These expectations also contribute to the fact that women spend more time caregiving than men (Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995), and represent the majority of those who provide personal care (Gottlieb, Kelloway, & Fraboni, 1994), which leads to greater conflict for the female employed caregiver. Men do not experience the same societal expectation of taking on family demands as women.

The sum total of these gendered differences, then, leads to the expectation that, when confronted with eldercare responsibilities, men will perceive the cost of adjusting their paid work in response to eldercare demands to be higher than women, such that overall, women will be more likely to adjust their employment than men.

Summary of Research Questions:

Research question #1: What are the impacts of eldercare demands on the employment of women and men? Does this differ by gender?

Research question #2: What are the relationships between costs and rewards of the work environment and employment impacts? Do they differ by gender? If so, how?

Research question #3: What are the relationships between costs and rewards of the home environment and employment impacts? Do they differ by gender? If so, how?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Following is a review of the research literature relating to the interaction between eldercare and employment. The first section of the review is a discussion of the various definitions of eldercare throughout the literature. The second section is a discussion of employment impacts found in the literature as well as any gender differences in these impacts. In the third section, each of the work and home environments will be discussed, highlighting characteristics within these environments that have been supported in the research literature as having an impact on the employment of caregivers. Gender differences found in the literature will also be noted.

What is Eldercare?

Eldercare has been variously defined throughout the literature according to different characteristics such as the type of care provided, intensity and duration of care, relationship of the caregiver and care recipient, or characteristics of the care recipient (Barer & Johnson, 1990; Gorey, Rice & Brice, 1992; Keating, Fast, Oakes, & Harlton, 1996; Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995). Eldercare definitions range from very broad definitions such as "providing both emotional support and instrumental assistance for an older person" (Wagner & Hunt, 1994) to specific listings of tasks that comprise eldercare (Keating, Fast, Oakes, & Harlton, 1996). In the majority of studies, care providers are condensed into broad, generic categories and differences between levels of support provided by each carer are unknown (Barer & Johnson, 1990). This impedes further understanding of the relationship between various levels of caregiving and employment impacts.

The lack of a uniformly accepted definition of eldercare (Medjuck, O'Brien, & Tozer, 1992) limits comparability between studies and accuracy of prevalence rates. A study by Gorey, Rice & Brice (1992) concluded that the more broadly eldercare is defined, the higher the prevalence rate, which was demonstrated by the range of prevalence rates of 1.9% to 46.0% in individual studies that were analyzed. Once differences of definition and nonresponse were controlled, this meta-analysis of 17 employee surveys showed an overall prevalence rate ranging between 7.4% and 11.8% (Gorey, Rice & Brice, 1992). In order to overcome this shortcoming in future research, perhaps eldercare studies should discard the global notions of elder caregiving and focus on more specific definitions of care (Gorey, Rice & Brice, 1992). Therefore this study will utilize a specific definition of eldercare.

Employment Impacts of Eldercare Demands

Employment impacts of caregiving, as found in the literature to date, include absenteeism, lowered productivity, modifying or reducing hours, changing positions, foregone training and promotional opportunities, and terminating employment. Positive consequences of eldercare demands for employment include increased self confidence in handling difficult situations, and improved relations with co-workers through increased tolerance and understanding for others, which generally contributes to better work environment dynamics.

Employee absenteeism has been correlated with eldercare responsibilities (Glendinning, 1992; Gibeau & Anastas, 1989; Gignac, Kelloway, & Gottlieb, 1996; MacBride-King, 1990; Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen, 1993). Absenteeism

includes long lunch breaks, work interruptions, or arriving late/ leaving early in order to fulfill caregiving demands such as running errands or taking the elderly individual to medical appointments (Barling, MacEwan, Kelloway & Higginbottom, 1994; Gibeau & Anastas, 1989; Glendinning, 1992). Respondents in a study by Gibeau & Anastas (1989) missed, on average, a full week of work in the previous year due to caregiving demands. Thirty per cent of respondents in a study by Scharlach (1994) were absent from work for an average of 8.8 hours in the previous month due to eldercare tasks. Employees are often forced to utilize sick days, vacation pay, and personal leaves when they miss work in order to fulfill eldercare tasks (Finch & Mason, 1990; Gibeau & Anastas, 1989; Joseph & Hallman, 1996; Kramer & Kipnis, 1996).

Lowered productivity was the most frequently mentioned effect of eldercare demands on employment in a study by Scharlach (1994), which resulted from impaired concentration, fatigue, and caregiving-related emotional upset (Barling, MacEwan, Kelloway & Higginbottom, 1994; Gibeau & Anastas, 1989; Scharlach, 1994). Stress due to time constraint may result in significant health problems, which can affect job performance. Employees with eldercare demands experience more stress, more physical ailments such as headaches, loss of energy, gastrointestinal disturbances, and fatigue than employees without eldercare demands (Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Neal, 1994; Hooyman & Gonyea, 1990).

Many employees who have eldercare responsibilities change their work schedule by cutting back hours, limiting shift work and declining overtime opportunities (Finch & Mason, 1990; Glendinning, 1992; Gibeau & Anastas, 1989; Mutschler, 1994).

Findings indicate that a significant number of individuals balancing employment and eldercare have foregone some type of career opportunity, such as meetings, training opportunities, extra projects, and promotion (Glendinning, 1992; MacBride-King, 1990; Matthews & Campbell, 1995; Mutschler, 1994). Almost half of the employed carers interviewed by Glendinning (1992) reported that they had been unable to take further training that may have enhanced their career.

Some caregivers have had to terminate employment due to eldercare demands (Franklin, Ames, & King, 1994; Matthews & Campbell, 1995). Matthews & Campbell (1995) found that 9 to 11% of employed caregivers relinquished employment because of caregiving responsibilities. Reasons for the termination of employment for eldercare demands vary. For example, Brody (1990) found that women quit paid work to look after their elderly relatives because they could not afford to purchase services, help from other family members was inadequate, or the elderly relative refused paid help.

Some studies have indicated a ranking of work adjustment strategies, where changing work schedules was the first modification of choice, and terminating employment or changing employers was the last strategy utilized by employed caregivers (Glendinning, 1992; Mutschler, 1994; Scharlach, 1994). Eight of the thirty carers interviewed by Glendinning (1992) had modified their employment from full time to part time for a short period before terminating their employment completely. The most common reason for their work adjustments or termination decisions was physical decline in the care recipient, which required more hours of care, resulting in increased difficulty in managing employment and eldercare.

Positive consequences of combining eldercare demands and employment in the literature include improved self confidence and ability to handle difficult situations (Scharlach, 1994), and improved relations with coworkers through a heightened understanding and patience for others (Scharlach, Lowe, & Schneider, 1997; Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Neal, 1994). These impacts on the employee result in improved work environment interactions which would affect individual productivity and productivity for the company as a whole.

Employment Impacts and Gender:

The literature indicates that women generally experience more impacts on their employment as compared to men (Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Neal, 1994; Duxbury, Higgins, Lee & Mills, 1991; Gignac, Kelloway, & Gottlieb, 1996; Kramer & Kipnis, 1995; MacBride-King, 1990; Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995; Martin Matthews & Rosenthall, 1996; Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Boise, 1990; Rosenthal, Martin Matthews, & Matthews, 1996). More specifically, female employees report higher job costs than men, such as missed meetings, training sessions, business travel, or extra projects (Gignac, Kelloway & Gottlieb, 1996). Women also are more likely to utilize sick days, vacation days, and miss work-related social events due to eldercare demands than men (Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995). Women are twice as likely to report missed promotional opportunities than men (Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995). MacBride-King (1990) found that women are four times as likely as men to report having left a job due to eldercare demands. This is likely because greater work and family burden is assumed by women.

In contrast, men reported more work interruptions than women (Gignac, Kelloway, & Gottlieb, 1996; Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995), where interruption is defined as being interrupted at work for at least twenty minutes due to eldercare concerns within one month. Perhaps this is a result of taking on eldercare management tasks, such as arranging for eldercare services and financial planning for the elderly family member, where time on the telephone would be required rather than time away from work.

Characteristics of Cost and Reward in the Work Environment

As stated in the previous chapter, the workplace offers different costs and rewards for women and men, which may greatly affect the choices related to managing eldercare and employment roles. Sources of costs and rewards include gender role attitudes, income, labour force status, workplace flexibility and benefits, and work satisfaction.

Gender role attitudes:

Duxbury, Higgins, Lee & Mills (1991) found that fathers with egalitarian gender role attitudes, defined as those who are sharing the 'provider role' with their wives, experience significantly more difficulty in balancing employment and family responsibilities than do 'sole providers', or traditional fathers. By implication, these results suggest that matched gender role attitudes of partners in the home environment is associated with greater conflicts in the work environment. Duxbury & Higgins (1991) stated that corporate organizations continue to reward and support traditional role distributions in the workplace and at home.

However, studies have yet to address any specific employment consequences related to gender role attitudes of coworkers or employers, or gender differences in the relationship between gender role attitudes and employment impacts.

Income:

For the most part, past research has found that the higher the income, the less likely it is that the employee will experience stress related to conflict of elder caregiving and employment (Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Neal, 1994; Scharlach, 1989). However, Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen (1993) concluded that household income is positively associated with increased work interruptions and arriving late and leaving early. They added that perhaps those who earn higher incomes are required to do their work, but flexibility of their job duties allows them to accommodate interruptions while at work. Thus the relationship between income and employment impacts is not clear.

Studies have yet to address gender differences in the relationship between income and employment consequences.

Labour Force Status:

Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Neal (1994) found that the longer the hours of employment, the more stress was experienced by employed caregivers. Spending more hours fulfilling the employment role may also result in a higher commitment to employment through the large time investment and income as compared to part time employment. Glendinning (1992) found that full time employees were less likely to give up their paid work as compared to those working part time. Therefore, when confronted with eldercare demands, full time employment may be too costly for an employee.

There is no literature on gender differences in the relationship between employment status and employment impacts.

Workplace flexibility and benefits:

The few examples of large corporations providing opportunities such as flexible work arrangements and benefits for employees with eldercare responsibilities conclude that it is easier for employees with these opportunities to combine employment and eldercare demands (Marshall & Barnett, 1994; MacBride-King & Paris, 1993; Higgins, Duxbury & Lee, 1992).

Some researchers found that workers with more flexibility in their employment reported reduced work interference in their home lives, less stress, fewer sick days, greater job satisfaction, high levels of productivity, and increased loyalty in the employed caregiver (Fast, & Frederick, 1996; Galinsky & Stein, 1990; Marshall & Barnett, 1994; Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen, 1993; Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, Emlen & Boise, 1990). However, work flexibility also is correlated with increased incidence of arriving late/ leaving early (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen, 1993). Because employed caregivers with work flexibility are able to adjust their daily schedules in order to manage eldercare tasks, the incidents of arriving late/ leaving early may increase. However, this flexibility also permits adjusting their schedules so that productivity is not compromised. Supportive work environments have also been found to reduce unwanted changes in the respondent's health (Lechner, 1993; Marshall & Barnett, 1994), which can affect productivity for the employee.

In contrast, Duxbury, Higgins, Lee & Mills (1991) found that work flexibility was not helpful for men or women in balancing work and family demands. Men and

women in this study working flextime and compressed work weeks were just as likely to experience work-family conflicts, defined as incompatibility of schedules in the two domains, as those working regular work weeks. A study by Fast, & Frederick (1996) supported the conclusion that compressed work weeks are not effective in reducing time stress for employed women and men, whereas flextime aided in reducing time stress for women only. Therefore, whether work flexibility aids in the management of eldercare demands and employment is unclear.

Duxbury, Higgins, Lee & Mills (1991) stated that women were more likely than men to perceive that family demands hinder their career advancement, regardless of which working arrangement was in place. The relationship between work flexibility and employment consequences is unclear.

Work satisfaction:

Very few studies have correlated work satisfaction with employment impacts. However, the Women's Bureau of Human Resources Development Canada (1994), stated that employees with higher work satisfaction have exhibited higher work productivity. Lechner (1993) found that respondents who had high work satisfaction had fewer health complaints. This would indirectly affect productivity through lower rates of sick day utilization and better job performance by the employee.

Researchers have found that men have higher rates of work satisfaction than women (Gignac, Kelloway & Gottlieb, 1996). This may be a result of the societal expectation that men hold employment as their top priority. Men are not as likely to experience conflict regarding work and family responsibilities as compared to women. Therefore, the reward of work satisfaction may be too high for men to sacrifice by

modifying their employment when confronted with eldercare demands. Women may be more likely than men to modify employment due to lower work satisfaction and societal expectation that women take on caring roles. However, there are no studies of gender differences in the relationship between work satisfaction and employment consequences.

Characteristics of Cost and Reward in the Home Environment

As stated in the previous chapter, different costs and rewards exist in the home environment for women and men which may affect decisions regarding elder caregiving responsibilities and employment. Sources of cost and reward in the home environment include instrumental support from family members and friends, marital status of the caregiver, multiple caregiving demands, living arrangement, hours of care, and type of care.

Instrumental support from family members or friends:

Finch & Mason (1990) found that employed caregivers in their study shared caregiving demands with siblings and spouses in order to fit the responsibilities around their work schedule. This suggests that support from family members and friends may alleviate some employment consequences for the employed caregiver. Research to date has not linked instrumental support from family or friends to employment consequences. However, a related finding by MacBride-King (1990) indicated that support from family members helped alleviate some of the problems associated with balancing work and childcare. Single parents reported more problems balancing work and family than parents who had a spouse who could assist them.

No studies on gender differences in the relationship between instrumental support and employment consequences have been found in the literature.

Marital Status of the Caregiver:

Studies by Franklin, Ames & King (1994) and Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Neal (1994) found that the support of a spouse was the best predictor of short term adjustments to employment impacts (such as reducing incidents of arriving late/leaving early, and missing work) for the employed caregiver. However, MacBride-King (1990) found that more married employed caregivers, as compared to non-married caregivers, experienced difficulty in combining employment and eldercare demands. Spitze & Logan (1990) and Matthews & Campbell (1995) found that the presence of a partner creates some demands and alleviates others. Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, Neal, & Emlen (1994) concluded that the effects of having a spouse is dependent upon the employment status of the partner. Other studies found the presence of a spouse had no affect on the management of eldercare demands and paid work (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, Emlen & Boise, 1990). However, none of the above studies considered gender differences in whether the presence of a marital partner is a cost or reward.

Multiple caregiving demands:

Multiple caregiving demands, defined as caring for an elderly individual and children or more than one elderly person, consistently were found to decrease job performance (Boyd, Miller, & Hughes, 1997; CARNET, 1993; Gottlieb, Kelloway & Fraboni, 1994; MacBride-King, 1990; Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton & Emlen, 1993; Scharlach, Lowe & Schneider, 1991). More specifically, CARNET (1993) concluded that employees with dual caregiving responsibilities reported the highest incidence of missing

partial or full days of work. Other employment consequences linked to multiple caregiving demands are time stress, fatigue, and mental preoccupation, which would all affect job performance (Gottlieb, Kelloway, & Fraboni, 1994; Joseph & Hallman, 1996). Multiple caring demands also were correlated with missed business meetings, inability to work on extra projects and go on business trips, inability to further education (Gottlieb, Kelloway & Fraboni, 1994; CARNET, 1993) and to work longer hours (Boyd, Miller, & Hughes, 1997).

The majority of past studies have focused on female employees, which coincides with the assumption that women are expected to become caregivers as a logical extension of their expected nurturing role (Medjuck, O'Brien, & Tozer, 1992). Sixty per cent of female employees who reported that they cared for an elderly family member also had children living at home (MacBride-King, 1990).

There are no studies focusing on men or comparing women and men in the relationship between multiple caregiving demands and employment impacts.

Living Arrangement:

Several studies concluded that shared residence with an elderly family member is associated with difficulties in managing work and eldercare demands, such as fatigue and mental preoccupation (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen, 1993; Walker, Martin, & Jones, 1992; Gottlieb, Kelloway, & Fraboni, 1994; Ettner, 1995) which affect job performance. There is a greater likelihood of experiencing interpersonal conflict because of shared space and loss of privacy which may occur in shared intergenerational households (Brody, 1990) and which may affect job performance.

However, other studies found that co-residence with elderly kin was found to benefit the management of full time employment and eldercare demands, in that some tasks were eliminated, such as transportation and housework (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen, 1993; Stueve & O'Donnell, 1989). This would alleviate time pressure, allowing for easier management of paid work and eldercare tasks.

Matthews & Campbell (1995), Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen (1993), and Stueve & O'Donnell (1989) stated that eldercare studies have not included any possibility of reciprocation from the care receiver in elder caregiving situations. Thus, the relationship between living arrangement and employment impacts is unclear.

Studies have yet to address gender differences in the relationship between living arrangement and specific employment impacts of caregiving.

Hours of care:

Several studies have concluded that the number of hours of care negatively affect employment. Number of hours of care predicts work interruptions, such as telephone calls regarding eldercare issues during work (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen, 1993), and absenteeism (Franklin, Ames, & King, 1994).

Researchers have concluded that there is a threshold of hours of care that would detrimentally affect employment. Ettner (1995) found that when caregiving is carried out for more than 10 hours per week, there is a higher likelihood of leaving the labour force.

There are no studies on gender differences in the relationship between hours of care and employment impacts.

Type of Care:

Personal care tasks have been correlated with greater time requirements, less flexibility and higher numbers of eldercare crises, which have been correlated with greater impacts on employment as compared to instrumental care tasks (CARNET, 1993; Gottlieb, Kelloway, & Fraboni, 1994; Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995). These job effects and missed career opportunities include absenteeism, interrupted work days, limiting shifts of work, missing business meetings, missing training sessions, and declining business trips, promotions, and extra projects.

Studies indicate that the majority of personal caregivers are women, while men are more likely to assist with instrumental tasks (Miller & Cafasso, 1992; Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995).

However, studies have yet to address gender differences in the relationship between type of care and employment consequences.

Summary

Limitations of Previous Research:

Despite increasing concern about the impact of eldercare responsibilities on employment, few studies have focused on this issue to date. Overall, this research has been limited by three general concerns: great variation in eldercare definitions, low response rates and small sample sizes (Barer & Johnson, 1990; Gorey, Rice & Brice, 1992), and exploratory research which limits the ability to generalize the findings.

The broad, varied definitions throughout the literature mentioned above will be avoided in this study through the use of a specific definition in order to increase the understanding of levels of care and employment impacts.

Many previous studies have been characterized by low response rates and small sample sizes (Finch & Mason, 1990; Glendinning, 1992; Martin Matthews & Campbell, 1995; Rosenthall, Matthews & Marshall, 1989; Barling, MacEwan, Kelloway, & Higginbottom, 1994), and many used convenience samples (Barling, MacEwan, Kelloway, Higginbottom, 1994; Finch & Mason, 1990; Gibeau, & Anastas, 1989; Gutek, Searle, Klepa, 1991; Scharlach, 1994; Walker, Martin & Jones, 1992). These characteristics affect the ability to generalize the results to other populations, limiting validity of the findings, as well as limiting knowledge of the issue on a macro level. In order to overcome this shortcoming, this study will utilize a large, nationally representative sample of eldercare providers where response rates are high.

The majority of previous research is of an exploratory nature (Glendinning, 1992; Rosenthall, Matthews, & Marshall, 1989; Walker, Martin, Jones, 1992; Scharlach, 1994), which is not a weakness of the literature per se, but signifies that there is a need for further, large scale studies linking eldercare and employment consequences in order to ensure the results are more easily generalized. Secondary data analysis using multivariate techniques will be utilized in this study in order to explore critically the impacts of eldercare demands on employment. The nationally representative sample coupled with multivariate data analysis will ensure generalizability of findings from this study, while contributing to the understanding of the macro issues of this topic.

Although previous research addresses the direct relationship between gender and employment consequences, there is no mention of why these gender differences exist. Gender effects on the relationship between environmental characteristics and employment consequences will be addressed in this study, in order to contribute to the knowledge of why such gender differences may occur.

Research clarifying relationships between various characteristics of the environment and balancing eldercare and employment would contribute to the understanding of this issue, and contribute to knowledge of ways that eldercare and employment may be more easily managed for the employed caregiver. Focusing on the influence of gender in this study may create more awareness of what societal expectations exist today for women and men and how these expectations affect work and family lives of women and men.

Contributions of Previous Research to this Study:

The literature reviewed informs the current research by elaborating on the conceptual argument and research questions presented in the previous chapter. Specifically, it leads to the following conceptual hypotheses:

Research Question #1:

What are the impacts of eldercare demands on the employment of women and men? Do they differ by gender?

1. Overall, women are expected to have a greater likelihood of experiencing employment impacts than men.

Research Question #2:

What are the relationships between costs and rewards of the work environment and employment impacts? Do they differ by gender? If so, how?

2. A negative relationship is expected between egalitarian gender role attitudes of co-workers and executives and employment consequences for women, and a positive relationship between coworkers' egalitarian gender role attitudes and employment impacts for men.

3. A negative relationship between income and employment impacts for elder caregivers is predicted. However, the reward of income may operate differently for women and men. Men have more resources available to them as compared to women when eldercare demands arise. Therefore, income is less likely to have a negative relationship to employment impacts for women than men.

4. A positive relationship between full time employment and employment impacts is expected. The more hours of employment fulfilled by an employee, the higher the commitment to that role, and therefore the more conflict may arise between work and eldercare demands. No gender differences are expected in the relationship between full time hours and employment impacts.

5. It is expected that workplace flexibility and benefits are negatively related to employment impacts for the employed caregiver. However, workplace flexibility and benefits are likely to operate differently for women and men. The utilization of workplace flexibility and benefits are more likely to have a negative relationship to employment consequences for women than men.

6. A negative relationship between work satisfaction and employment impacts for elder caregivers is expected. The more satisfied employed caregivers are in their employment, the higher the reward associated with their paid work. Therefore, work satisfaction is more likely to have a negative relationship to employment impacts for men than women.

Research Question #3:

What are the relationships between costs and rewards of the home environment and employment impacts? Do they differ by gender? If so, how?

7. A negative relationship between instrumental support from family and friends and employment impacts for elder caregivers is predicted. However, instrumental support may operate differently for women and men. Instrumental support from family and friends may be more likely to have a negative relationship to employment consequences for men than women.

8. A negative relationship between presence of a spouse and employment impacts is predicted. Recall that women, once married, are often expected to take on any caring demands, regardless of whether that family member is her husband's or her own (Brody, 1990). Therefore, the presence of a spouse may be a cost to women. For men, the presence of a spouse diminishes the likelihood of tending to an elderly family member. Therefore, the presence of a partner may be more likely to have a negative relationship to employment impacts for men than women.

9. A positive relationship between multiple caregiving demands and employment impacts for elder caregivers is expected. However, multiple demands would affect

employment consequences for women and men differently. Multiple caregiving demands are more likely to have a positive relationship to employment impacts for women than men.

10. A positive relationship between residing with a dependent elderly family member and employment impacts for the caregiver is expected. Residing a significant distance away is expected to be negatively related to employment impacts for the caregiver. Living with the elderly person may operate differently in the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts for women and men. Residing with a dependent elderly family member is more likely to have positive relationship to employment impacts for women than men.

11. A positive relationship between hours of care and employment impacts for employed caregivers is predicted. The more hours of care that are required of the caregiver, the more difficult it may be to manage both paid work and eldercare demands. However, hours of care would likely affect employment of women and men differently. Hours of care are more likely be positively related to employment consequences for women than men.

12. A positive relationship between personal care tasks and employment impacts for employed caregivers is expected. It is also predicted that instrumental care tasks are less likely to have a positive relationship to employment impacts than are personal care tasks. No gender differences are expected between instrumental care and employment impacts. However, personal care affects employment impacts differently for women and men. Personal care may be more likely to have a positive relationship to employment impacts for women than men.

METHODS

This chapter is a discussion of the data analysis utilized in this study, and consists of two main sections. The first section, titled data, will discuss the main survey sample of the 1996 General Social Survey, data collection procedures, and the subsample used in this study. The second section is a description of the data analysis technique and a description of the variables that were utilized in this study.

Data:

This study involved a secondary analysis of a subsample of the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS). The GSS is a continuing survey, which occurs in five year cycles, often focusing on selected topics according to significant social trend and policy issues of the time. The 1996 GSS, titled Social and Community Support, explored several issues related to caregiving and care receiving.

For the 1996 General Social Survey, a nationally representative sample of 12,756 respondents was randomly selected from across Canada, excluding residents of the NWT and Yukon regions as well as persons living in institutions. The target population for this GSS was all individuals aged 15 and over. The response rate for this survey was 85.3%. There was a deliberate oversampling of senior Canadians, in order to survey the core population affiliated with social and community support.

Information was collected on issues such as: whether Canadians are providing assistance of some kind to others and why; if so, what types of tasks; and what, if any, impacts result from taking on caring demands, such as changes in social activities, stress and health, socio-psychological, or employment impacts. Of particular interest for this

study were questions related to specific employment impacts due to elder caregiving, such as coming to work late/leaving early, missing one or more days per week, and turning down job offers. Other questions relating to certain explanatory characteristics of the work and home environments that may be associated with greater or fewer experiences of employment impacts were also of interest.

Sampling was done using Random Digit Dialing (RDD), a telephone sampling method. Households without telephones were therefore excluded. However, Statistics Canada determined that the number of persons living in households without telephones are less than two per cent of the population, and the survey estimates were weighted to account for this population. Data collection occurred from January to December. 1996, in order to account for any seasonal differences in the information.

Data entry, coding and creation of most variables in this study were conducted by staff at the Housing and Social Services Division of Statistics Canada.

The subsample used in this study consisted of 671 respondents (369 women and 302 men). This sample included those participants who were employed and were caring for someone aged 65 or over because of a long term health or physical limitation. These sample characteristics were imperative in order to learn about elder caregiving and the impact on employment of the caregivers. The sample was weighted so as to be representative of the Canadian population. In accordance with Statistics Canada's reporting guidelines, any count of less than 15 was not reported.

Eldercare was defined in this study as the assistance or provision of services carried out for dependent elderly individuals with long term health or physical limitations. The operational definition of eldercare comprised personal care (activities of

daily living such as bathing, dressing eating, taking medication), household maintenance and repair, household adaptations, shopping for goods, transportation, management of financial affairs, and care management.

Data Analysis:

The goal in this study was to determine what relationships, if any, exist between explanatory variables and employment impacts of caregiving. A second goal was to determine whether these relationships were different for women and men.

Data analysis began with a description of the sample demographic characteristics and employment impacts. Multivariate statistical methods were then used to test the researcher's hypotheses regarding employment impacts of eldercare demands and the possible relationship of these to characteristics of the work and home environments, and the role of gender. Logistic regression is an alternative estimation technique to ordinary least squares regression that is appropriate because of the dichotomous nature of the dependent variables in this dataset (Kennedy, 1993; Studenmund, & Cassidy, 1987). Logistic regression analysis identifies correlations between independent and dependent variables and predicts the relationship between them while holding the effect of other independent variables constant. This technique also determines the likelihood or probability of experiencing employment impacts according to characteristics of the work and home environments. Logistic regression was run separately for women and men in this study in order to determine whether or not there are gender differences in the way the explanatory variables are related to the dependent variables.

Operationalization of Variables:

Dependent Variables.

The survey included a set of questions indicating whether or not the respondent had experienced specific employment impacts due to eldercare demands within the last twelve months. The seven dependent variables resulting from these questions included whether or not the employed caregiver a) experienced any impact, b) changed hours of work, c) declined a job offer or promotion, d) affected job performance, e) came late to work or left early, f) missed a day or more of work. The coded responses to these questions are yes (1) and no (0). The number of individuals who responded positively to these questions, relative to the number of employed eldercare providers, determined the proportion of employed caregivers who experienced some type of employment impact.

Independent Variables.

The independent variables represented characteristics in the work and home environments that are proposed to be correlated with either increased or decreased likelihood of experiencing employment impacts. Characteristics that were considered in this study included income, labour force status of the caregiver, marital status of the caregiver, multiple caregiving demands, living arrangement, hours of care and type of care. Environmental characteristics that were untestable because they were not measured in this survey include gender role attitudes, work flexibility and benefits, work satisfaction, and instrumental support of family and friends.

When independent variables are categorical, as in this study, the probability of an individual who falls into a given category experiencing an impact is determined in relation to some base category. For example, the variable of the presence of children

under age 15 consists of two categories: 'no children under 15' (base category) and 'one or more children under 15'. Since 'no children under 15' is the base category, the probability of an individual experiencing an impact with one or more children under 15 is then determined in relation to those with no children under 15 (base category). This significance test on this variable then determines whether the probability of experiencing an employment impact is different for respondents with children relative to those without children (the base category). This was carried out with each independent variable, with the exception of hours of care, which is a continuous variable.

Once the probability of an individual experiencing an employment impact was determined in relation to characteristics of the work and home environments, these were estimated separately by gender to determine whether differences exist.

Because approximately one third of respondents in the relevant subsample failed to respond to the income question, income was measured by using socioeconomic status as a proxy. Socioeconomic status consists of occupational categories, which are correlated with the amount of income earned. Respondents were asked to indicate which category corresponds most closely to their present occupation. The categories included professional (base category), semi-professional (1), supervisor (2), skilled worker (3), semi-skilled worker (4), or unskilled worker (5).

Marital status of the caregiver was measured by asking the respondent to indicate whether their marital status was: never married/ single (base category), married/ common law (1), or separated/ divorced/ widowed (2).

Multiple caregiving demands was represented by two variables. The first variable consisted of the presence of children under the age of 15 years as either none (base

category), or one or more (1). The second variable consisted of the number of seniors they were assisting as either one (base category), two (1), or three or more (2) due to long term health limitations.

Living arrangement was measured by asking the respondent if she/he lives within the same household/ building (base category), in the same neighbourhood/ community (1), in the surrounding area (2), or 1/2 day away or further (3) as the dependent elderly individual.

Hours of care was measured by asking the respondent how many hours she/he cared for the elderly person per week. This was a continuous variable that indicated actual hours of care per week per caregiver.

Type of care was measured by asking respondents to specify whether they provided personal care or instrumental care. Two types of instrumental tasks were examined and grouped according to similarity of the tasks: errands comprised grocery shopping, and/or transportation, and/or banking, and/or bill paying; domestic tasks comprised meal preparation, house cleaning, and/or home maintenance. All answers were coded as no (base category) and yes (1).

RESULTS

Prior to testing the proposed hypotheses demographic characteristics and employment impacts for the sample are described. Logistic regression results are then discussed, followed by limitations of this study.

Demographic Characteristics:

Of the 671 respondents, 17.8% were employed part time and 82.2% were full time employees. Of these employees, 15.2% were professionals, 21.7% semi-professionals, 6.9% supervisors, 19.6% skilled workers, 17.5 semi-skilled workers, and 18.1% unskilled workers (See Table 1).

Limiting the sample to those caregivers who were employed resulted in an age range of 15 to 65 years. A little over twenty percent of the total sample were never married/ single, 69.3% were married/ common law, and 10.2% were separated/ divorced/ widowed.

A little over 67% of these respondents had no children under age 15, while 32.5% had one or more children under age 15. Seventy-five percent of the employed caregivers were caring for one elderly individual, 21.2% were assisting two seniors, and 3.6% were caring for three or more elderly persons. In terms of type of eldercare being provided, 26.7% were assisting with personal care needs, 57.8% were assisting with tasks such as grocery shopping, transportation, banking and/or bill paying, and 54.5% were assisting seniors meal preparation, house cleaning, and/or home maintenance (See Table 1). The mean number of hours of care for this sample was 3.5 hours per week (See Table 2). Of the care providers and receivers, 8.2% lived in the same household or building. 50.8%

resided in the same neighbourhood or community, 24.9% lived in the surrounding area, and 16.0% resided 1/2 day away or further.

Women and men were similar on these characteristics, with the exception of weekly hours of care provided, providing personal care and part time employment. The hours of care per week differed significantly by gender; women provided care for an average of 4.3 hours while men provided care for an average of 2.5 hours (.01 level of significance). More than twice as many women as men provided personal care, and women were three times as likely as men to be working part time. See Tables 1 and 2 for a composition of gender specific sample characteristics.

Tables 4, 5, and 6 summarize the logistic regression results, identifying those environmental characteristics that were found to be significantly related to the employment impacts, and indicating the direction of the relationship as positive or negative. Tables 7 through 12 are the logistic regression results, and discussion of these results are primarily based on the *beta coefficient*, which identifies the direction of the relationship as positive or negative, and the *p value* of the *Wald Statistic* which determines whether the independent variable is a significant predictor of the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts. The *odds ratio* represents the magnitude of the relationship between the explanatory variables and the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts.

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Sample, Split by Gender			
Variable	All Respondents n=671 n (%)	Women n=369 n (%)	Men n=302 n (%)
Socioeconomic Status			
Professional	102 (15.2)	52 (14.1)	50 (16.5)
Semi-professional	145 (21.7)	90 (24.3)	55 (18.4)
Supervisor	46 (6.9)	17 (4.6)	29 (9.7)
Skilled worker	131 (19.6)	50 (13.5)	81 (27.0)
Semi-skilled worker	117 (17.5)	75 (20.4)	42 (13.9)
Labour Force Status			
Part time	120 (17.8)	91 (24.7)	29 (9.5)
Full time	551 (82.2)	278 (75.3)	273 (90.5)
Marital Status			
Never marr/single	138 (20.5)	69 (18.8)	68 (22.6)
Marr/common law	465 (69.3)	244 (66.0)	221 (73.3)
Sep/ divorced/ wid	68 (10.2)	56 (15.2)	-
Children under 15			
No children	453 (67.5)	269 (72.7)	184 (61.1)
One or more	218 (32.5)	101 (27.3)	117 (38.9)
Number of Seniors Assisted			
One	504 (75.2)	275 (74.5)	229 (76.0)
Two	142 (21.2)	85 (23.0)	57 (19.0)
Three or more	24 (3.6)	-	15 (5.0)
Living Arrangement			
Same Hhld/ Bldg	55 (8.2)	39 (10.6)	16 (5.3)
Same neigh/commun	341 (50.8)	188 (50.9)	153 (50.8)
Surrounding Area	167 (24.9)	91 (24.5)	77 (25.4)
Provided Personal Care			
No	492 (73.3)	242 (65.4)	250 (83.0)
Yes	179 (26.7)	128 (34.6)	51 (17.0)
< 1/2 day away+	107 (16.0)	52 (14.0)	56 (18.5)
Errands			
No	283 (42.2)	149 (40.4)	134 (44.3)
Yes	388 (57.8)	220 (59.6)	168 (55.7)
Domestic Tasks			
No	306 (45.5)	176 (47.6)	130 (43.0)
Yes	365 (54.5)	194 (52.4)	172 (57.0)

Table 2: Means of Hours of Care

Variable:	Total n=671				Women n=369				Men n=302			
	Mean	S. D.	Min.	Max.	Mean	S. D.	Min.	Max.	Mean	S. D.	Min.	Max.
Hours of Care	3.5	6.9	0.0	70.0	4.3**	8.4	0.0	70.0	2.5**	4.4	0.0	34.8

** $p < .01$

Results of Hypothesis Tests:

Research Question #1:

What are the impacts of eldercare demands on the employment of women and men? Do they differ by gender?

As shown in Table 3, 50.5% of respondents reported experiencing at least one of the impacts, 19.6% changed hours of work, 4.9% declined job or promotion, 16.5% affected job performance, 36.2% came late/ left early, and 29.7% missed day(s) of work. As shown in Table 3, there were no statistically significant gender differences in the experience of employment impacts, with one exception. Women were significantly more likely than men to decline a job offer or promotion.

Table 3: Percentages of Employment Impacts Experienced by Sample

Employment Impact	All Respondents (n= 671)		Women (n=369)		Men (n=302)	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Some Impact*	339	50.5	191	51.8	147	48.9
Changed Hours of Work	131	19.6	65	17.7	66	21.9
Declined Job/ Promotion	33	4.9	25	6.7**	-	-**
Affected Job Performance	111	16.5	63	17.1	47	15.7
Come Late/ Leave Early	243	36.2	133	35.9	110	36.6
Miss a day or more	199	29.7	117	31.7	82	27.2

Note: Reporting actual percents - totals may not equal 100 due to missings.
* Numbers in columns may not equal n because respondents may have experienced more than one impact.
** $p < .01$, and blank cells indicate numbers too small to report.

Logistic regression results showed that gender was not a significant predictor of the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts, as shown in Tables 9 through 12, with one exception. As shown in Table 9, women were significantly more likely than men to decline a job/ promotion by a factor of 3. The expectation that women hold family as their first priority over paid work may be contributing to the fact that women decline job

offers or promotions due to eldercare demands. Perhaps the higher commitment required in the new position is not compatible with eldercare demands, as compared to their present position. However, no other gender differences were evident. Therefore, hypothesis 1, which predicted that women are more likely than men to experience employment impacts due to eldercare demands, was only partially supported.

Research Question #2:

What are the relationships between costs and rewards of the work environment and employment impacts? Do they differ by gender? If so, how?

Income:

Total sample:

Hypothesis 3, which predicted that the higher the elder caregivers' income (proxied by socioeconomic status) the lower the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts, was generally not supported (See Table 4). Logistic regression results showed that income was a significant predictor of the likelihood of experiencing some of the employment impacts. However, contrary to what was hypothesized, it was those in lower status, lower paying occupations who were less likely than those in the highest paying, professional occupations to experience employment impacts.

As shown in Table 5, supervisors, skilled workers, semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers were only between .3 and .6 times as likely as professionals to experience any impact (See Table 7). Semi-professionals, skilled workers, semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers were only .2 and .3 times as likely as professionals to change hours of work due to eldercare demands (see Table 8). Unskilled workers were

only .4 times as likely as professionals to experience coming late/ leaving early (See Table 11).

Gender differences:

The hypothesis that higher income is less likely to be related to employment impacts for men over women was not supported. Results showed that higher income was positively related to experiencing employment impacts for both women and men, overall. However, income predicted a greater number of impacts for women, and the magnitude of the relationship between income and the probability of experiencing impacts was generally higher for women than men. One exception to this trend is that men with lower incomes are more likely than those with higher incomes to miss day(s).

For women, income was a significant predictor of the likelihood of experiencing any impact, changing hours of work, coming late/ leaving early and missing days of work. Female skilled workers, semi-skilled workers, and unskilled workers were only .2 to .4 times as likely as professionals to experience any impact. Semi-professionals, skilled workers, semi-skilled workers, and unskilled workers were only .1 to .3 times as likely as professionals to change hours of work. Only unskilled workers were only .4 times as likely as professionals to come late/ leave early. All of the categories were only .2 to .4 times as likely as professionals to miss day(s) of work (see Tables 7, 8, 11 and 12).

As for women, socioeconomic status was positively related to the probability of experiencing employment impacts for men. However, this characteristic was a significant predictor of different impacts for men than for women. Income was a significant predictor of changing hours of work and having job performance affected for men. Male skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers were only .1 to .3 times as likely as professionals to

change hours of work. Semi-skilled workers were marginally less likely to have job performance affected (see Tables 8 and 10).

These are surprising results. Following from the Choice and Exchange perspective, it was expected that employees with higher status, higher paying positions would have a higher commitment to their employment than those with lower paying positions, due to the higher reward obtained from that role. Perhaps employees with lower paying positions are less likely to experience employment impacts because they have few choices and little flexibility and so are forced to provide eldercare outside of their employment hours, or they were forced to leave the workforce. Conversely, those who are employed in professional occupations may be more likely to experience impacts because greater flexibility in the workday may allow professionals to accommodate these impacts to their employment. As well, socioeconomic status may not be an effective proxy of income, due to the fact that other factors such as work flexibility and level of education are also tied in with this measure, which may account for the surprising results on the income variable.

An exception was found for men in the incidence of experiencing any impact and missing day(s) of work. Semi-professionals are 3 times more likely than professionals to experience any impact, and semi-professionals, supervisors, skilled workers, semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers are 3 to 5 times more likely than professionals to miss day(s) of work. This suggests that male employees in higher paying positions may be more committed to being at work than employees in lower paying positions due to the high reward in professional occupations. However, women in professional occupations are not less likely to miss days of work. Those with higher paying positions may be more

able to accommodate interruptions and absenteeism in their employment role due to greater flexibility in their employment as compared to lower paid employees.

Labour Force Status:

Total sample:

Hypothesis 4, which predicts a positive relationship between labour force status and employment impacts, has received some empirical support. Full time employment was consistently shown to have a significant positive relationship to experiencing employment impacts (see Table 4).

As shown in Table 7, 11 and 12, full time employees were 2 times more likely than part time employees to experience any impact, 3.6 times more likely to come late/ leave early, and 2 times more likely to miss day(s) of work. These results show that the more time committed to employment, the higher the likelihood of experiencing conflict with family demands.

Gender differences:

The hypothesis that predicted the relationship between labour force status and employment impacts would not differ by gender was not supported (See Table 5 and 6). Working full time hours was shown to have a significant relationship with the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts for both women and men. However, women were shown to experience a greater number of impacts due to full time work, but the magnitude of the relationship between full time work and experiencing impacts was greater for men as compared to women.

For women, full time employees were 2 times more likely than part time employees to experience any impact, but for men, full time employees were 3 times more

likely than part time employees to experience any impact (see Table 7). For women, full time employees were 3 times more likely than part time employees to come late/ leave early, whereas full time male employees were 5.8 times more likely than part time male employees. Women working full time were also 7 times more likely than part time employees to decline a job or promotion, and were 3 times more likely than part time employees to have affected job performance (see Tables 9 and 10). Therefore, labour force status predicted more impacts for women than men. However, for those impacts experienced commonly by women and men, the magnitude of the relationship between labour force status and impacts was greater for men than women. A possible explanation for the greater magnitude may be that men's higher rewards in their employment, as compared to women, result in greater perceived impacts to their employment than women.

Research Question #3:

What are the relationships between costs and rewards of the home environment and employment impacts? Do they differ by gender? If so, how?

Marital Status:

Total sample:

Hypothesis 8, which predicted a negative relationship between presence of a spouse and employment impacts was not supported overall, as this characteristic was not significantly related to employment impacts for the combined sample of women and men.

Gender differences:

The hypothesis that predicted presence of a spouse is more likely to have a negative relationship for men than women was partially supported. Marital status was not related to employment impacts for women. However, men who were married or in common law relationships were only .3 times as likely as men who were never married or single to have job performance affected (See Table 6 and 10). This is consistent with the feminist proposition that when men are married or in common law relationships, their partner takes on caregiving demands, whereas never married or single men would not have a spouse to take on these responsibilities.

Multiple Caregiving Demands - Eldercare and/or Childcare:

Total sample:

The proposed hypothesis stating that multiple caregiving demands, including eldercare and/or childcare, and employment impacts are likely to be positively related received support. The presence of children under age 15 and number of seniors assisted was positively related to experiencing employment impacts.

Employed caregivers with one or more children are 2 times more likely than those without children to experience any impact, 3 times more likely to change hours of work, 3 times more likely to decline a job or promotion, and 2 times more likely to come late/ leave early to work (see Tables 7-9, and 11).

Employed caregivers who are assisting two seniors are 2 times more likely than those caring for only one senior to experience any impact, having job performance affected, come late/ leave early, and miss day(s) of work. Employed caregivers who are assisting two seniors are 6 times more likely than those assisting one senior to decline a

job or promotion (see Tables 7, 9, 10 and 11). And those who are caring for three or more seniors are 10 times more likely than those assisting one senior to decline a job or promotion. This solidly supports the notion that the more caregiving demands an employee must handle, the higher the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts.

Gender differences:

The hypothesis that predicted multiple caregiving demands are more likely to have a positive relationship to employment impacts for women than men was, overall, supported. Having children under age 15 was significantly related to experiencing employment impacts for women, but not for men. Number of seniors assisted was associated with a greater number of impacts for men than women, however the magnitude of the relationship between multiple caregiving demands and experiencing impacts was greater for women than men.

Women with one or more children were 3 times more likely than those women without children to experience any impact, 4 times more likely to change hours of work , 4 times more likely to decline a job or promotion, and 3 times more likely to come late/ leave early to work (see Tables 7-9 and 11).

Women caring for two seniors were 6 times more likely than those assisting one senior to decline a job or promotion. Men caring for two seniors are 3 times more likely than men assisting one senior to experience any impact, have affected job performance, and miss days of work, 2 times more likely to change hours and 5 times more likely to come late/ leave early (see Tables 7, 8, 10 and 12). Therefore, caring for two seniors as opposed to one predicts a greater number of employment impacts for men than women.

Caring for three or more seniors as opposed to one senior was very strongly associated with employment impacts for women only; they were 10 times more likely to decline a job offer or promotion, and change hours of work. Caring for three or more seniors was not related to employment impacts for men.

When considering multiple caregiving demands as a whole, then, the societal expectation that women take on eldercare seems to be extended to multiple caregiving as well. For men, caring for two seniors predicts a greater number of employment impacts due to the socialization that they should not be taking on any family demands, in favor of their employment roles. The fact that caring for three or more seniors is strongly related to employment impacts for women and not men suggests that there may be a higher threshold of care for women than men. Caring for two seniors is significantly related to employment impacts for men, whereas caring for three or more seniors is related to employment impacts for women.

Living Arrangement:

Total sample:

Hypothesis 10, which predicted a positive relationship between residing close to an elderly individual and employment impacts, was not empirically supported. Living arrangement was found to have a negative relationship to the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts. Employed caregivers residing 1/2 day away or further were 8 times more likely than those living in the same household or building to decline a job or promotion. This was a surprising finding. A possible explanation for this result may be that the new job or promotion was further away from the care receiver than was their present employment position.

The hypothesis which predicted that women residing close to the care receiver would be more likely experience employment impacts than men was not supported. Living arrangement was not a significant predictor of experiencing employment impacts once the data was split by gender.

Hours of Care:

Total sample:

The proposed hypothesis that hours of care is positively related to employment impacts for caregivers was not supported. Hours of care was not significantly related to employment impacts for the total sample.

Gender differences:

The hypothesis that predicted hours of care are more likely to be related to employment impacts for women than men found some empirical support. Total hours of care was found to have a significantly positive relationship to changing hours of work for women, by a factor of 1 (see Table 8). Since women in this study were found to provide significantly more hours of care than men (see Table 2), it is not surprising that hours of care are associated with changing hours of work for women and not men.

A surprising result was that men who provided more hours of care were only .9 times as likely to miss day(s) of work as those men who provided less hours of care (see Table 12). Perhaps there is a threshold of employment impacts due to eldercare demands that men allow: as hours of care increase, men are more likely to obtain assistance from others or purchase eldercare assistance so as to not impact their employment to any greater extent.

Type of Care:

Total sample:

The hypothesis which predicted a positive relationship between personal care and employment impacts was found to have empirical support. Also as expected, personal care is more strongly related to employment impacts as compared to instrumental care, as indicated by comparing the *odds ratios* of each type of care and employment impacts. Although both personal care and instrumental care (consisting of errands and domestic tasks) were positively related to experiencing employment impacts, the magnitude of the relationship between personal care and employment impacts was higher as compared to instrumental care and employment impacts.

Employed caregivers who were providing personal care were 2 times more likely than those who were not to experience any impact, have their job performance affected, and 3 times more likely to miss day(s) of work. In comparison, those who were doing errands were 1.5 times more likely than those who were not to experience any impact, having job performance affected, and 1.8 times more likely to miss day(s) (see Tables 7, 10 and 12). Employees who were providing domestic tasks were 1.5 times more likely to experience any impact and come late/ leave early. That is, the relationships between providing personal care and employment impacts are greater in magnitude than are relationships between providing instrumental tasks and employment impacts. This likely occurs because of the nature of personal care tasks, which are characterized by higher intensity and less flexibility.

Gender differences:

The hypothesis that personal care is more likely to be positively related to employment impacts for women over men was not supported. Women providing personal care, as compared to women who were not, were 1.8 times more likely to experience any impact, and 3 times more likely to miss day(s) of work (see Tables 7 and 12). However, men providing personal care were 5 times more likely, as compared to men who were not, to experience any impact, 10 times more likely to change hours, 4 times more likely to having job performance affected and to come late/ leave early, and 9 times more likely to miss day(s) of work. Therefore, it appears that personal care has a positive relationship of greater magnitude for men than women. This suggests that, although greater proportions of women are providing personal care than men, men are more influenced by taking on these tasks than women. Perhaps because men have higher rewards in the workplace than women, and are not socialized to believe they should be providing personal care, these eldercare demands may be perceived as much more costly to men when reporting employment impacts than women.

Limitations

The 1996 General Social Survey questions regarding employment impacts and eldercare were asked only of those who were presently employed and caring for an elderly person. Consequently, individuals who may have left the labour force due to eldercare demands were not surveyed. When confronted with eldercare responsibilities, women may have a higher likelihood of leaving the workforce than men, due to the lower reward obtained from their employment roles as compared to men. Perhaps this explains

the lack of significant differences between the proportions of women and men reporting employment impacts.

This survey did not survey characteristics of the work environment such as gender role attitudes, workplace flexibility and benefits, and work satisfaction that were mentioned in the conceptual framework of this study, therefore these hypotheses could not be tested.

The telephone survey method used in this survey asked respondents to report employment impacts that they would attribute to eldercare demands. First, depending on the recall abilities of the respondents may have resulted in limited accuracy of responses. Second, the socialization process forms expectations in women that they should and will take on family demands, and in men that they should not and likely will not provide eldercare. Therefore, when estimating impacts to employment, eldercare demands may have been more pronounced in the men's perceptions, and perhaps less pronounced for women.

Another limitation of the data file was the employment impact questions in the survey. Because the questions were developed and asked in a closed question format, the employment impacts were already determined by the questionnaire. There was no opportunity for respondents to mention other significant impacts to employment that may not have been included. This may have limited the results regarding which employment impacts were experienced by employed elder caregivers in this sample.

Table 4: Logistic Regression Employment Impacts by Each Environmental Characteristic (Total Sample)						
Independent Variables	Any Impact	Change Hours	Decline Job/ Promotion	Affected job Perform	Come late/ Leave Early	Miss Day(s)
Gender (Male)						
Female			+			
Socioecon Status (Professional)						
Semi-professional		-				
Supervisor	-					
Skilled worker	-	-				
Semi-skilled worker		-				
Unskilled worker	-	-			-	
Labour Force Status (Part time)						
Full time	+				+	+
Marital Status (Never marr/ single)						
Married/ comm law						
Separ/ divor/ wid						
Children Under 15 (No)						
One or more	+	+	+		+	
# Seniors Assisted (One)						
Two	+		+	+	+	+
Three or more			+			
Living Arr (Same hhld/Bldg)						
Surrounding area						
1/2 day away or further						
Total Hours of Care						
Personal Care (No)						
Yes	+			+		+
Errands (No)						
Yes	+			+	+	+
Domestic Tasks (No)						
Yes	+				+	

Table 5: Logistic Regression Employment Impacts by Each Environmental Characteristic (Women)						
Independent Variables	Any Impact	Change Hours	Decline Job/ Promotion	Affected job Perform	Come late/ Leave Early	Miss Day(s)
Gender (Male)						
Female						
Socioecon Status (Professional)						
Semi-professional		-				-
Supervisor						-
Skilled worker	-	-				-
Semi-skilled worker	-	-				-
Unskilled worker	-	-			-	-
Labour Force Status (Part time)						
Full time	+		+	+	+	
Marital Status (Never marr/ single)						
Married/ comm law						
Separ/ divor/ wid						
Children Under 15 (No)						
One or more	+	+	+		+	
# Seniors Assisted (One)						
Two			+			
Three or more		+	+			
Living Arr (Same hhld/Bldg)						
Surrounding area						
1/2 day away or further			+			
Total Hours of Care		+				
Personal Care (No)						
Yes	+					+
Errands (No)						
Yes	+					+
Domestic Tasks (No)						
Yes	+			+		

Table 6: Logistic Regression Employment Impacts by Each Environmental Characteristic (Men)						
Independent Variables	Any Impact	Change Hours	Decline Job/ Promotion	Affected Job Perform	Come late/ Leave Early	Miss Day(s)
Gender (Male)						
Female						
Socioecon Status (Professional)						
Semi-professional	+					+
Supervisor						+
Skilled worker		-				+
Semi-skilled worker		-		-		+
Unskilled worker		-				+
Labour Force Status (Part time)						
Full time	+				+	
Marital Status (Never marr/ single)						
Married/ comm law				-		
Separ/ divor/ wid						
Children Under 15 (No)						
One or more						
# Seniors Assisted (One)						
Two	+	+		+	+	+
Three or more						
Living Arr (Same hhld/Bldg)						
Surrounding area						
1/2 day away or further						
Total Hours of Care						-
Personal Care (No)						
Yes	+	+		+	+	+
Errands (No)						
Yes					+	+
Domestic Tasks (No)						
Yes			-		+	

Table 7: Logistic Regression Any Employment Impact by Each Environmental Characteristic						
Characteristic	Total n=640		Women n=365		Men n=275	
	Beta (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio	*Beta* (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio	*Beta* (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio
Gender *Male*			n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Female	.03 (.03)	1.04	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Socioeconomic Status *Professional*	(27.55)**		(16.47)**		(16.08)	
Semi-professional	.06 (.04)	1.06	-.67 (2.61)	.51	1.02* (4.38)	2.79
Supervisor	-.90* (5.26)	.41	-1.21 (3.42)	.30	-.63 (1.47)	.53
Skilled worker	-1.08** (12.44)	.34	-1.56** (11.44)	.21	-.62 (1.92)	.54
Semi-skilled worker	-.55 (3.26)	.58	-.99* (5.41)	.37	-.17 (.12)	.84
Unskilled worker	-.94** (9.05)	.39	-1.38** (10.65)	.25	-.60 (1.27)	.55
Labour Force Status *Part time*						
Full time	.76** (10.17)	2.15	.70** (6.20)	2.01	1.13* (3.79)	3.09
Marital Status *Never married/ single*	(1.50)		(.60)		(5.63)	
Marr/ common law	.22 (.81)	1.24	.23 (.51)	1.26	.42 (1.05)	1.53
Separated/ divor/ widow	-.09 (.07)	.91	.27 (.42)	1.30	-1.36 (2.82)	.26
Children Under 15 *No Children*						
One or more	.68** (10.84)	1.97	1.11** (13.78)	3.02	.12 (.14)	1.13
# of Seniors Assisted *One*	(11.13)**		(2.03)		(11.57)**	
Two	.66** (8.59)	1.93	.42 (2.03)	1.52	1.14** (8.44)	3.13
Three or more	-.75 (1.85)	.47	.03 (.00)	1.03	-1.30 (2.53)	.27
Living Arrangement *Same Household/ Bldg*	(.40)		(2.48)		(1.42)	
Same neigh/ commun	-.09 (.05)	.92	-.20 (.16)	.82	-.25 (.14)	.78

Surrounding Area	.03 (.00)	1.03	.09 (.03)	1.10	-.41 (.34)	.66
< 1/2 Day Away or more	-.12 (.08)	.88	-.54 (.88)	.58	.07 (.01)	1.08
Total Hours of Care	-.00 (.03)	1.0	-.01 (.27)	.99	-.00 (.00)	1.0
Personal Care *No*						
Yes	.87** (13.34)	2.39	.63* (4.82)	1.88	1.60** (10.06)	4.96
Errands *No*						
Yes	.44* (4.66)	1.55	.60* (4.82)	1.82	.36 (.98)	1.44
Domestic Tasks *No*						
Yes	.42* (4.45)	1.52	.55* (4.38)	1.74	.46 (1.68)	1.59
	-2 log likelihood: 778.28		-2 log likelihood: 433.12		-2 log likelihood: 314.73	
	Nagelkerke R^2: .20		Nagelkerke R^2: .20		Nagelkerke R^2: .31	

Table 8: Logistic Regression Change Hours of Work by Each Environmental Characteristic						
Characteristic	Total Sample (n=644)		Women (n=366)		Men (n=278)	
	Beta (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio	*Beta* (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio	*Beta* (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio
Gender *Male*			n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Female	-.17 (.52)	.84	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Socioeconomic Status *Professional*	(25.40)**		(13.97)**		(13.03)*	
Semi-professional	-.94** (8.64)	.39	-1.01* (4.96)	.37	-.83 (2.83)	.43
Supervisor	-.28 (.44)	.76	-.86 (1.10)	.42	.05 (.01)	1.05
Skilled worker	-1.23** (12.40)	.29	-1.19* (4.83)	.30	-1.17* (5.16)	.31
Semi-skilled worker	-1.28** (11.61)	.29	-1.18** (5.75)	.31	-2.00** (6.48)	.14
Unskilled worker	-1.68** (16.45)	.19	-1.98** (12.66)	.14	-1.48* (4.53)	.23
Labour Force Status *Part time*						
Full time	.23 (.50)	1.26	.14 (.14)	1.15	.04 (.00)	1.04
Marital Status *Never married/ single*	(1.62)		(2.17)		(.15)	
Married/ common law	-.14 (.19)	.87	-.20 (.20)	.82	-.00 (.00)	1.00
Separated/ divorced/ widowed	.32 (.56)	1.38	.43 (.68)	1.54	-.33 (.12)	.72
Children Under 15 *No children*						
One or more	1.03** (17.99)	2.82	1.30** (14.21)	3.67	.48 (1.50)	1.62
# Seniors Assisted *One*	(.81)		(8.18)*		(6.83)*	
Two	.09 (.12)	1.10	-.52 (1.61)	.59	1.06** (6.68)	2.87
Three or more	.54 (.74)	1.71	2.28** (6.18)	9.77	-.09 (.01)	.91
Living Arrangement *Same household/ bldg*	(6.63)		(3.17)		(8.63)*	
Same neigh/ community	.29 (.38)	1.34	.41 (.41)	1.51	-.14 (.03)	.87

Surrounding Area	-.19 (.14)	.83	-.29 (.17)	.75	-.66 (.50)	.51
< 1/2 day away or more	.66 (1.58)	1.93	.04 (.00)	1.04	.74 (.64)	2.11
Total hours of care	.03 (3.49)	1.03	.04* (4.22)	1.04	-.05 (1.44)	.95
Personal Care *No*						
Yes	.62* (5.24)	1.86	-.25 (.48)	.78	2.29** (20.81)	9.84
Errands *No*						
Yes	.34 (2.00)	1.41	.02 (.00)	1.02	.69 (2.98)	2.00
Domestic Tasks *No*						
Yes	.37 (2.37)	1.44	.43 (1.47)	1.53	.65 (2.85)	1.92
	-2 log likelihood: 557 73		-2 log likelihood: 284.54		-2 log likelihood: 232.45	
	Nagelkerke R^2: .17		Nagelkerke R^2: .20		Nagelkerke R^2: .32	

Table 9: Logistic Regression Decline Job or Promotion by Each Environmental Characteristic						
Characteristic	Total n=643		Women n=365		Men n=278	
	Beta (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio	*Beta* (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio	*Beta* (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio
Gender *Male*			n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Female	1.34** (7.07)	3.80	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Socioeconomic Status *Professional*	(2.35)		(3.66)		(.27)	
Semi-professional	1.09 (2.00)	2.99	1.04 (1.53)	2.82	-.60 (.00)	.55
Supervisor	-5.65 (.17)	.00	-6.43 (.07)	.00	.53 (.00)	1.70
Skilled worker	.80 (.91)	2.22	-.06 (.00)	.94	10.95 (.02)	57081.13
Semi-skilled worker	.71 (.66)	2.03	.12 (.01)	1.13	11.31 (.02)	81631.18
Unskilled worker	.80 (.79)	2.22	.36 (.12)	1.43	11.92 (.02)	150037.35
Labour Force Status *Part time*						
Full time	1.92* (5.76)	6.82	1.88* (4.91)	6.53	11.23 (.01)	75237.67
Marital Status *Never Marr/ single*	(3.39)		(5.34)		(3.59)	
Marr/ common law	-.79 (1.83)	.45	-1.25 (3.31)	.29	2.27 (1.11)	9.71
Separated/ divorced/ widowed	.19 (.09)	1.21	.17 (.06)	1.18	4.71 (3.51)	111.60
Children Under 15 *No Children*						
One or more	.98* (3.97)	2.67	1.25* (4.44)	3.5[illegible]	.65 (.20)	1.91
# Seniors Assisted *One*	(18.71)**		(13.19)**		(2.80)	
Two	1.70** (16.08)	6.01	1.87** (11.34)	6.48	3.36 (2.74)	28.86
Three or more	2.31** (7.03)	10.07	2.32* (4.03)	10.13	4.12 (1.72)	61.81
Living Arrangement *Same Household/Bldg*	(7.08)		(10.50)**		(4.91)	
Same neigh/ commun	-.90 (1.35)	.41	.02 (.00)	1.02	-3.90 (3.45)	.02

Surrounding Area	-.37 (.21)	.69	.70 (.45)	2.00	-1.15 (.29)	.32
< 1/2 day away or more	.54 (.42)	1.71	2.13* (3.89)	8.43	-2.87 (1.55)	.06
Total Hours of Care	.04 (2.05)	1.04	.04 (1.65)	1.04	.20 (2.98)	1.22
Personal Care *No*						
Yes	.17 (.10)	1.18	.44 (.56)	1.56	-3.61 (1.37)	.03
Errands *No*						
Yes	.42 (.73)	1.52	.76 (1.57)	2.13	-4.10 (2.04)	.02
Domestic Tasks *No*						
Yes	-.54 (1.40)	.58	-.15 (.07)	.86	-6.68* (5.66)	.00
	-2 log likelihood: 192.67		-2 log likelihood: 128.91		-2 log likelihood: 28.00	
	Nagelkerke R^2: .28		Nagelkerke R^2: .34		Nagelkerke R^2: .61	

Table 10: Logistic Regression Affected Job Performance by Each Environmental Characteristic						
Characteristic	Total n=642		Women n=366		Men n=276	
	Beta (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio	*Beta* (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio	*Beta* (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio
Gender *Male*			n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Female	.09 (.14)	1.10	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Socioeconomic Status *Professional*	(10.79)		(2.88)		(15.14)**	
Semi-professional	.22 (.40)	1.24	.48 (.87)	1.61	.03 (.00)	1.03
Supervisor	.44 (.93)	1.55	.09 (.01)	1.09	.47 (.62)	1.60
Skilled worker	-.72 (3.00)	.49	-.39 (.35)	.68	-1.13 (3.60)	.32
Semi-skilled worker	-.40 (.96)	.67	.41 (.59)	1.51	-5.37* (5.84)	.00
Unskilled worker	-.41 (.99)	.67	.24 (.18)	1.27	-1.97 (4.97)	.14
Labour Force Status *Part time*						
Full time	.58 (2.75)	1.78	1.07** (6.03)	2.93	-1.17 (2.28)	.31
Marital Status *Never Marr/ single*	(2.99)		(.03)		(5.58)	
Marr/ common law	-.49 (2.54)	.61	-.07 (.03)	.93	-1.13* (4.23)	.32
Separated/ divorced/ widowed	-.60 (1.81)	.55	-.05 (.01)	.95	-2.49 (2.52)	.08
Children Under 15 *No Children*						
One or more	.43 (2.69)	1.53	.64 (3.59)	1.91	-.02 (.00)	.98
# Seniors Assisted *One*	(4.87)		(2.48)		(4.92)	
Two	.57* (4.78)	1.76	.55 (2.47)	1.73	1.04* (4.92)	2.82
Three or more	-.07 (.01)	.93	.29 (.06)	1.33	.19 (.03)	1.20
Living Arrangement *Same Household/ Bldg*	(2.45)		(.98)		(1.72)	
Same neigh/ commun	.74 (1.97)	2.09	.17 (.07)	1.18	1.68 (1.05)	5.39

Surrounding Area	.69 (1.54)	2.00	-.18 (.07)	.84	1.97 (1.41)	7.16
< 1/2 Day Away	.90 (2.39)	2.45	.26 (.13)	1.30	1.95 (1.35)	7.02
Total Hours of Care	.02 (1.77)	1.02	.01 (.05)	1.01	-.00 (.00)	1.00
Personal Care *No*						
Yes	.57* (4.11)	1.77	.25 (.52)	1.29	1.36* (5.89)	3.89
Errands *No*						
Yes	.51* (3.99)	1.66	.54 (2.46)	1.71	.61 (1.69)	1.84
Domestic Tasks *No*						
Yes	.27 (1.21)	1.30	.79* (5.34)	2.20	-.32 (.57)	.73
	-2 log likelihood: 531.46		-2 log likelihood: 293.59		-2 log likelihood: 194.28	
	Nagelkerke R^2: .10		Nagelkerke R^2: .13		Nagelkerke R^2: .30	

Table 11: Logistic Regression Come Late to Work/ Leave Early by Each Environmental Characteristic						
Characteristic	Total n=643		Women n=366		Men n=277	
	Beta (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio	*Beta* (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio	*Beta* (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio
Gender *Male*			n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Female	.14 (.51)	1.15	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Socioeconomic Status *Professional*	(15.46)		(10.10)		(7.90)	
Semi-professional	.24 (.67)	1.27	.07 (.03)	1.07	.64 (1.82)	1.89
Supervisor	-.28 (.51)	.75	-.14 (.05)	.87	-.37 (.44)	.69
Skilled worker	-.38 (1.61)	.68	-.43 (.96)	.65	-.16 (,12)	.85
Semi-skilled worker	-.49 (2.37)	.62	-.49 (1.41)	.61	-.54 (.92)	.58
Unskilled worker	-.85** (6.29)	.43	-1.04* (5.74)	.35	-.65 (1.23)	.52
Labour Force Status *Part time*						
Full time	1.28** (18.62)	3.59	1.12** (11.92)	3.07	1.77* (4.70)	5.84
Marital Status *Never Marr/ single*	(.32)		(.04)		(3.05)	
Marr/ common law	.09 (.12)	1.09	.06 (.03)	1.06	.21 (.21)	1.23
Separated/ divorced/ widowed	-.07 (.04)	.93	.08 (.03)	1.08	-1.28 (2.00)	.28
Children Under 15 *No Children*						
One or more	.86** (17.25)	2.35	1.01** (12.47)	2.74	.43 (1.65)	1.53
# Seniors Assisted *One*	(12.60)**		(1.99)		(18.71)**	
Two	.76** (11.69)	2.14	.36 (1.47)	1.43	1.68** (17.11)	5.38
Three or more	-.37 (.42)	.69	.69 (.67)	2.00	-.77 (.86)	.46
Living Arrangement *Same Household/ Bldg*	(.68)		(1.97)		(4.83)	
Same neigh/ community	-.21 (.28)	.81	-.03 (.00)	.97	-.64 (.89)	.53

Surrounding Area	-.13 (.09)	.88	.03 (.00)	1.03	-.67 (.86)	.51
< 1/2 day away or more	-.03 (.01)	.97	-.54 (.78)	.58	.12 (.03)	1.13
Total Hours of Care	-.02 (1.30)	.98	-.01 (.41)	.99	-.07 (2.81)	.94
Personal Care *No*						
Yes	.37 (2.42)	1.45	-.01 (.00)	.99	1.38** (8.36)	3.96
Errands *No*						
Yes	.53** (6.36)	1.70	.25 (.80)	1.29	1.02** (7.56)	2.78
Domestic Tasks *No*						
Yes	.43* (4.49)	1.54	.41 (2.21)	1.50	.80* (5.02)	2.23
	-2 log likelihood: 733.21		-2 log likelihood: 412.10		-2 log likelihood: 292.55	
	Nagelkerke R^2: .21		Nagelkerke R^2: .18		Nagelkerke R^2: .35	

Table 12: Logistic Regression Miss a Day or More of Work by Each Environmental Characteristic						
Characteristic	Total n=642		Women n=366		Men n=276	
	Beta (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio	*Beta* (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio	*Beta* (Wald Stat)	Odds Ratio
Gender *Male*			n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Female	.12 (.33)	1.12	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Socioeconomic Status *Professional*	(4.98)		(21.45)**		(10.04)	
Semi-professional	-.45 (2.23)	.64	-1.68** (16.75)	.19	1.60** (8.64)	4.93
Supervisor	-.24 (.34)	.79	-1.41* (4.42)	.25	1.32* (4.43)	3.75
Skilled worker	-.46 (2.11)	.63	-1.43** (9.74)	.24	1.23* (4.90)	3.41
Semi-skilled worker	-.11 (.13)	.89	-.93* (5.34)	.39	1.69** (7.10)	5.41
Unskilled worker	-.59 (3.07)	.55	-1.62** (14.20)	.20	1.39* (4.31)	4.01
Labour Force Status *Part time*						
Full time	.75** (7.07)	2.11	.51 (2.66)	1.66	8.31 (.22)	4060.45
Marital Status *Never Marr/ single*	(1.96)		(2.58)		(5.12)	
Marr/ common law	.29 (1.13)	1.34	-.12 (.12)	.89	.81 (2.74)	2.24
Separated/ divorced/ widowed	.49 (1.82)	1.63	.45 (1.08)	1.56	-.71 (.62)	.49
Children Under 15 *No Children*						
One or more	.26 (1.47)	1.29	.54 (3.35)	1.72	-.51 (1.99)	.60
# Seniors Assisted *One*	(4.34)		(1.48)		(9.62)**	
Two	.46* (4.10)	1.58	.30 (.94)	1.35	1.14** (8.07)	3.13
Three or more	-.18 (.09)	.84	.67 (.68)	1.95	-1.14 (1.05)	.32
Living Arrangement *Same Household/ Bldg*	(5.47)		(2.66)		(3.77)	
Same neigh/ community	-.59 (2.34)	.56	-.60 (1.56)	.55	-.35 (.21)	.71

Surrounding Area	-.16 (.15)	.85	-.23 (.20)	.79	.26 (.11)	1.29
< 1/2 day away or more	-.26 (.35)	.77	-.58 (1.00)	.56	.35 (.20)	1.43
Total Hours of Care	-.02 (1.67)	.98	-.01 (.17)	.99	-.12** (7.31)	.89
Personal Care *No*						
Yes	1.23** (26.72)	3.44	1.09** (13.44)	2.98	2.17** (19.20)	8.73
Errands *No*						
Yes	.62** (8.33)	1.85	.64* (4.69)	1.89	.98** (6.30)	2.66
Domestic Tasks *No*						
Yes	.31 (2.26)	1.36	.22 (.65)	1.25	.53 (2.01)	1.70
	-2 log likelihood: 708.86		-2 log likelihood: 394.58		-2 log likelihood: 260.52	
	Nagelkerke R^2: .14		Nagelkerke R^2: .17		Nagelkerke R^2: .32	

DISCUSSION

From this study, a new understanding of the employment impacts of eldercare from a gender perspective has been developed, adding new information to the existing body of research literature and results that differ from past studies. This chapter will consist of a discussion of the major findings from this study, and suggestions for future research, followed by implications of these results for policy and practice.

Major Findings

This research produced three major findings. First, gender differences were not apparent in the incidence of employment impacts. This is contrary to previous findings. Second, there is empirical support for significant relationships between characteristics of the work and home environments and employment impacts. And third, although gender differences in the incidence of employment impacts were not evident, there is strong evidence that work and home characteristics are related to employment impacts differently for women and men.

Lack of Gender Differences in Employment Impacts

Five of the six employment impacts in this study were experienced by similar proportions of women and men. Declining a job or promotion, the single exception, was experienced by significantly more women than men. The similarity in the experience of employment impacts by women and men is contrary to previous findings (Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Neal, 1994; Duxbury, Higgins, Lee, & Mills, 1991; Gignac,

Kelloway, & Gottlieb, 1996; Kramer & Kipnis, 1995; MacBride-King, 1990; Martin Matthews, & Campbell, 1995).

This discrepancy in gender differences between previous studies and the current research points to a need to further clarify the relationship between employment impacts and eldercare. Few studies have considered the relationship between eldercare, employment impacts and the influence of environmental characteristics. Virtually no studies have considered the possibility of gender differences in the relationship between eldercare and employment impacts according to characteristics of the environment, which is what this study has focused on.

Once employment impacts were considered in the context of environmental characteristics, gender differences in this study were found to be in the relationship between characteristics and employment impacts, rather than in the extent to which women and men experienced employment impacts. Either different impacts were related to environmental characteristics for women and men, or the strength of the relationship between the characteristics and employment impacts differed between women and men.

An important distinction that must be acknowledged in this study is that a central caregiving group, associated with employment impacts, was not represented in this study: those who were forced to leave the workforce due to eldercare demands. There is a possibility that women are more likely to leave the workforce for a number of reasons, including socialization to consider family needs over employment, and less reward available in the workforce as compared to men. Of the employment impacts in this study, declining a job offer or promotion is the most similar consequence to leaving the workforce. Given that women were significantly more likely to decline a job offer or

promotion than men, women also may be more likely to leave the workforce as compared to men. A suggestion for further research is to focus on those who may have left the labour force due to eldercare demands.

Significant characteristics of the Work Environment

Two characteristics from the work environment were consistently associated with employment impacts: income and labour force status. Socioeconomic status, which was used as a measure of earning power, was found to have a negative relationship with employment impacts. Lower paid employees are less likely than higher paid employees to experience employment impacts. This is contrary to previous findings that higher paid employees are less likely to experience employment impacts (Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Neal, 1994; Scharlach, 1989).

Closer consideration of the data once it was split by gender offers possible explanations for this finding. Women in lower paying positions are less likely than those in higher paying positions to experience any impact, change hours, come late/ leave early, and miss day(s) of work. This is contrary to what was predicted by the conceptual framework of this study, where the rewards of earnings and status from professional occupations were thought to result in professional employees maintaining their work roles above all other demands, and purchasing eldercare services if needed. The results from this study suggest that societal expectation overpowers the influence that earning power may have for women; although they may have the economic resources to purchase eldercare services, they are still changing hours, coming late/ leaving early, and missing day(s) of work due to eldercare demands. Female high earners may be more likely than

lower earners to experience demands because their positions allow them to more flexibility so as to accommodate interruptions while at work (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen, 1993). It may be that lower earners are forced to deal with family demands outside of work, or are forced to leave employment altogether.

However, men in lower paying positions are more likely than men in professional occupations to miss day(s) of work, while those men in lower paying positions were less likely than professionals to change hours and have job performance affected. This suggests that the reward of higher earnings in professional occupations, coupled with the societal expectations related to men holding work as their top priority, result in men being more committed to being at work as compared to lower paid male employees. This is further supported by the result that men in lower paying positions are less likely than professionals to change hours and having job performance affected. Thus, the compulsion to live within societal expectations, coupled with the reward of income results in men of higher paid occupations choosing to change hours of work and allow their job performance to be affected over missing days of work. Perhaps those men in lower paying positions do not receive enough reward to make sure they are consistently at work. Therefore the different employment impacts related to income, according to gender, can be explained by costs, rewards and the effects of socialization when balancing employment and eldercare. Alternatively, it may be that employees in lower paying positions, as compared to employees in higher paying positions, do not have the options available to permit adequate balancing of eldercare demands and employment responsibilities. Employees in lower paying positions may be able to manage eldercare demands only through missing day(s) of work, whereas those in higher paying, more

flexible professional positions are able to accommodate these demands into their workday.

The fact that these results are not consistent with past literature or the predictions of this study may suggest that socio-economic status is an inadequate proxy for income. Socio-economic status encompasses many more factors than earnings, such as education, occupation, and economic demands. The socio-economic variable in this study is composed of occupations ranked according to earnings and other factors such as job flexibility. This variable, then, may be more indicative of control over hours of work than earning power. The results of this study are more consistent with socio-economic status representing job flexibility than income; those with more flexibility are more likely to be able to accommodate eldercare demands and employment as compared to those with less flexibility in their employment.

Labour force status, or more specifically, full time employment, was consistently found to be positively related to employment impacts, which supports reports of past literature (Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Neal, 1994; Glendinning, 1992). Further, once the data is split by gender, the results are more informative. Gender differences were found in the relationship between labour force status and employment impacts, which have not been found in previous literature. Women and men were both likely to experience any impact and come late/ leave early due to eldercare demands, but the relationship between labour force status and coming late/ leaving early was stronger for men than women. However, for women, labour force status was related to having job performance affected and declining a job or promotion as well, whereas it was not for men. This again suggests that the high reward of full time earnings, and societal

expectations influence men to be committed to being at work. The relationship between labour force status and coming late/ leaving early was stronger for men, but they are still at work with the possibility of opportunities of job advancement. Full time employment was also related to having job performance affected and declining job offers and promotions for women. The societal expectation that women should take on family demands overpowers the reward of career advancement and increased earnings for women.

Significant Characteristics of the Home Environment

Two characteristics from the home environment that were consistently found to be related to employment impacts were multiple caregiving demands and type of care. The finding that multiple caregiving demands, including eldercare and/or childcare, are positively correlated to employment impacts, supports past research results (CARNET, 1993, Gottlieb, Kelloway, & Fraboni, 1994; MacBride-King, 1990; Scharlach, Lowe, & Schneider, 1991).

Once the data were split by gender, multiple caregiving was found to be associated to employment impacts differently for women and men. The presence of children under age 15 was positively related to experiencing any impact, changing hours, declining a job or promotion, and coming late/ leaving early for women. The presence of children under age 15 was not correlated with employment impacts for men.

The number of seniors assisted, however, was found to be positively related to the probability of experiencing employment impacts for both women and men, but in different ways. Caring for two seniors, as compared to caring for one, predicted a greater

number of employment impacts for men than for women; caring for two seniors was related to five of the six employment impacts for men, the only exception being declining a job offer or promotion. For women, the only employment impact related to caring for two seniors was declining a job or promotion. However, caring for three or more seniors, as opposed to caring for one, was a strong predictor of employment impacts for women.

There may be two explanations for these findings. First, number of seniors predicts more employment impacts for men than women because of men's expectations that develop around caregiving due to socialization. Men perceive greater costs to their employment due to number of seniors assisted as compared to women. The fact that caring for three or more seniors was a strong predictor for women only suggests there is a threshold of caregiving burden that differs between women and men. Caring for two seniors predicts employment impacts for men, whereas caring for three or more predicts impacts for women.

Personal care was found to be positively related to employment impacts, which is consistent with past literature (CARNET, 1993; Gottlieb, Kelloway, & Fraboni, 1994; Martin Matthews, & Campbell, 1995). Although both personal care and instrumental care were related to employment impacts, personal care had a bigger impact on the likelihood that one would experience employment impacts than did instrumental care, which also is consistent with past studies (CARNET, 1993; Gottlieb, Kelloway, & Fraboni, 1994; Martin Matthews, & Campbell, 1995).

An important finding of this study that was not addressed in past literature is gender differences in the relationship between personal care and employment impacts. Although greater numbers of women than men were providing personal care in this study,

personal care was a significant predictor of more employment impacts and had more influence on the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts for men than for women. Men are likely to be socialized to believe that they should be providing for their family financially, while women take on emotional and physical needs of the family. Gendered ideals of personal care are particularly strong for men, however. Not only is it expected that men should not be providing care, but there are 'taboos' against men tending to the personal needs of persons of the opposite sex which do not exist for women (Kaye, & Applegate, 1990; Martin Matthews, & Campbell, 1995). For men, then, personal care tasks would be perceived to have a much higher cost to their employment and have a more pronounced effect as compared to women.

Other notable findings include characteristics of the work and home environments that were not consistently significant predictors of employment impacts. These include living arrangement, marital status, and hours of care. Support was found in the literature for both a positive and negative relationship with employment impacts for residing with or close to the care receiver (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen, 1993; Stueve, & O'Donnell, 1989; Walker, Martin, & Jones, 1992). This study shows that living arrangement, overall, is not related to employment impacts. This suggests that costs and rewards are both present, as proposed in the literature review, such that they counteract each other with the result that no statistically significant relationship with employment impacts remains.

Both a positive and negative relationship between marital status and employment impacts were found in past studies (Franklin, Ames, & King, 1994; MacBride-King, 1990). Results of the current study are consistent with those of the study by Neal,

Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Boise (1990) that stated marital status had no effect on employment impacts.

The finding that hours of care, overall, was not related to employment impacts was surprising. Past studies concluded that the more hours of care required, the more likely the employed caregiver would experience conflict with other roles (Ettner, 1995; Franklin, Ames, & King, 1994; Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlen, 1993). However, caregivers who had left the workforce due to eldercare demands were not surveyed in this sample, which may have affected these findings. Perhaps those who provided significantly more hours of care per week were forced to leave the workforce. This suggests that more research is needed to clarify the relationship between hours of care and employment impacts.

As previously mentioned, this study was unable to test all of the hypotheses of the work and home environment due to data limitations. Therefore, a suggestion for further research is to consider the relationship between a greater number of workplace characteristics and employment impacts according to gender in order to increase the comprehensiveness of the results.

Implications of this Research

With the results from this research, it is believed that some of the gray areas of the interdependence of the work and eldercare environments have been clarified. A deeper level of understanding of the complex relationship between eldercare, employment impacts and gender may be contributed to the research literature. Findings from this study

may be applied to areas of workplace policy, public policy, and gender myths in the workplace. These will be discussed in turn.

The employment impacts that were experienced by the greatest proportion of employed caregivers were coming late to work and leaving early and missing days of work, which may be grouped into one general concern of absenteeism. The next most frequently reported employment impact was changing hours of work, followed by having job performance affected, which may be grouped into a second general concern of lowered productivity. Absenteeism and reduced productivity are of great concern to employers and eventually to the economy as a whole. The environmental characteristics found to be most strongly related to employment impacts were socioeconomic status, labour force status, multiple caregiving demands and personal care tasks. The majority of caregivers in this study were between 39 to 54 years of age, and with the entrance into childbearing years occurring later in life, increased life expectancy, and increasing divorce rates which result in blended families of greater numbers, the 'sandwich generation' will likely become more prevalent.

Based on these findings, employed caregivers require assistance in two ways: flexibility to address the concern of absenteeism, and support to address lowered productivity. Flexibility may be accomplished through offering flexible work options, and support may be accomplished through assisting employed caregivers in the areas of finance, emotional support and information. Flexibility and support are solutions that address the environmental characteristics that are the strongest predictors of these employment impacts as well, including socio-economic status, labour force status, multiple caregiving demands, and personal care.

Employers may be interested in developing more effective workplace benefits and policies in order to aid in the balance between work and eldercare demands for employees, and decrease costs to the employer. To address the problem of absenteeism, more employment flexibility options are needed, such as working at home, and providing for more flexible hours at work. Flexibility needs may differ between professional and non-professional occupations. As compared to professional employees, those in non-professional positions, such as assembly-line work, would have greater needs for policy changes towards greater flexibility, and may benefit from having a staff person who 'floats' on the assembly line, filling in for employees in order to offer greater flexibility during the workday. In order to address the concern of lowered productivity, workplace policies may be developed that aid employees to maintain high concentration on their work during their workday as much as possible. Workplace policy could supply employees with support through information on areas such as stress management, wellness, eldercare issues, and balancing work and family demands. Access to confidential telephone lines may also aid the employee in gaining information or emotional support when needed. The workplace could also alleviate conflicting multiple caregiving demands that may be contributing to the employee's low concentration through the provision of eldercare and childcare programs during the day. Employers may also be well advised to focus performance appraisals on the quality of the employee's work rather than on issues of punctuality and hours at work and to provide incentives for high quality work. Incentives such as allowing extra time off to those employees who perform above a designated level would aid the employees in balancing demands, and

providing the employees with breaks that increase incentive to maintain concentration and quality work habits during work hours.

Findings from this research could also be applied to public policy. Since income and labour force status predicted impacts to employment, financial support to employed caregivers, for example, through tax breaks to those individuals with dependent children and/ or adults may help reduce absenteeism and increase productivity. Since multiple caregiving demands and personal care predicted employment impacts, financial assistance would also allow employed caregivers to purchase eldercare services when needed. Findings from this study may also be utilized in support of a movement towards national childcare and eldercare support. Subsidizing national day cares for children and elderly could help alleviate multiple caregiving demands.

The development of effective policies requires a thorough, holistic understanding of eldercare, employment and the environment around this issue in order to effectively address employment concerns. The knowledge that different characteristics are associated with some employment impacts over others could be applied to the development of workplace policy, depending on the goal of the employer. For example, caring for more than one senior is more strongly associated with having job performance affected than absenteeism. Therefore, if an employer values high quality job performance over absenteeism (coming late to work or leaving early from work and missing days), targeted policies may be developed that aid employees with multiple eldercare demands.

The knowledge that different characteristics affect the likelihood of experiencing employment impacts differently for women and men may be applied to specific policies addressing gender equality in the workplace. For example, the presence of children is

associated with employment impacts for women, but not men. In order to encourage gender equality in the workplace, policy may be developed in the workplace and public sector that address childcare demands in order to assist women in alleviating demands that are unique to them.

Results from this study may also assist in clarifying gender myths in the workplace. Women are perceived to be the more problematic, less committed employees as compared to men, and are not offered the same advancement opportunities as men. This study shows that both women and men experience employment impacts due to eldercare demands. With the aging population, the future workforce will shrink and be overburdened with the larger proportion of dependents in society, while employees will still be greatly needed. Women were significantly more likely than men in this study to decline a job offer or promotion, therefore attitudes creating barriers for women in the workforce may result in employers overlooking female employees with high potential that have the ability to contribute much more to the workforce. Greater opportunities for advancement and attitudes encouraging the advancement of women in the workplace would allow female employees to contribute their full potential to the workforce.

These findings may also promote awareness to others of the powerful influence of socialization and societal expectation on eldercare and employment issues, bringing society a step closer to utilizing the potential of women and men in the work and home environments without barriers.

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IMAGE EVALUATION
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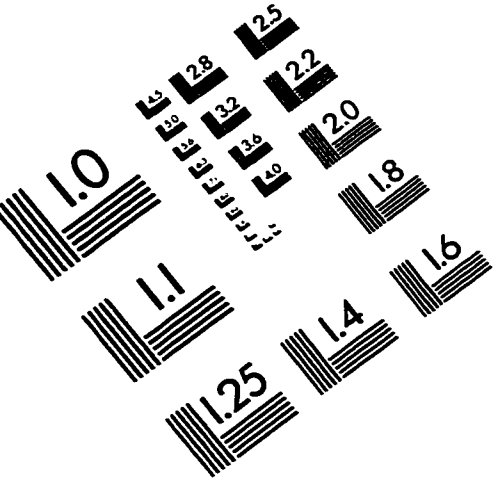

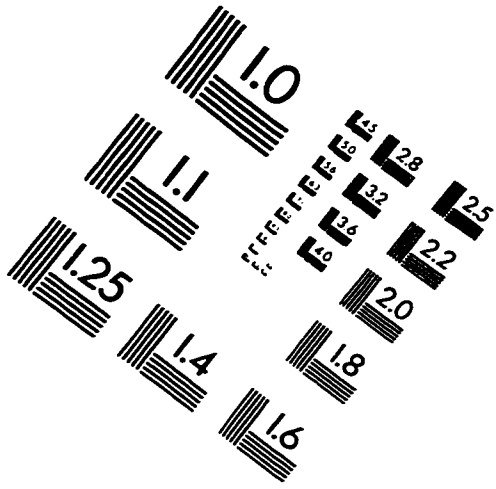

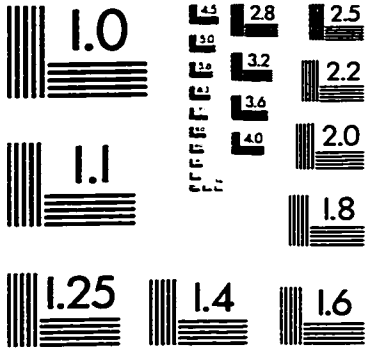

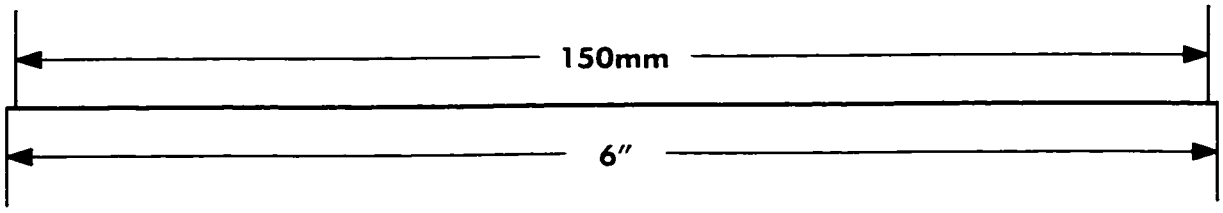

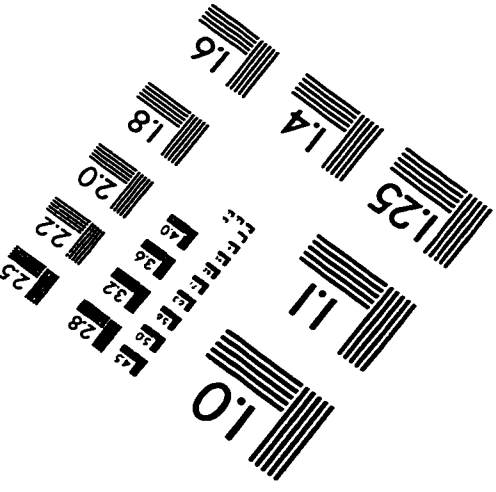

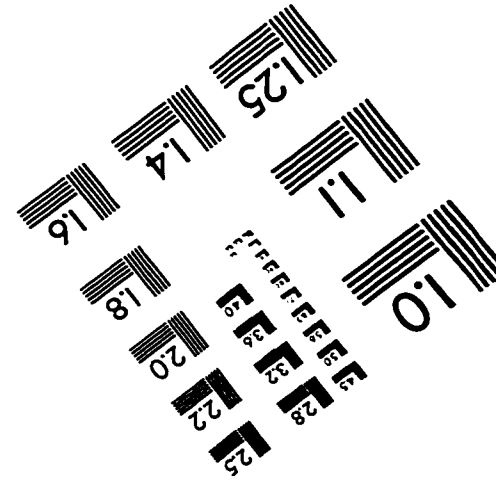

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