

Determinants of Models of Earning and Caring: An Analysis Using the 2005 General Social Survey on Time Use

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Abstract:

This paper examines possible determinants of family models in the earning and caring activities of Canadian families. We identify five models of the division of work: complementary-traditional, complementary-gender reversed, women's double burden, men's double burden, and shared roles. While the complementary-traditional model is declining, it still represents a third of couples. Women's double burden is the second largest category, representing 27% of couples in 2005, with men's double burden representing another 11%. The shared roles account for about a quarter of couples. Building on these typologies of earning and caring, we treat family models as our dependent variable, seeking to determine the relative importance of selected family, economic, and cultural variables. We show that life course considerations, as well as structural and cultural factors, are determinants of these alternative models of earning and caring. In particular, the complementary-traditional and women's double burdens are more likely for older persons, and for persons with young children. Alternative models are more common when women have higher relative resources, for younger persons, and for persons living in Quebec and in urban areas.

1. Introduction: Models of relative participation in paid and unpaid work in Canada

Gender differentiation or complementary roles can be an efficient way of dividing work because different forms of capital are needed for market and for household production (Becker, 1991). However, dividing tasks by gender is a high risk strategy when marriages are not stable (Oppenheimer, 1997). Furthermore, the main premise for gender division of work is that household production is a full-time activity, which no longer holds in Canada and in other Western countries. Values are changing in the direction of establishing more equal relationships in order to reduce differentiation by gender, to reduce risks, and to establish relations based on companionship rather than dependency (Beaujot, 2006).

The changes associated with gender, family and work have brought widespread and persistent diversity in family models. Along with complementary models, referred to in various terms such as “breadwinner” or “neo-traditional”, are the new models with a variety of labels, including “companionship,” “collaborative” and “post-gender”. The variety of models of division of labour between couples and how they have evolved over the period 1992 to 2005 in Canada is shown in Table 1, which is based on couples¹. As can be seen in Table 1, there has been some change in the relative predominance of the various models. The complementary-traditional (wife is doing more unpaid work and husband more paid work) has declined in importance but it remains the largest category, representing a third of couples in 2005. Women’s double burden (wife is doing the same amount of, or more, paid work, and more unpaid work) is the second most important model, representing 26.8% of couples in 2005. Men’s double burden (husband is doing the same amount of, or more, paid work, and more unpaid work) has increased the most, to 10.7% of couples, and the shared roles (wife and husband doing the same amount of unpaid work) have also increased to 26.5% of couples. The complementary-gender-reversed (husband is doing more unpaid work and wife more paid work) has increased since 1992, but represents only 3.0% of cases in 2005.

¹ In the surveys, respondents were asked to provide estimates both for themselves and their spouse/partner comparing the estimates of time use in major categories of activity over the previous week. The categories that were used are: hours worked, hours of housework for the household, hours spent maintaining/improving house/yard/automobile, and hours caring for household children. These last three categories are combined to measure unpaid work. (It should be noted that elder care and volunteer work are not captured in these estimates.) The hours of each of paid and unpaid work for respondent and spouse were combined, noting the relative amount done by each. Compared to the spouse, the respondent could do more, less or the same amount of hours of each of paid work and unpaid work. The range of 40% to 60% of the total as representing the *same* amount of either paid or unpaid work was adopted for the table (Beaujot, Liu, and Ravanera (2008).

Table 1: Models of the division of paid and unpaid work, 1992, 1998, and 2005

Model type	1992	1998	2005
Total respondents			
Complementary-traditional	43.5	39.1	32.9
Complementary-gender-reversed	1.7	2.7	3.0
Women's double burden	26.5	26.8	26.8
Men's double burden	5.8	7.6	10.7
Shared roles	22.6	23.8	26.5
Total number of cases	3518	3595	8360

Source: Tabulated from the General Social Surveys on Time Use in 1992, 1998, and 2005.

Note: The table includes respondents where neither partner is retired nor a full-time student. There is a sample loss of 11.0%, representing persons who did not respond to these questions on weekly estimates for self and spouse.

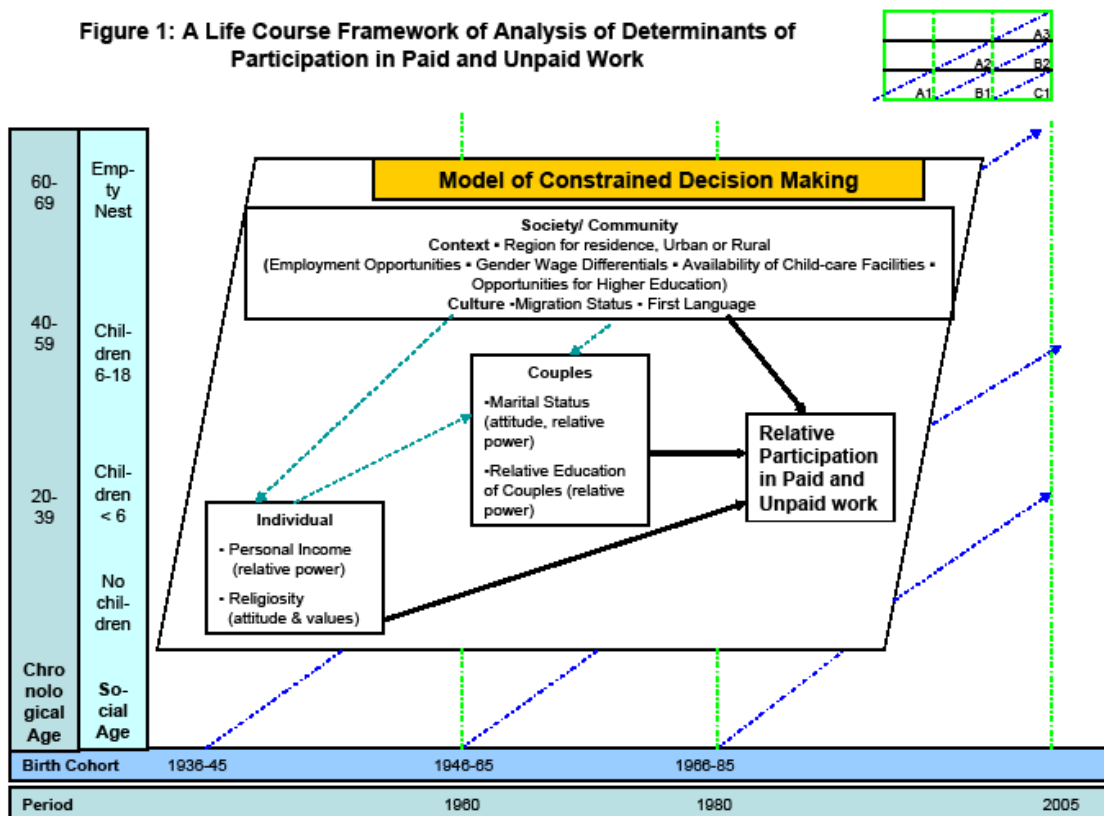
These results clearly confirm the diversity of existing models for the division of paid and unpaid work. The gender revolution, including changes in work and family questions, has brought widespread and sustained diversity. The main objective of the paper is to study the determinants and implications of these alternate models, using the data from the 2005 General Social Survey on Time Use and a framework of analysis that takes life course into account.

2. Framework of Analysis

At an aggregate level, the division of paid and unpaid work between couples has changed from 1992 to 2005, with on the average, a move towards a more egalitarian sharing of paid and unpaid work (Marshall, 2006). However, these averages conceal variations. Building on the typologies described above, we explore the influence of selected family, economic, and cultural variables on the relative participation in paid and unpaid work. To what degree are these variables relevant in predicting whether a given couple might be classified as traditional or more egalitarian in its division of paid and unpaid work? We examine how the division of work might be affected by such variables as marital and parental status, and socio-economic situation of individuals and couples.

We begin with the assumption that the manner in which paid and unpaid work is shared within households is a function of choices constrained by context of the decision-making process. Choices are not only based on individual rational calculations, but also in relation to others and to normative frameworks (Crompton, 2006: 13). Moen (2003) observes that the strategies that couples adopt can be a function of both structural arrangements, such as the absence of "good" part-time jobs, and orientations or gender scripts on appropriate behaviour. Sullivan (2004) theorizes in terms of changes in both consciousness and practice. Researchers have proposed that types of occupation (Sullivan 2004), conditions of the workplace (Blekesaune, 2005), and corporate programs such as use of flexi-time and flexi-place (Hill et al., 2003) are factors that influence the sharing of paid and unpaid work.

Figure 1 shows our framework of analysis of the determinants of participation in paid and unpaid work, which takes into account the variables that are available from our data set, the 2005 GSS on Time Use. To capture the differences in the community contexts within which couples make their decision, we include region of residence, and whether the place is urban or rural. We take these variables as broad indicators of availability of resources (with, for example, Quebec having greater facilities for day care than other regions), and of opportunities for employment (with the Atlantic disadvantaged by limited job availability). Inclusion of Urban/Rural variable in the analysis recognizes a difference in the extent of commercialization of unpaid work, and in the retention of traditional practices. While we recognize that corporate programs and conditions in the workplace are factors that couples take into account in the division of tasks, these are not reflected in the framework as the information is not available from the data.



Another set of constraints are those posed by cultural questions, or norms that couples live by, and captured in the analysis by inclusion of first language and immigration status. Attitudes and values, and relative power that individuals bring into a relationship are factors that affect decisions as to who should be doing which tasks. Egalitarian relations start with a strategy that seeks to reduce gender differentiation. This arrangement is most likely among couples who

entered into relationships after the changes in families from the 1960s, the period characterized by greater flexibility in unions and a delay in family life course transitions. These relations are based less on dependency, and more on mutuality that include sharing of domestic work. Thus, couples in common-law union may be less likely than the married to be in complementary traditional model. And, those with liberal value orientation are expected to be more egalitarian in the sharing of tasks. These are taken into account by the inclusion of personal income, religiosity, marital status (cohabitation versus legal marriage), and education (or relative education of spouses) in the analysis.

The relative participation in both paid and unpaid work is not constant. While regular (daily, weekly) routines are most likely entered into by couples, the sharing of work – paid or unpaid – could and does change over time. Our framework of analysis attempts to capture this by placing the model of decision making within the constraint of age and time (or period). More than chronological age, it is the social age – measured here in terms of presence of children – that has a greater impact on the relative participation in work as presence of children changes the amount of unpaid work that needs to be done: a big increase when children are age 0 to about age 5, a decrease when they reach a school age and when they are able to do some of the unpaid work in the household, and a change yet again when they leave the parental home. Regardless of presence of children, however, the amount of unpaid work that needs to be done has also changed over time (or period) brought about by such factors as technology (household gadgets) and commercialization of household tasks.

Ideally, a life course analysis would require following up over time a cohort of couples as they age chronologically or socially (as depicted in the upper right corner of Figure 1). As our data are from a cross-sectional survey, we attempt to capture the effect of age and time by doing separate analysis for each social age categorized as “No children under age 19”, “At least one child under 5 years”, and “All children between 5-18”. Chronological age is also included in the analysis as its correlation with social age is not exact, and the variable could capture the age differences within each social age. Those with “no children”, for example, are comprised of the young who do not have as yet children and the elderly whose children have already left home. (The small number of sample does not allow a separate analysis for each of these two groups.)

3. Data and Methods

The data used here are from the Canadian General Social Survey on Time Use conducted by Statistics Canada in 2005. The survey gathered data on the daily activities of Canadians, which in addition to paid work include unpaid work and cultural activities, and data on social networks and participation in sports. The target population consisted of all individuals aged 15 and over living in a private household in one of the ten provinces, excluding: (1) residents of the Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut; and (2) full-time residents of institutions. While the survey had a total respondent of 19,597, this paper focuses on respondents aged 20-69, and living as couples where neither partner is retired nor a full time student – a total 3187 males and 3579 females.

We do a multivariate analysis of the models of relative participation in paid and unpaid work with the various factors mentioned in the framework as our explanatory variables, including variables to capture life course stages, characteristics of individuals and couples, and cultural and community contexts. To get an overall view of the determinants of relative participation models, we first present the results of our analysis for all life course stages combined. We then present the results for each of the major life course stages – “no child less than 19 years of age”, “with at least one child aged 5 years old or younger”, and “all children are between the ages 5 and 18 years old”.

The relative sharing of paid and unpaid work could be analyzed with couples as unit of analysis, which includes among the explanatory variables information such as relative income and relative education of couples. However, the survey respondents were individual men and women (rather than couples) who reported on the amount of paid and unpaid work by himself/herself relative to those of his/her spouse or partner. Such information as relative income of couples was not gathered through the survey. However, there is information on personal income, which makes it possible to deduce information about couples. Thus, for example, women with low income are more likely to have lower income relative to her spouse or partner, whereas women with high income are more likely to have about the same or higher income relative to her spouse or partner. To take advantage of this information, we do our analysis separately for men and women. Apart from marital status, the only other “couple” information that we have included in the analysis is relative education.

As the division of paid and unpaid work in couples contrasts a model wherein women do more of the unpaid work, we combined the complementary or traditional model with the women’s double burden (for convenience, subsequently referred to as “Complementary model”). The converse of this variable is a combination of models wherein men do a greater share of unpaid work, that is, shared model combined with men’s double burden, and gendered reversed model (referred to as “Shared model”).

We focus on the results of multivariate analysis done through a binary logistic regression. As we derived our dependent variable such that there are only two possible model outcomes, we show only the results for the Complementary model. The results for Shared model are the same as for the Complementary model with signs of the coefficients reversed: the plus (+) in the Complementary is minus (-) in the Shared. But first, we describe the proportion of couples in Complementary model by the various explanatory variables included in our framework.

4. Descriptive Analysis: Levels of Augmented Complementary Traditional Model

The proportion of couples in Complementary model in 2005 is 59.7% (32.9% + 26.8%, in Table 1 above), which is an average derived from responses of both men and women. As can be seen in Table 2, however, women report a higher level (63.7%) than men (56.2%), indicating that individuals who are survey respondents claim doing a higher proportion of unpaid work relative to his/her spouse or partner (who are not respondents to the survey).

	Males	Females		Males	Females
Total	56.2	63.7	Total	56.2	63.7
Demographics/Life course stage					
Presence of Children			Relative Education		
No Children	54.8	56.7	Both university	55.0	59.0
At least one aged 0-5	60.9	75.3	Wife only	50.2	59.2
All children aged 6-18	55.0	65.6	Husband only	62.4	65.0
Age			Neither have degree	57.6	64.7
20-39	55.5	64.9	Culture Indicators		
40-59	56.0	62.7	Migration Status		
60-69	58.8	68.0	Born in Canada	55.1	63.0
Individual Characteristics			Immigrant	60.6	65.6
Personal Income			First Language		
< \$30,000	44.7	72.3	English	56.5	62.8
\$30,000 - \$59,999	55.3	55.7	French	49.0	62.0
\$60,000 - \$99,999	54.4	46.5	Other	63.9	67.6
\$100,000 or more	67.1	39.0	Society/Community Context		
Missing	61.9	67.3	Region of Residence		
Religiosity			Atlantic	50.0	65.2
Once a week	63.5	64.3	Quebec	49.1	61.6
Sometimes	56.9	65.1	Ontario	55.7	63.4
Never	52.6	60.8	Prairies	65.6	68.0
No Religion	53.6	61.8	British Columbia	61.9	61.3
Couple Characteristics			Urban/Rural		
Marital Status			Urban	54.9	63.3
Married	58.6	64.5	Rural (& PEI)	61.4	65.1
Common Law	46.0	60.2	Total N	4387	3973

Source: Tabulated from 2005 GSS on Time Use

Though the levels differ by gender, the pattern in each variable is similar for men and women. Thus, for presence of children, the highest proportion in Complementary model is among those with at least one child 5 years old or younger (75.3% as reported by women, and 60.9% by men). The Complementary model is also highest in the oldest age groups (aged 60-69). The proportion of women at age 20-39 (64.9%) that is higher than that of women aged 40-59 (62.7%) is sign that more of the younger women have children aged 0-5. Noteworthy as well is the higher proportion in Complementary model of the married compared to couples in common law unions. These findings reflect the life course, cohort, and period effects discussed in the framework of analysis above.

The results for personal income variable – a negative relation for women, and positive for men – reflect the importance of relative income in the sharing of paid and unpaid work. The high proportion in Complementary model (72.3%) in the lowest (or no) income group most likely include women doing part time work or are not employed in paid work. Women with personal income of \$100,000 or more are less likely to be in the Complementary model (39%), or conversely, are more likely to be in Shared model where their spouses do equal or more unpaid work. Men with the highest level of income are more likely to be in Complementary model (67.1%), with their wives doing more of the unpaid work, whereas men with lower income are

more likely to be doing equal or more unpaid work than their spouses. Relative education has similar effect in that when husbands have higher education than their wives, the proportion of men and women who are in Complementary model is highest.

Table 2 also shows cultural influence in that the highly religious, the immigrants, and those who speak a language other than English or French are more likely to belong to Complementary model. Finally, the effects of contexts are evident in the effect of location of residence. The highest proportion of men and women in Complementary model is in the Prairies, and higher in the rural than in urban areas.

The results of the multivariate analysis, discussed in the next section, show that much of the effects captured in the bivariate analysis remain when the effects of other variables are taken into account.

5. Results of Multivariate Analysis for Men and Women

Table 3 shows the results of the multivariate analysis for men and women. The presence of children in the household is a major determinant of the relative participation in paid and unpaid work. Compared to men living with no child in the household, a man living with at least one child who is less than 5 years old is more likely to have a partner who does more of the unpaid work, whereas a man living with a child or children who are between 5 to 18 years old is more likely to be doing an equal or greater share of the unpaid work. Compared to women not living with children, women with children, regardless of the children's age, are more likely to be in doing more of the unpaid work than their spouses.

The personal resource and relative power between couples have impact on the models. Men who have higher income or whose education is higher or equal to their partner's are likely to be in Complementary model wherein the spouse or partner does more of the unpaid work. Personal resources have similar effects for women; that is, women with high income are less likely to be in Complementary model, with their spouse more likely to be doing equal or more unpaid work. Relative education does not have statistically significant effect for women possibly because of the high correlation between income and education, that is, the higher the education of the wife the higher the income she earns. Wives with high income hold full time jobs and also more likely to belong to a household with dual earners.

Values and norms are important as well, though the effects hold largely for men. In comparison to highly religious men, a man who professes no religion (or is not highly religious) is also more likely not to hold traditional family values. Men who are less religious are less likely to be in Complementary model, and conversely, more likely to be doing equal or more unpaid work in Shared model (see Table 3). Furthermore, men from a more traditional culture (implied here by the use of a first language other than English or French) are more likely to be in a relationship that follows a Complementary model.

The higher probability of Complementary model in the Prairies and British Columbia, compared to the Atlantic (as can be seen in Table 3) could be due to the greater job opportunities (and most likely higher income) for men that enable their partners to do less of the paid work and more of the unpaid work in a Complementary model. The influence of values is a possible explanation as well, especially in the case of the higher probability of Complementary model in rural areas, where people hold more traditional values compared to urban areas. In addition, there is still less commercialization of unpaid work in the rural than in the urban areas.

The variables that we used to indicate differences in values - religiosity and marital arrangement - do not significantly differentiate the relative participation models of women, although "Other" first language does have a similar influence as in the case of men. However, for women, the Age variable comes out as significant – the older the women, the more likely the Complementary model. Possibly, age already captures the values indicated by the other variables, that is, older women are more likely to be religious and much less likely to be cohabiting than younger women.

The effects of location of residence do not come out as statistically significant for women. As will be shown below, however, the Region variable becomes significant for women when analysis is done separately by presence of children.

Variables	Males		Females	
	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Lifecourse variables				
Presence of children (No Children under 19)				
At least one child under 5	0.264	***	0.937	***
All children between 5 and 18	-0.125	*	0.380	***
Age (20-39)				
40-59	0.006		0.169	**
60-69	0.156		0.396	*
Individual Characteristics				
Personal Income (< \$30,000)				
\$30,000 - \$59,999	0.536	***	-0.718	***
\$60,000 - \$99,999	0.524	***	-1.093	***
\$100,000 or more	1.055	***	-1.404	***
Missing	0.823	***	-0.270	***
Religiosity (once a week)				
Sometimes	-0.135		0.128	
Never	-0.202	*	-0.017	
No Religion	-0.243	**	-0.009	
Couple Characteristics				
Marital Status (Married)				
Common Law	-0.172	*	-0.023	
Relative Education (Both university)				
Wife only	-0.046		0.051	
Husband only	0.365	***	0.113	
Neither have degree	0.330	***	0.077	
Cultural/ Community				
Migration Status (Born in Canada)				
Immigrant	0.081		-0.062	
First Language (English)				
French	-0.047		0.221	
Other	0.374	***	0.218	*
Region of Residence (Atlantic)				
Quebec	0.005		-0.278	
Ontario	0.124		-0.007	
Prairies	0.538	***	0.228	
British Columbia	0.361	**	-0.183	
Urban/Rural (Urban)				
Rural (& PEI)	0.278	***	-0.072	
Constant	-0.692		0.405	**
R Square	6.7%		9.3%	
N of Cases	3187		3579	
Significance levels: * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1%				
Source: 2005 GSS on Time Use				

6. Results of Analysis by Presence of Children

When there are no children, older men are more likely to be in Complementary arrangements. This age effect is similar (though smaller in magnitude) to the findings for women that is discussed below.

Relative education has a highly significant effect mainly among men without children. Possibly, relative power between couples influences decision-making when there is less unpaid work to be done. Stated in another way, when there are children to be cared for and thus requiring much amount of unpaid work, the relative power between couples is not a major factor in the negotiation. However, when there are very young children, traditional values have an effect as indicated by the higher probability of Complementary model among men with first language other than English or French, and in rural areas. Values are prominent as well in the results for children aged 5-18: Shared model is more likely among men who are less religious. This may be an indication that men with less traditional values are spending more time on the unpaid work of caring for children, but mainly when the children are older.

Variables	No Children		Child < 5		Child 5-18	
	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Lifecourse variables						
Age (20-39)						
40-59	0.063		-0.155		0.048	
60-69	0.315 *				-0.740	
Individual Characteristics						
Personal Income (< \$30,000)						
\$30,000 - \$59,999	0.394 ***		0.695 ***		0.613 ***	
\$60,000 - \$99,999	0.449 ***		0.814 ***		0.457 ***	
\$100,000 or more	0.821 ***		1.450 ***		1.074 ***	
Missing	0.780 ***		0.584 **		0.931 ***	
Religiosity (once a week)						
Sometimes	0.012		-0.044		-0.420 ***	
Never	-0.253		0.098		-0.332 *	
No Religion	-0.159		-0.151		-0.423 **	
Couple Characteristics						
Marital Status (Married)						
Common Law	-0.024		-0.245		-0.365 **	
Relative Education (Both university)						
Wife only	-0.057		0.256		-0.345	
Husband only	0.542 ***		0.556 *		0.019	
Neither have degree	0.499 ***		0.141		0.175	
Cultural/ Community						
Migration Status (Born in Canada)						
Immigrant	-0.054		0.084		0.214	
First Language (English)						
French	0.055		-0.057		-0.201	
Other	0.333 *		0.869 ***		0.154	
Region of Residence (Atlantic)						
Quebec	-0.302		0.639 *		0.078	
Ontario	0.112		0.347		0.023	
Prairies	0.492 *		1.009 ***		0.282	
British Columbia	0.076		0.924 ***		0.431	
Urban/Rural (Urban)						
Rural (& PEI)	0.162		0.523 ***		0.321 **	
Constant	-0.703 **		-1.110 ***		-0.400	
R Square	7.0%		11.7%		7.5%	
N of Cases	1558		724		905	
Significance levels: * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1%						
Source: 2005 GSS on Time Use						

As can also be seen in Table 4, the constraining factors such as availability of resources are more salient to decision making for couples with young children. That is, the factors that have greater significance when there are children less than 5 years old – in comparison to when there are no children or when children are older – are the Region and Urban/Rural variables. This is similar to the results from the analysis for women by presence of children.

As shown in Table 5, apart from personal income, the only other factor that differentiates among women who have children less than 5 years old is the Region variable. The Complementary model is more common for women in Ontario and the Prairies than in the Atlantic. We note as well that while the difference between the Atlantic and Quebec is not significant, the coefficient

is negative (-.113), indicating that the difference between Quebec on the one hand, and Ontario and the Prairies on the other is even greater. This regional difference does not show up as significant for women with no children or for women with children age 5-18, which hints at the probable reason for the differential - the greater availability of affordable day care facilities in Quebec.

The Complementary model is more likely for women at older ages but the difference by age is only significant when there are no children in the household, a finding similar to the men's results, except that the magnitude is larger for women. This reflects the change over time in norms or expectations about role-sharing, with younger couples preferring the Shared model. Further, among older couples, a routine with women doing more of the unpaid work, particularly when children were still in the household, may be so well-established that the arrangement continues even with a decrease in the total amount of unpaid work brought about by children's leaving the parental home. A question that could be asked is why the same effect does not hold when there are children in the household. The answer possibly lies in the greater amount of unpaid work that children require, that is, when it comes to caring for children, women take on the tasks regardless of their preference as to role sharing.

The variable that shows highly significant effects on the relative participation models is personal income. This shows up in analysis for men and women and the separate analysis by presence of children. This is an indication that

much of the determinants in the sharing of unpaid work lies in the realm of paid work. While factors such as values and characteristics of individuals and couples come into play, conditions at work are as important or possibly even more important in the decision-making on relative

	No Children		Child < 5		Child 5-18	
	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.	Coeff.	Sig.
Lifecourse variables						
Age (20-39)						
40-59	0.375	***	-0.098		-0.029	
60-69	0.476	**				
Individual Characteristics						
Personal Income (< \$30,000)						
\$30,000 - \$59,999	-0.658	***	-1.032	***	-0.640	***
\$60,000 - \$99,999	-1.113	***	-1.369	***	-0.938	***
\$100,000 or more	-1.368	***	-2.144	***	-1.066	***
Missing	-0.221	***	-0.486	**	-0.222	
Religiosity (once a week)						
Sometimes	0.218		0.140		0.007	
Never	-0.014		0.126		-0.070	
No Religion	0.087		-0.017		-0.092	
Couple Characteristics						
Marital Status (Married)						
Common Law	0.080		0.075		-0.202	
Relative Education (Both university)						
Wife only	0.062		0.451		-0.360	
Husband only	0.038		0.056		0.132	
Neither have degree	0.032		-0.027		-0.012	
Cultural/ Community						
Migration Status (Born in Canada)						
Immigrant	0.412	**	-0.424		-0.440	**
First Language (English)						
French	0.323		0.268		-0.098	
Other	0.239		0.127		0.171	
Region of Residence (Atlantic)						
Quebec	-0.317		-0.113		-0.242	
Ontario	-0.055		0.858	***	-0.386	
Prairies	0.090		0.987	***	0.008	
British Columbia	-0.024		0.234		-0.720	**
Urban/Rural (Urban)						
Rural (& PEI)	0.006		-0.179		-0.126	
Constant	0.108		1.085	***	1.483	***
R Square	7.9%		11.9%		7.0%	
N of Cases	1681		839		1059	
Significance levels: * 10%, ** 5%, *** 1%						
Source: 2005 GSS on Time Use						

participation models. However, work-related factors, such as information on occupation and the benefits offered by employers, are not available in the data set.

7. Summary and discussion

Questions of gender equity in paid and unpaid work have been central to social inquiry over the last half century. With the large change in women's labour force participation, issues turned to occupational segregation and pay equity. The unequal division of unpaid work has been called a second shift or a double burden that represented a stalled revolution in the direction of gender equity. Due in part to the attention given to this research, we could say that important changes have occurred, yet large differences remain, which have implications for individuals and society.

The analysis of the relative predominance of the Complementary arrangements (that, in this paper, refers to complementary-traditional plus women's double burden), compared to other models of earning and caring, shows that life course questions as well as structural and cultural considerations are relevant. The presence of children is a major determinant, as men with children under five, and women with children under 18, are more likely to be in the Complementary arrangements, and men with children 5-18, along with women with no children under 18, are more likely to be in the Shared model (that includes shared roles, men's double burden and complementary-gender-reversed). Men with higher personal and relative resources are also more likely to be in Complementary model, as are men from rural areas, while men with no religion are more likely to be in the other models. Conversely, younger women, and women with higher personal and relative resources are less likely to be in Complementary model.

The results within categories of presence of children by age, also show the importance of life course, structural and cultural considerations. For instance, among those with no children under 18, older men are more likely to be in Complementary arrangements. Among men with very young children, those in rural areas and with languages other than English or French are more likely to be Complementary arrangements. For women with children under five, those living in Quebec are less likely to be in Complementary arrangements.

The sharing of paid and unpaid work could be a result of choices made by individuals and their partners in the context of social norms. This is seen in the results of our analysis for culture-related variables – those who are more religious or those whose mother tongue is other than English or French are more likely to be in Complementary model. The higher proportion in Complementary model in rural areas could be seen as an effect of culture as well. Increasing secularism, urbanization, and assimilation of immigrants into the predominant culture would be factors that could lead to more egalitarian sharing of paid and unpaid work.

The sharing arrangements could also be viewed as outcome of negotiations between couples. Our analysis shows that the partner with relatively smaller resources (measured in terms of income and education) is more likely to do more of the unpaid work, who in majority of cases is still the wife or female partner. Greater number of women, particularly younger women, taking on higher education, with the possibility of higher income, should lead to increases in the Shared model.

However, the move towards egalitarian sharing of unpaid work is constrained by the presence of children, referred to here as a life course effect. Young and cohabiting women often prefer to be in Shared model (shown as cohort and period effects in our analysis) but having children results in women doing more unpaid work (particularly when the children are aged 0-5). Consequently, it is no surprise that many of these women choose to remain childless or postpone having children to later in life. The imbalance in sharing of unpaid work is thus one of the factors that contribute toward the persistent below replacement level fertility in Canada.

An intervention that could ease the burden of having to do more unpaid work when children are present is the provision of affordable child-care facilities. As shown by the results of our analysis, the proportion of Complementary model particularly for women with children aged 0-5 is lowest in Quebec where there are more child-care facilities than in other provinces, suggesting that this availability promotes alternate arrangement of more egalitarian sharing of unpaid work between couples, and possibly encourages more couples to have children.

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