Dual-Earning Parents' Work-Family Balance and Time with Children: The Moderating Effects of Gender and Age

by

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Abstract

Achieving work-family balance is a challenge for many families in Canada, especially for dual-earner families with children in the household. Prior research regarding the predictors of work-family balance has mainly focused on work characteristics; therefore, the current study aimed to assess the predictive effect of a key family characteristic -- quality time with children -- on work-family balance. The two objectives of this study were: (a) to describe the association between time with children and parents' work-family balance among Canadian dual-earner parents, and (b) to understand the effects of age of the youngest child, parent's gender, and parent's age on the association between work-family balance and quality time with children.

This study used cross-sectional national time-use data from the General Social Survey (GSS) 2010, Cycle 24. T-test and logistic regression analyses were used to address the two research objectives, and all analyses were weighted. Findings indicated that work-family balance was negatively associated with quality time with children. Age of the youngest child, parent's gender, and parent's age were found to moderate the effect of quality time with children on work-family balance: The negative effect of quality time with children on work-family balance was stronger for parents who had a youngest child of an older age than for those who had a youngest child of a younger age, for parents who were older than for those who were younger, and for mothers more than for fathers. Findings of this study can add strength to the understanding of work-family balance of Canadian parents and have implications for helping Canadians balance their paid work and family life demands. As well,

the findings indicate a more nuanced exploration of how parents' relationships with their children affect their experience of work-family balance is needed in future research.

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Dedication

This research is dedicated to my Mom, Ye Hua and to my Grandma and Grandpa, Weixin Xie and Tonghua Chen.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Many time demands on daily life can drain our energy, affect our health, and undermine our productivity. In today's Western societies, the majority of parents are engaged in full-time paid labour while raising their children and caring for aging parents. Fulfilling these roles while also managing family and paid work responsibilities has become a challenge for many individuals (Korabik, Lero, & Whitehead, 2011). According to Voydanoff (2005), the global assessment that work and family resources are sufficient to meet work and family demands is work-family balance. Work and family resources (e.g., supportive supervisors, co-workers, and family members and the availability of quality childcare) benefit work, family, and community role performance and individual well-being.

> Work-family balance combines the appraisals that resources are adequate to meet demands with the effects of boundary-spanning strategies (boundary-spanning strategies are actions taken on the part of individuals and families to increase congruence between work and family demands and resources) to yield an overall appraisal of the extent of harmony, equilibrium, and integration of work and family life (Voydanoff, 2005, p. 825).

Work-family balance has also been defined as "harmony or equilibrium between work and family domains" (Chang, McDonald, & Burton, 2010, p. 2382).

Lack of work-family balance can cause health-related problems. Literature suggests that lack of balance between paid work and family life can affect physical and emotional health and well-being. Wada (2012) has indicated that lack of balance increases the risk of many

diseases and psychological problems, for instance, cardiovascular disease, pain, sleep disorders and fatigue, substance abuse, and diminished subjective well-being.

Definitions of Key Terms

There is no agreement on the definition of work-family balance. As Milkie, Denny, Kendig and Schieman (2010) have noted, work-family balance is one dimension of the work-family interface, which is used to broadly describe the associations between work and family. The current study was based on a definition of work-family balance that was developed by Kalliath and Brough (2008) and was recommend by Milkie, Denny, et al. (2010): "the individual perception that work and non-work activities are compatible and promote growth in accordance with an individual's current life priorities" (p. 326). While this definition was recommended by Milkie, Denny, et al. (2010), Palamari (2012) utilized a classic definition of work-family balance provided by Clutterbuck (2003) in her article: "being aware of different demands on time and energy, having the ability to make choices in the allocation of time and energy, knowing what values to apply to choices as making choices" (p. 149).

Milkie, Denny, et al. (2010) also presented definitions of other dimensions of the work-family interface such as work-family conflict. The notion of work-family conflict is unavoidable in most treatments of the work-life balance concept (Bartlett, 2013). However, as Valcour (2007) stated, although work-family conflict may well be inversely related to satisfaction with work-family balance, research does not support the argument that the one construct represents the opposite end of the other. Individuals can still be satisfied with their work-family balance even if they are experiencing work-family conflicts (Carlson, Grzywacz,

& Zivnuska, 2009). Work-family conflict is defined as a type of inter-role stress that results from incompatible demands in the work and family domains (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Work-family conflict happens when "simultaneous pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect, such that meeting the demands of one role makes it difficult to meet the demands of the other role" (Greenhaus & Singh, 2003). In addition, Milkie, Denny, et al. (2010) explained the bidirectionality of work-family conflict: "work-to-family conflict refers to work-related stressors and demands negatively affecting functioning in the family domain, whereas family-to-work conflict refers to family-related stressors and demands negatively affecting the work domain" (p. 1).

Time with Children

Spending time with children is considered as a critical indicator of being ideal parents in Canada, the US, and many other Western countries (Townsend, 2002). According to Milkie, Kendig, Nomaguchi and Denny (2010), "Cultural imperatives for good parenting include spending time with children and ensuring that they do well in life" (p. 1329). The dominant mothering ideology of Western culture, intensive mothering, has taken hold; it is defined as "a child-centered, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labour intensive, financially expensive ideology in which mothers are primarily responsible for the nurture and development of the sacred child and in which children's needs take precedence over the individual needs of their mothers" (Hays, 1996, p. 46).

This "intensive parenting" culture does not influence mothers only, but also fathers. For example, Milkie, Kendig et al. (2010) have indicated that fathers now feel more cultural pressure to spend time with their children than ever. Based on interviews with fathers in

two-parent families of school-age children, Townsend (2002) found that although fathers continue to believe that their primary responsibility is as the provider, fathers are expected to be involved in their children's daily routines in order to maintain a close relationship with their children. Ball and Daly (2012) have indicated that although fathers still spend much less time in child care compared to mothers, fathers in Canada have become more involved in taking care of dependent children in the past 20 years. In addition, fathers today have been found to devote more time to child care and interactive activities with children than did fathers in 1965 (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2007).

Jacobs and Gerson (2001) have indicated dual-earner and single-parent families are the groups most likely to struggle with fulfilling both work and family demands. Marshall (2009) reported that 24% of fathers and 38% of mothers in dual-earner families reported high levels of time tress. Sauvé (2009) found that full-time employed lone-mothers were those working the longest hours (paid and unpaid) and were the most time stressed, followed by married parents who were employed full-time. Indeed, since both paid work and unpaid housework demand large quantities of time and energy, a lot of employed parents may find it very challenging to balance paid work and family life (Marshall, 2009). As Milkie, Mattingly, Nomaguchi, Bianchi and Robinson (2004) have pointed out, although time with children is regarded as essential for children's well-being, it is a hard-won thing for many employed parents. Jacobs and Gerson (2001) have asserted that "too much time at work can undermine personal and family welfare, whereas too little time can endanger a family's economic security and lower its standards of living" (p. 40). Previous survey and time diary data also confirm that time with children is an important issue for many employed parents. For

example, Milkie et al. (2004) reported that about half of the parents in two American national samples (1999-2000 National Survey of Parents and 2000 General Social Survey) felt they had "too little time with their children" (p. 739). Similarly, in a telephone survey of about 500 employed parents, Roxburgh (2006) found that nearly half of the sample indicated that they were not satisfied with the quantity of time spent with children.

Money and time are two key resources parents provide for their children (Thomson, Hanson, & McLanahan, 1994). However, parental efforts to earn and provide money for their children require time committed to paid labour (Bulanda & Lippmann, 2009). Indeed, as paid work demands absorb energy and attention as well as time, time and energy for family is reduced (Bulanda & Lippmann, 2009).

The Situation in Canada

Work-family balance is an issue for Canadian families due to increased women's labour force participation and the increase in dual-earner families in Canada. Lack of work-family balance has negative effects on employees' physical and emotional health and well-being (Wada, 2012). Lack of work-family balance can also affect employers in such forms as employees' lower productivity, high costs due to employees' absenteeism, and losing employees who are unable to fulfill both paid work and family demands (Duxbury, Higgins, & Schroeder, 2009).

More women in the labour force. In the past three decades, like women in many other countries, Canadian women have increased their labour force participation (Adema & Whiteford, 2007). Increasing numbers of women are attaining a post-secondary education. Uppal and LaRochelle-Côté (2014) have indicated that in 2011 more employed women than

men aged 25 to 34 had a university degree (40% of women vs. 27% of men); while in 1992, the proportions were roughly the same (19% of women vs. 17% of men). With increased educational levels, women are filling more occupations in Canada. In addition, more and more families in Canada rely on women's incomes to live their lives. Increasingly, women in dual-earner families are the primary earners: In 2008, about 29% of wives in Canadian dual-earner families earned more than their husbands (Williams, 2010). The labour and expertise that women have to contribute to industrialized societies have become a necessity for Canada and many European countries, where fertility rates are lower than in the US (Korabik et al., 2011). Indeed, the employment rate for women in Canada has increased and remained high since the 1970s. Data released by Statistics Canada (2015) show that the employment rate for women 25 years and older was 57.5% in 2015. This proportion is much higher than in the 1970s, when less than half (43%) of women were employed (Statistics Canada, 2015).

More dual-earner families. As more and more women in Canada have entered the labour force, the proportion of dual-earner families has increased. Marshall (2009) has reported that the proportion of couples with both spouses employed rose from 4 in 10 in the mid-1970s to around 7 in 10 in 2008. Since then, the proportion has been relatively unchanged. According to Statistics Canada (2014), the proportion of dual-earner couple families was 62.5% in 2012, which has not changed a lot compared to 63.8% in 2008.

Work-family balance in Canada. Work-family balance is a matter of concern in Canada. Achieving a balance between home life and work life is becoming increasingly a priority for many people. Based on the 2012 National Study on Balancing Work and

Caregiving in Canada, it was found that only 23% of employed people were highly satisfied with life (O'Kane, 2012). For employed mothers, work-family balance has always been a concern (Marshall, 2009). Ball and Daly (2012) have demonstrated that work-family balance and opportunities for greater involvement with their children is an increasing concern for fathers, especially among younger and more educated men.

According to an Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) survey in 2014, the lack of balance between work and family is a challenge for the Canadian government since lack of work-family balance not only lowers individuals' welfare but also slows development in the country. Some parents cannot afford to stop working when they want to have more children, while other parents do not have time to work more hours when they are happy with the number of children in their family (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2014).

Objectives of the Present Study

The current study will focus exclusively on dual-earner families. Although single-parent families and dual-earner families are among the most likely to face the challenge of balancing work and family life (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001; Nomaguchi, 2012), dual-earner families form the majority of Canadian families as more and more women in Canada have entered the labour force (Marshall, 2009). Therefore, the current study will focus on work-family balance in dual-earner families with children in Canada. Furthermore, since one the aims of the current study is to test the association between work-family balance and quality time with children, families with at least one child will be included in this study.

The research objectives guiding this study are to: (a) describe the association between quality time with children and parents' work-family balance among Canadian dual-earner parents, and (b) to understand the effects of age of the youngest child, parent's gender, and parent's age on the association between work-family balance and quality time with children. These objectives address the gap in our knowledge on the relationship between time spent with children and work-family balance in the Canadian context.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literature review begins with an overview of predictors of work-family balance. Following the section on predictors, the association between time with children and work-family balance is reviewed. Considering the purpose of the current study, the moderating effects of age and gender on the association between work-family balance and time with children are discussed next. Five hypotheses are formulated based on the literature. Finally, research purposes and the theory underlying the current study are presented.

Predictors of Work-Family Balance

In this section, predictors of work-family balance are reviewed and categorized into three groups: work characteristics, family characteristics, and personal characteristics.

Work characteristics. The effect of work characteristics on work-family balance has been well studied in previous literature.

Flexible schedule. Previous research has found that having a flexible schedule has a positive association with work-family balance. Hill, Hawkins, Ferris, and Weitzman (2001) found that employees who had flexible schedules were much more likely to experience work-family balance than those who did not have flexible schedules (46% versus 28%). In addition, using the Survey of Living Conditions conducted in 2003 by Statistics Norway, Olsen and Dahl (2010) found that both male and female employees who did not have flexible schedules were less likely to have work-family balance than those who did. These authors also found that having a flexible schedule had no effect on individuals' work-family balance when they worked regular hours. They explained that this result might be because employees

in Norway already have enough flexibility in their work schedules. Furthermore, based on interviews with 15 full-time employees in the Netherlands, Galea, Houkes, and De Rijk (2014) found that flexible working hours were extremely important for work-family balance of employees with children. However, using Statistics Canada's 1998 and 2005 General Social Survey (GSS), Duncan and Pettigrew (2012) found a strong positive association between having a flexible schedule and work-family balance for women, but not for men in dual-earner families with children. It may be that having a flexible schedule is more beneficial for primary caregivers (in most cases, women) since they are more likely than their partners to change their schedules depending on family demands (Duncan & Pettigrew, 2012). As well, using data from the Age & Generations Study in the US, McNamara, Pitt-Catsouphes, Matz-Costa, Brown, and Valcour (2013) have noted that flexible scheduling is a useful workplace policy, but only when the employees know there is no potential adverse effect on their job for using flexible schedules.

Shift work. A large number of studies have indicated that shift work affects workers' perceptions of work-family balance. For example, using the 1992 survey from the National Study of the Changing Workforce, Tausig and Fenwick (2001) found that regular Monday to Friday day workers had greater work-family balance than non-regular shift workers. In addition, using Statistics Canada GSS data, Williams (2008) found that regular daytime workers and regular evening workers had the highest odds of being satisfied with their work-life balance since they had regular work schedules, and they were able to plan other personal and family activities based on their schedules, while irregular shift workers and on call or casual workers were the least satisfied. Similar to this finding, Olsen and Dahl (2010)

found that irregular work hours decreased employees' work-family balance. As well, Duncan and Pettigrew (2012) found that non-standard shift work decreased the odds of satisfaction with work-family balance for men, but not for women.

Self-employment. Georges, Méda, and Trancart (2010) found that self-employment status has a strong negative effect on men's work-family balance. Similarly, in quantitative work using nationally representative data, Duncan and Pettigrew (2012) found that self-employment decreased the odds of satisfaction with work-family balance for men but not for women. However, a recent qualitative study found a different result. Based on interviews with 22 parents who were self-employed and had at least one dependent child, Hilbrecht and Lero (2014) explored how self-employed people experience work-family balance and found that most participants believed self-employment helps them with achieving work-family balance.

Work from home. Based on online questionnaires and face-to-face interviews with nearly 100 tablet users in the US, Stawarz, Cox, Bird, & Benedyk (2013) found that technological products, like tablets, enabled people to work at home and blurred the boundary between work and personal demands, which had the potential to damage work-family balance. However, based on interviews with 34 young professionals in the UK, Sturges (2012) found that some of the participants used strategies like working at home to help them to achieve work-family balance.

Part-time work. Using a sample of 807 Dutch employees, Peters, Den Dulk, and van der Lippe (2009) found that part-time employees experienced better work-life balance than full-time employees. This finding is consistent with previous literature: Part-time

employment can help women to achieve work-family balance (Warren & Walters, 1998), although part-time jobs are more likely to be lower level occupations and have lower pay rates than full-time jobs (Warren, 2004). In contrast, Tausig and Fenwick (2001) found that part-time employees reported less work-life balance compared to full-time employees when controlling for paid work hours. These authors explained that this result might be because while part-time work enables employees to devote more time to family, it also brings financial and career costs that might diminish this advantage.

Paid work hours. The negative association between work-family balance and paid work hours has been well supported by previous research. Hill et al. (2001) found that long paid work hours decreased the likelihood of employees' work-family balance. Similarly, Tausig and Fenwick (2001) found that the degree of work-family balance declined sharply with increasing hours worked per week. Using the 1998 Canadian GSS, Frederick and Fast (2001) found that individuals who spent less time on paid work were more satisfied with work-family balance than those who spent more time on paid work. In a study using nationally representative data in the US, Keene and Quadagno (2004) found a negative association between paid work hours and work-family balance. MacDonald, Phipps, and Lethbridge (2005) found that for both women and men, paid work hours significantly reduced satisfaction with work-life balance. Milkie, Kendig, et al. (2010) analyzed time diary and survey data from the 2000-2001 American National Survey of Parents (NSP). They found a similar result: Paid work hours were negatively associated with satisfaction with work-family balance. As well, McNamara et al. (2013) found a negative association between paid work hours and work-family balance. However, Marks, Huston, Johnson, and MacDermid (2001)

found that wives' work-family balance was positively associated with total work hours and negatively associated with weekend total work hours. Nevertheless, this was not the case for their husbands, whose work-family balance was negatively associated with paid work hours.

Workplace support. Having a family-supportive supervisor (Greenhaus, Ziegert, & Allen, 2012; McNamara et al., 2013) and supportive coworkers (Ferguson, Carlson, Zivnuska, & Whitten, 2012) have been positively related to work-family balance. Although workplace work-family balance policies can provide flexible work time for employees, some researchers have suggested that these policies have not led to balance between work and family life because of gender-related issues. For example, Burnett, Gatrell, Cooper and Sparrow (2010) have indicated that work-family balance policies enable more mothers than fathers to work flexibly since policy makers failed to acknowledge social change in the paternal parenting role. However, some studies have found that the majority of those who used flextime were men, and men were more likely to have a flexible work schedule than women (Golden, 2008; Sharpe, Hermsen, & Billings, 2002). Although there is no unified conclusion on whether men or women have more access to family-friendly policies such as flextime, it has been found that men had lower intentions to seek flexible work schedules than women (Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson, & Siddiqi, 2013).

Other work-related characteristics. There are other work-related characteristics that have been found to be related to work-family balance: nature of the work, job position, and job complexity. Tausig and Fenwick (2001) found that blue collar workers report greater work-family balance compared to professionals. Frederick and Fast (2001) found that women in professional and managerial jobs had only half the odds of being satisfied with

work-family balance compared to women in unskilled jobs. Georges et al. (2010) found that working in the public sector had a positive influence on work-life balance, whereas working in the private sector had a negative influence on balance. McNamara et al. (2013) found that those who were in supervisory or salaried positions had higher satisfaction with work-family balance than those who were not in supervisory or salaried positions. McNamara et al. (2013) also found that employees who had higher job complexity, that is, higher levels of stimulating demands in the worker's job, had higher satisfaction with work-family balance since people in jobs with higher complexity tend to have more skills and psychological resources for managing work and family demands. Wu, Rusyidi, Claiborne, and McCarthy (2013) found that among child welfare workers, greater job value (that is, appreciating the value of child welfare work) positively predicted work-family balance.

Family characteristics. In terms of family characteristics, only a few family characteristics have been found to be significant predictors of individuals' perceptions of work-family balance. Although family characteristics have been expected to be essential for influencing work-family balance, research in this field has mainly focused on work characteristics (Milkie, Kendig, et al., 2010).

Income. Income has been found to be negatively associated with work-family balance. For example, Duncan and Pettigrew (2012) found that household income was negatively associated with work-family balance for women; Wu et al. (2013) found that low income was significantly associated with high work-family balance among child welfare workers. Wu et al. (2013) suggested that the negative impact of high income on work-family balance may be due to the relationship between income and position and job responsibilities. People with

higher incomes (usually supervisors) undertake much more job responsibility and more pressure than their subordinates, which is the factor that may decrease high income earners' work-family balance (Wu et al., 2013). In addition, Marks et al. (2001) found that husbands' work-family balance was positively related to their income, whereas wives' work-family balance was negatively related to financial strain. Marks et al. (2001) explained that for husbands, earning more income helps them to hold the position as a central family provider, therefore income contributes positively to work-family balance for husbands; whereas wives, who were not viewed as central family providers by themselves and society, worried more about transforming their husbands' income into family goods, for instance buying food, than did their husbands. Therefore, for the wives, financial strain was more important than income for their work-family balance.

Time with children. Milkie, Kendig, et al. (2010) found that time spent in routine childcare activities was negatively associated with parents' work-family balance, whereas time spent in interactive activities such as talking, reading, and playing was positively associated with parents' work-family balance. However, this positive effect was only for mothers, but not for fathers: time spent in interactive activities was not related to fathers' work-family balance. On the contrary, Marks et al. (2001) found that time with children had a negative effect on wives' work-family balance, but not on husbands' balance. Marks et al. (2001) also found that the time husbands spent with their children when wives are not present had a positive effect on wives' work-family balance.

Presence and number of children. Presence and number of children have been found to affect working parents' experience of work-family balance. Tausig & Fenwick (2001) found

that dual-earner couples with no children reported greater work-life balance than single and married parents. Using data collected from 179 employed individuals in the US, Clark (2001) found that work-family balance was lower when employees had a large number of children. A quantitative study using 1998 Canadian GSS data found that both mothers and fathers were less likely to be satisfied with work-family balance than women and men without children (Frederick & Fast, 2001). Olsen and Dahl (2010) found that parents with young children perceived work-family balance to be more difficult than did individuals with no children. However, some previous studies (Marks et al., 2001; Tomer et al., 2015) found that having children had no significant effects on parents' work-family balance.

Children's age. Results on the association between children's age and parents' work-family balance are mixed. One assumption is that work-family balance becomes easier as children grow, especially when they reach high school age since they require less child care from their parents (Bell, Finch, Valle, Sainsbury, & Skinner, 2005). This assumption has been supported by Georges et al. (2010): They found that those women who had a child younger than three years old were less likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance than those who had an older child. Other evidence can be found to support the position that work-family balance is positively associated with children's age: McNamara et al. (2013) used data from a survey of employees of nine organizations in the US and found that having older children increased the likelihood of being satisfied with work-family balance for parents. However, in a study that explored the association between parental satisfaction with work-family balance and children's age, Craig and Sawrikar (2008) found no significant difference between parents with children 6-10 years and parents with children 11-14 years old.

Additionally, Duncan and Pettigrew (2012) also found that age of the youngest child did not affect the odds of being satisfied with work-family balance for both mothers and fathers.

Other family-related characteristics. Children's well-being, partner's support, and partner's work characteristics have been found to be related to work-family balance in previous research. Milkie, Kendig, et al. (2010) found that the better the children's well-being, the more satisfied their parents felt with work-family balance. Having a supportive partner has been found to be positively related to work-family balance (Ferguson et al., 2012). In addition, Williams (2008) found that for full-time day workers, those with a spouse who worked part time or who was not in the labour force were more likely to be satisfied with work-family balance than those with a spouse who also worked full time. For full-time shift workers, those with a spouse who worked full-time were more likely to be satisfied with work-family balance than those with a spouse who worked part time or was not in the labour force (Williams, 2008). However, in Duncan and Pettigrew's (2012) study, the spouse's part- or full-time work status and paid work hours were not associated with the individual's work-family balance. In addition, using an electronic survey of 303 respondents in North America, Tomer et al. (2015) found that there was no significant association between the spouse's flexible schedule and the individual's work-family balance.

Personal characteristics. A number of previous studies have looked at the effects of personal characteristics on work-family balance.

Gender. Gender affects how people perceive work-family balance. A recent study found that women were more likely to be dissatisfied with their work-life balance than men: Among

women, the odds of dissatisfaction with work-family balance were nearly twice those of men (Tomer et al., 2015).

Frederick and Fast (2001) found that women who were satisfied with work-family balance spent less time on both paid and unpaid work than those who were dissatisfied; however, for men, only paid work hours were negatively associated with their work-family balance. In addition, Frederick and Fast (2001) found that although enjoyment of doing housework increased the likelihood of being satisfied with work-family balance for women, this enjoyment increased the likelihood of feeling time pressure for men. Furthermore, women in higher level jobs were much less likely to be satisfied with work-family balance than women in unskilled jobs. However, this was not the case for men, whose satisfaction with work-family balance was not influenced by job levels (Frederick & Fast, 2001).

Keene and Quadagno (2004) examined predictive factors of women and men's work-family balance. They found that although women and men experienced similar levels of balance, they experienced balance in gendered ways: Women reported less balance when they gave priority to paid work, whereas men reported less balance when they sacrificed their personal time for family demands.

Using the 1998 Statistics Canada GSS, Cycle 12, MacDonald et al. (2005) found that women who were self-employed or worked a part-time job were more satisfied with work-family balance than those who worked a full-time job. However, this was not the case for men, whose satisfaction with work-family balance was significantly reduced by additional housework hours and irregular shifts; in addition, hours spent on childcare significantly reduced women's work-family balance, but not men's (MacDonald et al., 2005). Peters et al.

(2009) found that both part-time work and flexible work time increased women's work-family balance while only part-time jobs increased men's work-family balance.

Georges et al. (2010) found that women had the highest rate of dissatisfaction with work-family balance when they were alone and had extensive working hours, while men had the highest rate of dissatisfaction when both spouses worked over 40 hours per week. Milkie, Kendig et al. (2010) found that interactive quality time with children was positively associated with mothers' feelings of work-family balance more than fathers'.

Duncan and Pettigrew (2012) found that satisfaction with their work-family balance was negatively associated with household income for women, but not for men; self-employment and shift work were negatively related to work-family balance for men, but not for women. Duncan and Pettigrew (2012) also found that women's satisfaction with their work-family balance was positively associated with enjoyment of both paid and domestic work and having a flexible schedule. This was not the case for men, whose work-family balance was positively associated only with enjoyment of paid work.

Age. Previous studies have shown that older employees were more likely to achieve work-family balance than younger employees (Tausig & Fenwick, 2001; McNamara et al., 2013). Similarly, Georges et al. (2010) found that young employees (between 25 and 30 years of age) were more dissatisfied with work-family balance compared to older employees.

Health. Frederick and Fast (2001) found that employees' self-assessed health status was positively associated with their work-family balance. McNamara et al. (2013) found that employees' better mental health and physical health were related to higher work-family balance.

Education. Tausig and Fenwick (2001) found that work-family balance was greater among those with less than a high school degree than those with a bachelor's degree or higher level of education. Duncan and Pettigrew (2012) found that satisfaction with work-family balance was significantly but negatively associated with educational attainment for both men and women: People with some post-secondary education were less likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance than people who had a high school diploma or less education. However, Milkie, Kendig, et al. (2010) found no relationship between education and work-family balance. Although most previous studies have suggested that people with high levels of education might be in occupations offering greater work flexibility (Sharpe et al., 2002), which is positively associated with work-family balance, the link between lower educational level and higher work-family balance may be due to those with university or advanced degrees being more likely than those with lower educational levels to have jobs that consume time and energy (Duncan & Pettigrew, 2012).

Unpaid work hours. Using the 1998 Statistics Canada GSS, Frederick and Fast (2001) found that individuals who spent less time on unpaid work were more satisfied with their work-family balance than those who spent more time on unpaid work. Duncan and Pettigrew (2012) found that women who enjoyed unpaid work were more likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance than those who did not enjoy unpaid work.

Martial/family satisfaction. Marks et al. (2001) found a positive relationship between marital satisfaction and work-family balance. Similarly, Ferguson et al. (2012) found that marital satisfaction increased the likelihood of being satisfied with work-family balance.

They also found that work-family balance was positively related to family satisfaction of the partner.

Job satisfaction/enjoyment of paid and unpaid work. Frederick and Fast (2001) found that both women and men who enjoyed paid work were much more likely to be satisfied with work-family balance than those who did not enjoy it. Frederick and Fast (2001) also found that enjoyment of doing housework increased the likelihood of being satisfied with work-family balance for women. Ferguson et al. (2012) found that employees who had high job satisfaction levels were more likely to be satisfied with work-family balance than those who had low levels of job satisfaction. Duncan and Pettigrew (2012) found that women who enjoyed their paid work and unpaid work were more than eight times more likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance than those who did not.

Ethnicity. Ethnicity has rarely been examined in previous work-family balance research. In the limited research that has included this factor, no significant association has been found between ethnicity and work-family balance (Milkie, Kendig, et al., 2010; Wu et al., 2013).

Other individual characteristics. In one study, Marks et al. (2001) found that having a traditional gender attitude (that is, the man as provider and the woman as caretaker) was positively associated with work-family balance for women since a more traditional gender attitude is consistent with their gender role expectation. In addition, spending leisure time with friends has been found to help women to achieve work-family balance (Marks et al., 2001). However, egalitarian gender attitudes and spending leisure time with friends had no significant effect on men's work-family balance (Marks et al., 2001). In another study, an attitude of gender equality was found to be positively related to perceived supportiveness

from an employee's supervisor and a family-friendly work culture, which in turn were positively related to work-family balance (Lyness & Kropf, 2005).

Time with Children and Work-Family Balance

Since the late 1990s, around 70 percent of Canadian families with dependent children at home have been dual-earner families; over the past 30 years, the proportion of dual-earner families has increased among not only families with older children, but also families with preschool children (Marshall, 2009). Indeed, families with young dependent children have a great deal to do, especially when both parents are employed (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001).

Spending time on child-related activities sometimes can be difficult for parents; for instance, Larson and Richards (1994) found that parents complained that their child-related housework was burdensome. However, spending time with children can also benefit parents' well-being. Some scholars view family time as an opportunity for parents to relax themselves, relieve the pressures of everyday life, and replenish themselves (Larson & Richards, 1994). Research has shown parents' feelings of whether they are satisfied with the amount of time they spend with their children are significantly related to higher levels of parents' well-being (Nomaguchi, Milkie, & Bianchi, 2005). In addition, Milkie, Kendig et al. (2010) found that more parental time with children was associated with lower levels of work-family balance. Based on parents' self-reported satisfaction with the amount of time that they spent with children, Milkie, Kendig and colleagues (2010) found that parents who felt their time with children was either not enough or too much were less likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance while those who were very satisfied with the amount of time that they spent with children were the most satisfied with their work-family balance.

Spending time with children is important not only for parents, but for children as well. In a review article, Hindelang, Dwyer and Leeming (2001) found that parents' time spent with children reduced adolescents' risky behaviours such as substance abuse, sexual behavior, risky driving, violent behavior, and juvenile delinquency. Spending time with children has been found to not only reduce children's risky behaviours, but also to be beneficial for children's academic performance. For example, Khajehpour and Ghazvini (2011) found that students who have highly-involved parents (e.g., parents who go to school parents' meetings, talk with children about classes and friends, and engage in educational activities) were more likely to get high scores on exams than those who have low-involvement parents. Similar to this finding, Youn, Leon, and Lee (2012) found that there was an association between children's educational development and mother's number of working hours. They found that since part-time employed mothers were involved more in school participation and parent-child interaction than full-time employed mothers, their children exhibited an advantage in academic learning.

In addition, the positive effect of parental time inputs on children's cognitive development has been widely analyzed (e.g., Bernal, 2008; Hill, Waldfogel, Brooks-Gunn, & Han, 2005; Ruhm, 2008). Furthermore, some studies have indicated that parents have a significant influence on adolescents' emotional well-being (Reinfjell, Hjemdal, Aune, Vikan, & Diseth, 2008). For example, Desha, Nicholson and Ziviani (2011) found that spending time with parents was associated with adolescents' depression: Adolescents who spent more time with parents perceived their parents to be more accepting and reported less depressive symptoms compared to those who spent less time with parents.

Quantity versus quality time. As mentioned earlier, a positive association has been found between time with children and parents' work-family balance. However, the type of activity that parents create with their children moderates the association between work-family balance and time with children. As Garey (1999) noted, although the total quantity of time that parents spent with children is important, the quality of time and the activities parents create with their children also matters for parents to be regarded as responsible parents in western countries. According to Christensen (2002), quality time is seen as "parents engaging with their children in particular activities or outdoor excursions that create and maintain family enjoyment, care and togetherness" (p. 77). Milkie, Kendig and colleagues (2010) found that more time in routine childcare activities such as feeding or bathing children, putting them to bed, or providing medical care was negatively related to work-family balance for both mothers and fathers, whereas time spent in quality interactive activities such as helping, teaching, and playing was positively related to balance for mothers. A recent study found that for mothers, having meals together and doing leisure activities with children are beneficial to mothers' emotional well-being while routine childcare is associated with mothers' increased stress (Offer, 2014).

Sayer, Bianchi, and Robinson (2004) used U.S. time-use diary data and found that children of employed mothers in 1998 spent more time with their mothers than the average child in 1965, when most mothers did not participate in paid labour. More specifically, they found that from 1965 to 1998, mothers reported decreasing time in routine child care and increasing time in interactive activities with children; fathers, on the other hand, although they still reported less time with children than mothers, reported increasing participation in

routine child care as well as in more interactive activities with children. Using the time use data from the 1986, 1998 and 2010 GSS, Marshall (2011) found in each of these years Canadian women spent more time on average taking care of children than men did on average.

Milkie, Kendig, and colleagues (2010) gave some examples of quality time. These quality time activities include "eating family meals, playing, reading together, and working on homework or other projects" (p. 1331). Other experts have their own definitions about quality time with children. For example, Spock and Needlman (2012) defined quality time as interactions between parent and child during day-to-day activities that are close, nurturing, and lovingly responsive. Online resources also promote the idea of quality time with children; for example, a web site aimed at working parents has endorsed the idea that quality time should be relaxing and include fun family activities, such as pajama walks and taco nights (Rotbart, 2012).

Garey (1999) found that employed mothers' feeling of work-family balance largely depended on if the mothers thought they spent enough quality time with their children. Spending quality time with children could help mothers feel better about fulfilling their maternal responsibilities, and therefore feel more balance between work and family life (Garey, 1999).

However, Lasch (1998) has indicated that some parents believe that instead of focusing on quality time, parents should spend plenty of time with their children. Christensen (2002) found that children have different interpretations of quality time from parents: Children define quality time as breaks from the normal family routine, whereas parents believe quality

time is the harmonious experience of family time. Spock and Needlman (2012) also indicate that any routine activity can be an occasion for close, nurturing, and lovingly responsive interactions. According to Spock and Needlman (2012), "children need to simply be around their parents, watching them in action, learning from their day-to-day example, and knowing they are an important part of their lives" (Time with Your Child section, para. 2). Therefore, they suggest that parents should spend plenty of time with their children, as long as it does not damage parents' personal needs.

Subjective versus objective time. Previous research has looked at the effect of both subjective feelings of time with children and objective time with children on work-family balance. Subjective feelings of time with children refers to whether parents think they have spent enough time with their children, whereas objective time with children refers to the actual amount of time that parents spend with their children. Milkie and colleagues (2004) found that parents' self-reported satisfaction with time with children sometimes did not correspond to the actual amount of time parents spent with their children. Since parents may have different standards and expectations as to how much time they need to spend with their children, some parents were not satisfied with the amount of time they spent with their children even though they reported spending more time in routine childcare and interactive activities with their children than other parents.

In terms of measures of objective and subjective time, Milkie, Kendig et al. (2010) collected the quantity of time that parents engaged in routine childcare activities such as preparing food and feeding children, bathing children, putting children to bed, transporting children to places, and providing personal care. For quality time with children, Milkie,

Kendig et al. (2010) collected the quantity of time that parents engaged in interactive activities with children, such as playing games with children, talking about school and friends with children, reading books with children, and helping with homework. To measure subjective feelings about time with children, participants were asked if they were satisfied with the amount of time that they spent with their children: "Do you think you spend about the right amount of time with your child(ren) in a typical week? too much, or too little?"

Since previous research is inconclusive on whether it is quality or quantity of time with children that matters more for being a good parent, I formulate two competing hypotheses: Parents who spend more quality time with children are more likely to be satisfied with work-family balance than parents who spend less quality time with children *(H1: Quality Time with Children Hypothesis)* and parents who spend a higher quantity of time with children are more likely to be satisfied with work-family balance than parents who spend a lower quantity of time with children *(H2: Total Time with Children Hypothesis)*.

The Moderating Effects of Gender and Age Group

Children's age. The main burden of childcare and associated housework occurs when children are very young and diminishes as they grow up (Craig & Bittman, 2008). According to Craig and Sawrikar (2009), because of infants' age-related needs, they require the most intensive attention and much time from their parents. This point of view has been supported by many studies. For example, Silver (2000) noted that both mothers and fathers spent more time with younger children than with older children. Feeding young children, washing, dressing, and playing is extremely energy consuming when taking care of children under age 5; other forms of childcare, for instance, teaching and talking, appeared as children grow to

ages 5 to 8. However, these childcare activities cost parents less time and energy than taking care of younger children; when children were aged 9 to 12, parents spent even less time on childcare (Silver, 2000). Data from Statistics Canada (2010) also has indicated that the younger the children, the more time parents spend with them. For example, for children aged 4 years or younger, parents spent 2 hours 49 minutes per day on average taking care of them while parents of children aged 5 to 12 spent 1 hour 16 minutes on average.

Previous literature has indicated that mothers of older children were more likely to report being employed than mothers of younger children (Craig, 2007). Younger children are more likely to have a non-employed parent. For example, Fox, Han, Ruhm and Waldfogel (2013) found that 40% of children under the age of 5 had a parent home full-time and full-year compared with only 29% of children aged 12 to 17 years. Having young children also increased individuals' time spent with their families. Employed people who have a young child (younger than 5 years) in the household have been found to devote more time to family than workers living with a spouse but no child (Turcotte, 2007).

Children's age has an impact on the gender division of household labour: Fathers seem to have greater participation in taking care of older children. Craig and Sawrikar (2009) analyzed data from the Bureau of Statistics' Time Use Survey and the Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey, and found that although women have more responsibilities in taking care of children than men when children are very young, men and women tend to share the caring responsibilities equally when children grow older. However, the gender equality trend was due to less unpaid work and more control over time, which

enabled women to recalibrate their own balance between work and family life, rather than to unpaid housework being redistributed between mother and father (Craig & Sawrikar, 2009).

Huffman, Culbertson, Henning, and Goh (2013) have indicated that having young children at home increases family responsibilities, which is likely to contribute to higher levels of work-family conflict. In their study, Huffman et al. (2013) found that age of youngest child was significantly related to family-to-work conflict. In addition, Anafarta and Kuruüzüm (2012) found that women with children at pre-school and school age were more likely to experience family-to-work conflict than women with children at post-school age.

As children grow, childcare demands decrease, and the time parents spend with their children decreases as well (Statistics Canada, 2010). Thus, parents who have a younger child may be more likely to feel the responsibility to spend time with children than parents who have older children. Therefore, I hypothesize that the positive effect of time with children on work-family balance is stronger for parents of younger children than parents of older children (*H3: Children's Age and Work-Family Balance Hypothesis*).

Parents' age. According to Carrière and Galarneau (2011), the employment rate of Canadian older workers (aged 55 and over) has increased significantly in recent years. More specifically, between 1997 and 2010, the rate of employed male older workers increased from 30.5% to 39.4% while the employment rate of older Canadian women increased from 15.8% to 28.6%. Carrière and Galarneau (2011) have indicated that the upward trend in the employment rate of those 55 and over may due to several reasons: boomers (born between the years 1946 and 1964) have higher levels of educational attainment, which enables them to do skilled jobs; the downward trend coverage rate of pension plans could lead to financial

insecurity, which then leads to older employees wanting to stay in the labour force longer; and the tightening of the labour market due to incoming smaller cohorts, so younger workers are not able to replace older workers. Other reasons were also mentioned by Carrière and Galarneau (2011), for instance, older people are able to do more types of work than in the past since work is becoming less physically demanding due to technological advances. The latest data from Statistics Canada (2015) show that at the end of 2014, 40% of men aged 55 years and over were employed while 29.6% of Canadian women in the same age group were employed.

A growing body of literature has aimed to find the dynamic association between age and work-family conflict, since older workers' decisions as to when to retire from the workforce largely depend on how they experience work-family conflicts (Hill, Erickson, Fellows, Martinengo, & Allen, 2014). Baltes and Young (2007) have indicated that when dealing with work-family demands, older workers may act differently from younger workers. Baltes and Young (2007) noted that older workers were less likely to experience the family role demand of caring for dependent young children.

Hill and colleagues (2014) explored how older workers (age 55+) differed from middle-aged (age 35-54) and younger workers (age < 35) in their experience of the work-family interface. They found that although older workers may have responsibilities for taking care of adolescent children and dependent elders at the same time, they reported significantly less work-to-family and family-to-work conflict, and more life success and work success than middle-aged and young workers. Hill et al. (2014) noted that the reason might be older workers have greater workplace flexibility than younger workers.

Previous literature has indicated that work-family conflict is related to age or life stage. Matthews, Bulger, and Barnes-Farrell (2010) found that older adults (age 46 and older) reported significantly lower work-to-family conflict than middle (age 29-45) and younger (age 28 and under) aged adults, while the adults at middle age reported significantly more family-to-work conflict than either of the other age groups. Matthews et al. (2010) also explored the moderating effect of age on the association between work-related social support (support from coworker and supervisor) and work-family conflict and found that the middle age group showed significantly stronger relationships between work social support and both work-to-family and family-to-work conflict as compared to the older age group.

Sterns and Huyck (2001) have indicated that older employees have more efficient coping strategies out of long-term practical experience than do younger employees, and these coping strategies help older employees manage family and paid work demands. Older parents may be less likely to let family demands, like spending quality time with children, affect work-family balance since they have rich experience and efficient coping strategies that could help them achieve balance between their paid work and family life. Therefore, I hypothesize that the positive effect of time with children on work-family balance is stronger for younger parents than for older parents (*H4: Parent's Age and Work-Family Balance Hypothesis*).

Parents' gender. A large number of previous studies have shown that despite women's high participation in the labour force, men spend much less time in unpaid work than women. For example, based on data from the Harmonized European Time Use Survey (HETUS) and the American Time Use Survey (ATUS), Folbre, Gornick, Connolly and Munzi (2013) found that men devote more time to paid work and women to household work and childcare. Sayer

and Gornick (2012) have indicated that although the rates of women's labour force participation have increased remarkably in the past half century, organization of labour in the family has not changed accordingly. In addition, Bianchi and Milkie (2010) found that although maternal employment over the past five decades has increased, the inequitable gender distribution of house work and childcare time has not disappeared.

However, the gap between how men and women allocate their time to paid and unpaid work has narrowed in the past few decades. According to Marshall (2011), in Canada, late baby boomer men in 1986 did 1.4 hours more of paid work per day than women on average, while the gap in paid work hours between men and women decreased to 1.1 hours in 2010. The gap also narrowed in terms of housework although women still do more than men. Marshall (2011) found that from 1986 to 2010, the gap between women and men in housework hours narrowed from 1.2 hours per day to just 0.4 hours per day. More specifically, women averaged 2.4 hours of housework per day and men averaged 1.5 hours in 1986 while in 2010, women averaged 1.9 hours and men averaged 1.6 hours. Marshall (2011) has indicated that time spent on housework narrowed between men and women mainly because women spent less time on housework rather than because men spent more time on housework.

In terms of how men and women share childcare responsibilities, using data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics Time Use Survey 1997, Craig (2006) found that employed mothers spend about double the time employed fathers spend in child care. In the same study, Craig (2006) also found that only 13% of fathers' child care time was without mothers being present. This finding suggests that fathers are not substituting for mothers as primary

caregivers of their children nor are they relieving women of responsibility for childcare. In addition, Craig and Mullan (2011) found that fathers in dual-earner families did more childcare than did fathers in male-breadwinner families, and fathers in dual-earner families adjusted their care time in response to their wives' workplace demands. Furthermore, Marshall (2011) found that for those Canadian employed mothers who have at least one child under the age of six, 74% of them spent 30 or more hours per week taking care of children, while only 33% of employed fathers spent the same amount of time taking care of children.

As mentioned above, although both fathers and mothers felt they had too little time with their children, men and women experience the challenges of combining work and family responsibilities in gendered ways (Voydanoff, 2007). For example, men may be more likely to define their paid labour as part of their parental responsibilities, whereas women may define their paid labour as impairing or compromising their role as a mother (Simon, 1992). Similar to this point of view, Nomaguchi and colleagues (2005) found that mothers' well-being was related to the perception of time shortage with children, but not fathers' well-being. Additionally, Craig (2006) has indicated that mothers' workforce participation patterns reflect their children's school hours. Craig (2006) found that women are willing to adjust their work hours or work shift as their family commitments change; whereas men's employment status tends to remain consistent over their life course.

In order to understand the effects of gender on work and family demands, some studies have used gender role-expectation theory. This theory reflects culturally and contemporary attitudes that indicate differences between men and women in terms of features of behaviour and expected behaviours, such as stereotypes regarding appropriate professions (Ridgeway &

Correll, 2004). Gender ideology is often categorized into three types: traditional, transitional, and egalitarian/contemporary (Hochschild, 1989). According to Hochschild (1989), the traditional gender ideology refers to the idea that men are primarily the breadwinners and women's main responsibility is housework and taking care of children, whereas the egalitarian/contemporary ideology argues for equal sharing of domestic and paid work responsibilities for men and women. The transitional gender ideology is somewhere on the continuum between the traditional and the egalitarian ideology. Gender role-expectations theory is based on traditional sociocultural role expectations. Gender role-expectations theory predicts that spending relatively more time on work in the opposite sex's domain may have greater effects on individuals' perceptions of work-family conflict than spending relatively more time at work in their own domain (Gutek, Searle, Klepa, & Schmitt, 1991). That is to say women who have a paid job and who are not mothers are more likely to experience work-family conflict than stay-at-home mothers, while men who devote relatively more time to taking care of children are more likely to feel conflict than traditional bread-winner fathers.

Based on telephone interviews of 437 full-time employees in Australia in 2008, Fujimoto, Azmat and Härtel (2013) found that women reported more work-to-family conflict than did men, while men reported more family-to-work conflict than did women. In a Spanish study which explored associations between family gender roles and parental guilt feelings, it was found that although there were similar levels of guilt feelings of not fulfilling their responsibilities in both fathers and mothers, men and women experience guilt differently: In men, guilt was related to not being able to carry out well their role as breadwinners, whereas

in women, guilt was related to not being available to their children (Mart ńez, Carrasco, Aza, Blanco, & Espinar, 2011).

Spending quality time together with children is linked with mothers' feelings of work-family balance more than fathers (Milkie, Kendig et al., 2010). In addition, as mentioned above, women reported less balance when they gave priority to paid work whereas men reported less balance when they sacrificed their personal time for family demands (Keene & Quadagno, 2004). Therefore, I hypothesize that the positive effect of time with children on work-family balance is stronger for mothers than for fathers (*H5: Parents' Gender and Work-Family Balance Hypothesis*).

Research Purpose of the Current Study

In contrast to existing research, which has concentrated overwhelmingly on conflict between work and family roles, the current study puts greater attention on work-family balance. In addition, although a large number of studies have explored predictive factors of work-family balance, most of these studies have focused on work characteristics; only a few of them have related work-family balance to family characteristics (Milkie, Kendig et al., 2010). In these limited studies, it is even rarer to locate a study that relates "time with children" with parents' work-family balance (Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinkley, 2005; Milkie, Kendig et al., 2010). Therefore, knowledge of how time with children influences employed parents' work-family balance is limited. In addition, abundant studies have tested gender and age differences on individuals' work-family balance. However, few of these studies have actually tested the moderating effects of gender and age on the association between work-family balance and time with children.

By assessing the association between work-family balance and time with children, I hope the current study can enhance the current understanding of work-family balance. In this study, I will examine the association between parental work-family balance and time with children by investigating whether this association is stronger when considering a wide range of parents' and children's ages and gender while controlling for other relevant variables (for framework see Figure 1).

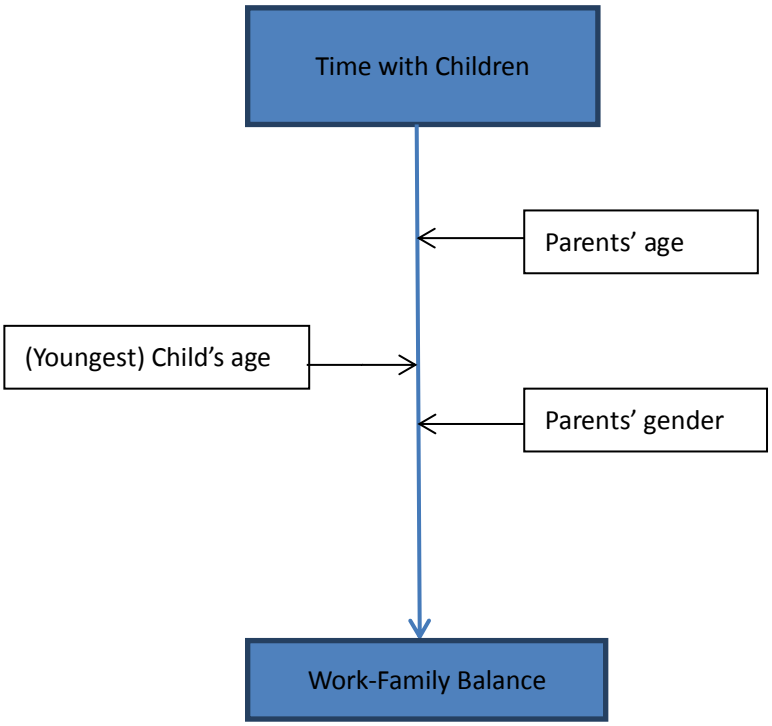

Figure 1. The framework: Moderating effects of age and gender for the association between time with children and work-family balance.

Theoretical Framework

The current study is guided by role theory, which is "a perspective in sociology and in social psychology that considers most of everyday activity to be the acting out of socially defined categories (e.g., mother, manager, teacher)" (Sesen, 2015, p. 139). Role theory argues

that individuals' behaviours can be predicted based on information about role expectations, and roles have a significant influence on individuals' behaviours, beliefs, and attitudes (Biddle, 1986). Individuals with different roles may experience different levels of work-family balance. However, when individuals have multiple roles -- such as parents in dual-earner families -- it is very hard for those parents to meet family and paid work demands at the same time.

Summary

In this chapter, literature on the predictors of work-family balance was reviewed. These predictors can be categorized into work characteristics, family characteristics, and personal characteristics. The association between time with children and work-family balance was elaborated, and five hypotheses based on the literature were presented. Role theory is useful for the study of time with children and its effects on parents' work-family balance. The first research objective of this study is to describe the association between time with children and parents' work-family balance; this objective leads to the hypotheses that work-family balance will be associated with quality time with children (H1) and total time with children (*H2*); the second research objective of this study is to understand the effects of gender and age on the association between work-family balance and time with children. This objective leads to the remaining three hypotheses: that positive effects of time with children on work-family balance are stronger for parents of younger children than parents of older children (*H3*), that positive effects of time with children on work-family balance are stronger for middle-aged parents and younger parents than for older parents (*H4*), and that positive effects of time with children on work-family balance are stronger for mothers than for fathers (*H5*).

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

In this chapter, the data set used in this study is presented. As well, the characteristics of the study sample are introduced. Measures of the dependent variables, independent variable, and methods for testing each of the hypotheses are discussed.

Data Source

A secondary analysis of data from the master file of the General Social Survey (GSS) 2010, Cycle 24, was performed through the Manitoba Research Data Centre. To access the master data file, an application was made to Statistics Canada.

The two central objectives of the General Social Survey are: "to gather data on social trends in order to monitor changes in the living conditions and well-being of Canadians over time; and to provide information on specific social policy issues of current or emerging interest" (Statistics Canada, 2011a). About every five years the GSS is focused on obtaining data relevant to the topic of time use. In 2010, the GSS focused on respondents' time devoted to different activities including unpaid work, paid work, education, sports activities, transportation and leisure; this data set enables researchers and other users to understand how Canadians spend and manage their time and what contributes to their well-being and stress (Statistics Canada, 2011a).

Data Collection and Participants

Data for Cycle 24 of the GSS were collected from January to December 2010. The sample was evenly distributed over the 12 months. A random digit dialling method was used for sample selection so that each telephone number had an equal chance of being selected

(Statistics Canada, 2011a). Computer assisted telephone interviewing was used to collect the data. Respondents were interviewed in the official language of their choice (Statistics Canada, 2011a).

The target population for the 2010 GSS was all non-institutionalized persons 15 years of age or older, living in the ten provinces of Canada. Residents of the Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut and full-time residents of institutions were excluded from the survey. The response rate for Cycle 24 of the GSS was 55.2%; 15,390 respondents provided usable information in their time diaries (proxy interviews were not permitted) (Statistics Canada, 2011a). The GSS time diary includes information on what the respondent did in the past 24 hours. For the 2010 GSS, the diary started at 4:00 in the morning when most people are expected to be asleep. The respondents were asked to report the nature of activities they engaged in and were asked related questions regarding the length of each activity, the location and who the respondent was with (Statistics Canada, 2011a).

Study Sample

For the purposes of the current study, a subsample of dual-earner families was taken from the original sample. In addition, since time with children is one of the important factors that influence work-family balance, families with at least one child were included in the subsample. Therefore, 1,440 respondents representing 3,428,914 Canadians who were employed full-time or part-time in the last 12 months, were aged 18-65, had a spouse or partner who worked full-time or part-time in the last 12 months, and had at least one child under the age of 18 in the household were included in the subsample.

Study Measures

In this section, the included variables are classified as either dependent or independent variables. Measures of all the included variables in the current study are presented.

Dependent variable.

Work-family balance. In the GSS (Cycle 24), a single question was used to assess people's experience of work-family balance. This question asks: "How satisfied are you with the balance between your job and home life?" (Statistics Canada, 2009, p. 84). Participants chose from five response options: (1) very satisfied, (2) satisfied, (3) neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, (4) dissatisfied, and (5) very dissatisfied. Respondents who answered (4) or (5) were asked to answer a question as to why they were dissatisfied; therefore, in the current study, respondents who answered (1), (2), or (3) (20.8%, 49.5%, and 16.4% of the sample, respectively) were considered to be satisfied with their work-family balance whereas those who answered (4) or (5) (11.5% and 1.5%, respectively) were considered to be dissatisfied with their work-family balance. Respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance were assigned a score of one, and those who were dissatisfied were assigned a score of zero.

Independent variables.

In the current study, the key independent variable is time with children. In addition, other work-related, family-related, and personal variables are control variables. Note that since the respondents who reported "don't know" or "refusal" was less than 5% for all variables except for family income, the missing values were excluded from the analysis.

Time with children. Both the total quantity of time with children and the quantity of quality time with children were assessed. Total quantity of time with children is a derived variable in the Cycle 24 GSS; it sums the total duration (in minutes) for child care by the respondent over the last 24 hours. Total quantity of time with children includes the total duration of 18 childcare-related activities (see Appendix A).

For the purpose of the present study, another variable was developed: the quantity of quality time with children; this variable represents the amount of quality time (in minutes) with children over the last 24 hours. "Quality time" is a term that largely depends on subjective perception. Based on Christensen's (2002) perspective, quality time with children is seen as "parents engaging with their children in particular activities or outdoor excursions that create and maintain family enjoyment, care and togetherness" (p. 77). Six of the 18 childcare-related activities included in total quantity of time with children were included in the new variable, the quantity of quality time with children: helping/teaching/reprimanding children, reading with children, talking/conversation with children, playing with children, emotional care of children, and other educational help for children (see activities marked with an * in Appendix A). The number of minutes of total child care time and quality time were used as continuous measures.

Work-related independent variables. In previous studies, work-related variables have been found to be related to work-family balance. Therefore, I included work arrangements and paid work time as control variables. The respondent's work arrangements initially consisted of five dichotomous variables: having a flexible schedule, shift work, self-employment, part-time employment, and work from home. For respondents' *flexible*

schedule, respondents were asked to report if their schedules allowed them to choose the time at which the work day begins and ends. Respondents who answered "yes" were coded one, all others were coded zero. For respondents who did *shift work*, those who worked a regular daytime shift were coded one, all others were coded zero. Respondents who were *self-employed* were coded one, all others were coded zero. Respondents who had *part-time employment* were coded one, all others were coded zero. However, part-time work was removed from the analyses since there was a low cell count in the dissatisfied with work-family balance category. For *work from home*, respondents were asked if they did some or all of their paid work at home. Respondents who answered "yes" were coded one, all others were coded zero.

For *paid work time*, respondents were asked how many hours of paid work they performed in the past week. The number of hours of paid work was used as a continuous measure.

Family-related independent variables. Some family characteristics have been found to be predictors of work-family balance in previous research. Therefore, I included several family characteristics as control variables.

Household income. Respondents were asked to report their annual household income. Because those who answered "not stated" or "don't know" represented nearly 15% of the respondents to this question, the responses were recoded into three dummy variables: $92,300 or less, more than $92,300, and not reported. Respondents who reported income of $92,300 or less were coded one on the $92,300 or less dummy variable, all others were coded zero; respondents who reported personal income of more than $92,300 were coded one on the more

than $92,300 dummy variable, all others were coded zero; respondents who did not state their income or who reported “don’t know” were coded one on the not reported dummy variable, all others were coded zero. The variable cut-off of $92,300 was chosen because it was the value of the average family income of dual-earner families with at least one child in Canada in 2010 (Statistics Canada, 2013).

Number of children. I controlled for number of children living in the home. Respondents were asked the number of children under the age of 18 in the household. This variable was included in the analysis as a continuous variable.

Age of youngest child. This variable was included in the analysis as a continuous variable. For this question, respondents were asked to provide the age of the youngest child in the household.

Spouse’s paid work time. Respondents were asked how many hours their partner spends on paid work per week. This variable was included in the analysis as a continuous variable.

Personal independent variables. In previous studies, personal characteristics have had significant effects on individual’s work-family balance. Therefore, controlling for personal characteristics in the models was necessary.

Parent’s gender. This variable is measured by self-reported gender of parents and is a dichotomous variable. Men were assigned a code of one, and women were assigned a code of zero.

Parent’s age. This variable was included in the analysis as a continuous variable. For this question, respondents were asked to provide their age at the time of the survey.

Health. Health was measured by asking participants to assess their health in general using a single-item self-rated health measure. The responses were recoded to create a dummy variable where those reporting their health as excellent, very good, or good were coded one and considered to have "good" health, and those reporting their health as fair or poor were coded zero and considered to have "poor" health.

Education. Participants' education was measured by participants' self-reported highest level of education attained based on five categories of education: (1) doctorate/masters/bachelor's degree, (2) diploma/certificate from community college or trade/technical school, (3) some university/community college, (4) high school diploma, and (5) some secondary/elementary/no schooling. Three dummy variables were created: a bachelor's degree or higher education, some post-secondary education, and a high school diploma or less education. For the variable bachelor's degree or higher education, respondents who responded (1) were coded one, and all others were coded zero; for the variable some post-secondary education, respondents who responded (2) or (3) were coded one, and all others were coded zero; and for the variable high school diploma or less education, respondents who responded (4) or (5) were coded one, and all others were coded zero. A high school diploma or less education was the reference group in the multivariate analyses.

Immigration status. Respondents were asked if they were now, or had ever been, a landed immigrant in Canada. Respondents who answered "yes" were coded one, all others were coded zero.

Unpaid work time. Respondents were asked how many hours of unpaid work (unpaid housework, yard work or home maintenance for their household) they performed in the past week. The number of hours of unpaid work was used as a continuous measure.

Other independent variables. Diary day, the type of day on which the data were collected, was included as a control variable. Respondents who reported their time use on a weekday were coded one, and those who reported time use on a weekend were coded zero.

Data Analysis

All the analyses were based on weighted data. Statistics Canada cautions users of the time use data against performing analyses and releasing results performed on unweighted survey results (Statistics Canada, 2011a). As the bootstrap weights are only available in the GSS master data file, I accessed the master data file through the Manitoba Research Data Centre where the analyses and bootstrapping were conducted utilizing STATA 14.0. It is important to note that since STATA 14.0 does not provide the Phi correlation test, which was needed to assess correlation among the variables, SPSS 21 was used for data analysis as well. For the analyses that used SPSS 21, the master weight variables were used. The weighted sample is more representative than the unweighted sample since the weighted sample accounts for geographic over-representation and under-representation and under-representation and over-representation of age-sex groups and months of the year in the unweighted file (Statistics Canada, 2011a).

For the first hypothesis, that there is a positive association between work-family balance and quality time with children (*H1*), and the second hypothesis that there is a positive association between work-family balance and total quantity of time with children (*H2*), *t-tests*

were used to test the association between satisfaction with work-family balance and the quantity of quality time with children, and satisfaction with work-family balance and total quantity time with children respectively.

Prior to the multivariate analysis, t-test and chi-square tests were used to assess the association between work-family balance and work-related, family-related, and personal characteristics. Then, four logistic regression models were developed to assess the moderating effects of age of the youngest child, parent's age, and parent's gender (*H3, H4,* and *H5*). Model 1 was the base model; three interaction effects on work-family balance were tested in Models 2, 3, and 4. The interaction effects included effects of children's age × quality time with children, parents' age × quality time with children, and parents' gender × quality time with children. The main effects of quality time with children, flexible schedule, shift work, self-employment, work from home, paid work time, household income, total time with children, number of children, age of the youngest child, partner's paid work time, parent's gender, parent's age, health, education, immigration status, unpaid work time, and diary day were included in the models to control for their influence on individuals' experience of work-family balance. Since the dependent variable, work-family balance, was a dichotomous variable, logistic regression was used to analyze the significance of the predictor variables.

As noted by Wright (1995), four basic assumptions for conducting logistic regression must always be met. First, the dependent variable must be a dichotomous variable. For the purposes of the current study, individuals are categorized as satisfied with work-family balance or unsatisfied. Therefore, the first assumption is met. Second, only one outcome can

be recorded for every individual in the data. Third, the categories (groups) must be mutually exclusive and exhaustive. That is to say, a case can only be in one group and every case must be a member of one of the groups. Finally, the model must contain all relevant, and no irrelevant, predictors. In order to meet this assumption, only predictors which were identified as relevant in the literature (and available in the data set) were included in the regression model.

In addition to checking that the previous assumptions were met, it was also important to make sure there was no multicollinearity among predictor variables. Phi correlation and Pearson's correlation tests were conducted for the model to ensure there was no problematic multicollinearity among predictor variables. Finally, assessing if the sample size is adequate to support the analysis is necessary. However, there is no universally accepted standard for the sample size for logistic regression models (Stoltzfus, 2011). Stoltzfus (2011) has suggested using a rule that for every independent variable, there should be no fewer than 10 observations for each category. In the current study, this standard was met.

Ethics Approval

This research was submitted to the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB) at the University of Manitoba and received ethics approval (see Appendix B). The project was also approved by SSHRC and Statistics Canada for accessing the master data file.

Summary

The research objectives of this study were to understand the association between work-family balance and quality time with children and to assess how this association is

moderated by the age of the youngest child, parent's age, and parent's gender. Included variables were chosen based on the findings from previous research and their availability in the 2010 GSS. In the following chapter, the results of the t-tests used to assess the associations between time with children and work-family balance will be reported. As well, the results from the four logistic regression models used to assess the moderating effects of the age of the youngest child, parent's age, and parent's gender will be described.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

In this chapter, a description of the study sample is presented and characteristics of the study sample are compared to those of the Canadian population on key variables. To determine what variables to include in the logistic regression analysis, correlations were run and the results of the correlation tests are presented. Results of the logistic regression analysis are presented to show the relationship between work-family balance and work-related, family-related, and personal characteristics.

Description of the Study Sample

Of the 15,390 individuals who responded to the GSS, Cycle 24, only those who were employed full-time or part-time in last 12 months, were aged 18-65, had a spouse or partner who worked full-time or part-time in last 12 months, and had at least one child under the age of 18 in the household were included in the analysis of the current study (n = 1,440). The individuals in the study sample were aged 41.3 years on average, with an age range of 21 to 65 years. The average age of the study sample was slightly older than that of the Canadian population, which was 40.6 years in 2010 (Statistics Canada, 2011b). The study population had a larger proportion of men than women (54.1% men and 45.9% women). In comparison, the Canadian population showed a much more even gender distribution in 2010 (49.6% men and 50.4% women) (Urquijo & Milan, 2011). Out of the full GSS data set, 55.0% of individuals who were married or living in common-law relationships were dual-earner parents. In comparison, the proportion of dual-earner families was 62.6% for the Canadian population in 2010 (Statistics Canada, 2014). According to Statistics Canada (2013), in 2010

the national average household income of two-earner families with children was $92,300. In comparison, the dual-earner sample of the current study had an average household income of $119,904, and the majority (65.2%) of the study sample reported household incomes greater than that of the average Canadian two-earner family with children in 2010. As well, the study sample had a slightly higher proportion of married and common-law couples than that of the Canadian population in 2010: 83.8% compared to 80.0% (Statistics Canada, 2012). In addition, the parents in the study sample had 1.7 children per family on average compared to only 1.1 for the Canadian population in 2010 (Statistics Canada, 2011c).

Bivariate Analysis

Since it is very important to know the differences between respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance compared to those who were dissatisfied in terms of their work-related, family-related, and personal characteristics, in the following section, the associations between work-family balance and work-related, family-related, and personal variables are presented. Based on the results of this bivariate analysis, only those variables that were significantly associated with work-family balance were included in the following logistic regression models.

Work-family balance. In the study sample, 88.4% of the respondents were satisfied with their work-family balance and only 11.6% were dissatisfied with their work-family balance (Table 1).

Quality time with children and work-family balance. There was a significant association between quality time with children and work-family balance, but the direction was opposite to that posited in Hypothesis 1. Respondents who were satisfied with their

work-family balance reported less quality time with children per day on average compared to those who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance (17.4 vs. 21.6 minutes) (Table 2). Hypothesis 1, which posited that parents who spend more quality time with children are more likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance than parents who spend less quality time with children, was not supported.

Work characteristics and work-family balance. A number of work characteristics were significantly associated with work-family balance.

Flexible schedule. Having a flexible schedule in the workplace was significantly associated with parents' work-family balance. Respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance were more likely to have a flexible schedule than those who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance (46.2% vs. 38.1%) (Table 1).

Shift work. Working a day-time regular shift was significantly and positively associated with satisfaction with work-family balance. For respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance, 77.2% were regular daytime workers; while of those respondents who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance, 74.3% were regular daytime workers (Table 1).

Self-employment. There was a positive association between self-employment and work-family balance. Respondents who were satisfied with work-family balance were more likely than those who were dissatisfied with work-family balance to be self-employed (17.9% vs. 15.4%) (Table 1).

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Categorical Variables (N = 3,428,914)

Variables	Work-family Balance				χ^2
	Satisfied		Dissatisfied		
	Number	%	Number	%	
Respondents	3,031,160	88.4	397,754	11.6	
Work characteristics					
Flexible schedule					9,230.367**
Yes	1,397,742	46.2	151,110	38.1	
No	1,628,526	53.8	245,395	61.9	
Total	3,026,268	100.0	396,505	100.0	
Shift work					1,693.241**
Day time regular	2,339,453	77.2	294,476	74.3	
Other	69,0981	22.8	102,029	25.7	
Total	3,030,434	100.0	396,505	100.0	
Self-employment					1,506.402**
Yes	541,766	17.9	60,947	15.4	
No	2,490,642	82.1	335,557	84.6	
Total	3,032,408	100.0	396,504	100.0	
Work from home					153.240**
Yes	754,037	24.9	95,017	24.0	
No	2,278,372	75.1	301,488	76.0	
Total	3,032,409	100.0	396,505	100.0	
Family characteristics					
Household income					7,227.009**
More than $92,300	1,390,324	45.8	204,105	51.5	
$92,300 or less	858,934	28.3	87,901	22.2	
Not reported	783,151	25.8	104,498	26.4	
Total	3,032,409	99.9	396,504	100.1	
Personal characteristics					
Gender					3,156.858**
Female	1,380,394	45.5	199,247	50.3	
Male	1,652,015	54.5	197,258	49.7	
Total	3,032,409	100.0	396,505	100.0	

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued)

Variables	Work-family Balance				χ^2
	Satisfied		Dissatisfied		
	Number	%	Number	%	
Health					65,406.174**
Good	2,811,779	93.1	321,677	81.1	
Poor	209,662	6.9	74,828	18.9	
Total	3,021,441	100.0	396,505	100.0	
Education					4,831.402**
Bachelor's or higher	1,164,506	38.5	165,556	42.0	
Post-secondary	1,422,855	47.0	186,884	47.4	
High school or less	437,934	14.5	41,815	10.6	
Total	3,025,296	100.0	394,255	100.0	
Immigration status					29,514.781**
Yes	720,041	23.8	46,355	11.7	
No	2,307,267	76.2	350,150	88.3	
Total	3,027,308	100.0	396,505	100.0	
Other characteristics					
Weekday					69.710**
Yes	2,125,049	70.1	280,420	70.7	
No	907,359	29.9	116,084	29.3	
Total	3,032,408	100.0	369,504	100.0	

Note. Totals may not sum to 100% due to rounding.
*p < 0.01, **p < 0.001.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Continuous Variables (N = 3,428,914)

Variables	Work-family Balance				t Value
	Satisfied		Dissatisfied		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Quality time with children (minutes per day)	17.4	.702	21.6	.909	-59.684**
Work characteristics					
Paid work time (hours per day)	6.36	4.837	7.06	4.908	-84.876**
Family characteristics					
Total time with children (minutes per day)	59.4	1.397	71.4	1.533	-81.820**
Number of children	1.66	.692	1.76	.723	-81.916**
Age of youngest child	8.90	5.347	7.50	4.916	157.150**
Spouse's paid work time (hours per week)	38.41	15.455	41.05	10.787	-103.314**
Personal characteristics					
Age of respondent	41.43	7.194	39.64	6.655	148.299**
Unpaid work time (hours per week)	11.65	11.636	12.96	13.521	-65.312**

*p < 0.01, **p < 0.001.

Work from home. The association between working from home and work-family balance was significant. Respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance were more likely than those who were dissatisfied to do all or some of their paid work at home (24.9% vs. 24.0 %) (Table 1).

Paid work hours. There was a significant association between paid work hours and work-family balance. Individuals who spent less time on paid work were more likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance than those who spent more time on paid work (6.4 vs. 7.1 hours) (Table 2).

Family characteristics and work-family balance. Some family characteristics were found to be significantly associated with work-family balance in the current study.

Household income. The relationship between household income and work-family balance was significant. Respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance were more likely to report their household income was $92,300 or less compared to those who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance (28.3% vs. 22.2%) (Table 1).

Total time with children. There was a significant association between total time with children and work-family balance. Respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance reported fewer minutes with children per day on average compared to those who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance (59.4 vs. 71.4 minutes) (Table 2). This result was unexpected and contrary to Hypothesis 2, which posited that the more total time parents spent with children, the more likely they would be satisfied with their work-family balance.

Number of children. The association between work-family balance and number of children less than 18 years old in the household was significant. Respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance reported fewer children per family on average compared to those who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance (1.66 vs. 1.76) (Table 2).

Age of the youngest child. The association between work-family balance and age of the respondent's youngest child was significant. Of respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance, their youngest child was older, on average, than the youngest child of those who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance. The average age of the youngest child was 8.9 years for respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance, while the average age of the youngest child was 7.5 years for respondents who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance (Table 2).

Partner's paid work time. The relationship between partner's paid work time and work-family balance was significant with respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance reporting that their partners worked 38.4 hours per week on average compared to 41.1 hours per week by partners of those who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance (Table 2).

Personal characteristics and work-family balance. A number of personal characteristics were significantly associated with work-family balance.

Gender. The association between gender and work-family balance was significant. Respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance were more likely than respondents who were dissatisfied with work-family balance to be fathers (54.5% vs. 49.7%) (Table 1).

Age. There was a significant relationship between work-family balance and respondent's age. Respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance were older, on average, compared to respondents who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance (41.4 vs. 39.6 years) (Table 2).

Health. Being in good health was significantly related to satisfaction with work-family balance. Respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance were more likely to report being in good health, compared to those who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance (93.1% vs. 81.1%) (Table 1).

Education. A Tukey test showed differences in educational level among those who were satisfied or dissatisfied with their work-family balance. The majority of respondents had at least some post-secondary education. Respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance were less likely to have a bachelor's degree or higher level of education, less likely to have some post-secondary education, and more likely to have high school or less education compared to those who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance (38.5% vs. 42.0%, 47.0% vs. 47.4%, and 14.5% vs. 10.6%, respectively) (Table 1).

Immigration status. There was a significant association between work-family balance and immigration status. Respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance were more likely than respondents who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance to be immigrants to Canada (23.8% vs. 11.7%) (Table 1).

Unpaid work hours. There was a significant and negative association between unpaid work hours and satisfaction with work-family balance. For respondents who were satisfied with their work-family balance, the average unpaid work time was 11.7 hours per week; while for respondents who were dissatisfied with their work-family balance, the average paid work time was 13.0 hours per week (Table 1).

Other characteristics and work-family balance. There was a significant relationship between work-family balance and diary day. Compared to respondents who were dissatisfied

with their work-family balance, those who were satisfied with their work-family balance were less likely to report their time use on a weekday (70.1% vs. 70.7%) (Table 1).

Correlation Analysis

Since the current study has both continuous and binary variables as independent variables, SPSS 21 was used to compute Phi coefficients to assess correlation among the binary variables, and Pearson's correlation analysis was used to assess correlation among continuous variables. According to Polit (1996), sets of variables with correlations of .85 or higher should be removed from a logistic regression equation in order to avoid problematic multicollinearity in the regression model. Results of the correlation tests are presented in Appendix C. Almost all correlations were significant; however, none was found to be at a level of .85 or greater. In addition, OLS regressions were conducted for each of the models to obtain the variance-inflation factors (VIFs). Schroeder, Lander, and Levine-Silverman (1990) recommend that variables with VIF values greater than 10 be removed from a logistic regression model. In the present study, all variables in the four models had VIF values below 4.9.

Logistic Regression Analysis

The results of the logistic regression analysis are presented in Table 3. Model 1 was the basic logistic regression model. The interaction term age of youngest child by quality time with children was added to Model 2 to assess whether families with younger children were different from families with older children in terms of how quality time with children was linked with parents' satisfaction with work-family balance. An age of respondents by quality

time with children interaction term was added to Model 3 to assess whether the association between quality time with children and parents' satisfaction with work-family balance was different for younger parents and older parents. The interaction term parent's gender by quality time with children was added to Model 4, the final model, to assess whether the association between quality time with children and parents' satisfaction with work-family balance was different for mothers and fathers. Note that the continuous variables -- age of the youngest child, age of parent, and quality time with children -- in the interaction terms were centered on the means in the analyses in order to help with interpretation of the results and reduce problems with multicollinearity (Aiken, West, & Reno, 1991).

Quality time with children. Quality time with children was not a statistically significant predictor of parents' satisfaction with work-family balance in the base model (Model 1), holding constant all other variables in the model. However, after adding the interaction terms into Models 2, 3, and 4, the relationship between quality time with children and work-family balance became significant (Model 2: [OR = .735; 95% CI = .667-.809; p = .000], Model 3: [OR = .704; 95% CI = .643-.771; p = .000], and Model 4: [OR = .856; 95% CI = .761-.962; p = .009], respectively) (Table 3).

Quality time with children was included in the three interaction terms, age of youngest child by quality time with children, age of parent by quality time with children, and parent's gender by quality time with children, to assess the moderating effects of the youngest child's age, parent's age, and parent's gender on the association between quality time with children and work-family balance. The interaction term age of youngest child by quality time with children was a statistically significant predictor of work-family balance (OR = .919; 95% CI

Table 3

Logistic Regression Results of the Moderating Effects of Quality Time with Children on Work-Family Balance (N = 3,297,189)

Predictor Variables	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Odds Ratio	SE	95% CI	Odds Ratio	SE	95% CI	Odds Ratio	SE	95% CI	Odds Ratio	SE	95% CI
Quality time spent with children	0.952	.042	0.874-1.038	0.735**	.036	0.667-0.809	0.704**	.033	0.643-0.771	0.856*	.051	0.761-0.962
Age of youngest child × Quality time with children				0.919**	.008	0.904-0.935	0.925**	.009	0.908-0.943	0.937**	.009	0.919-0.954
Parent's age × Quality time with children							0.984**	.004	0.975-0.993	0.977**	.005	0.967-0.987
Mother × Quality time with children										0.753**	.053	0.655-0.865
Work characteristics												
Flexible schedule												
Yes	1.470**	.064	1.351-1.600	1.572**	.063	1.453-1.701	1.572**	.063	1.453-1.700	1.569**	.063	1.451-1.697
No	0.000			0.000			0.000			0.000		
Shift work												
Day time regular	1.250**	.056	1.145-1.365	1.220**	.054	1.118-1.331	1.234**	.054	1.132-1.345	1.235**	.054	1.133-1.346
Other	0.000			0.000			0.000			0.000		
Self-employment												
Yes	1.061	.062	0.946-1.190	1.037	.061	0.923-1.165	1.033	.061	0.920-1.160	1.030	.061	0.917-1.157
No	0.000			0.000			0.000			0.000		
Work from home												
Yes	1.161*	.064	1.043-1.292	1.132	.062	1.017-1.260	1.136	.062	1.020-1.264	1.139	.062	1.024-1.267
No	0.000			0.000			0.000			0.000		
Paid work hours	0.944**	.005	0.934-0.954	0.943**	.005	0.933-0.953	0.944**	.005	0.934-0.954	0.944**	.005	0.934-0.954
Family characteristics												
Household income												
$92,300 or less	1.687**	.094	1.512-1.883	1.739**	.093	1.567-1.931	1.738**	.093	1.565-1.930	1.737**	.093	1.565-1.929
Not provided	1.076	.051	0.980-1.182	1.077	.052	0.980-1.183	1.083	.052	0.986-1.189	1.084	.052	0.987-1.190
More than $92,300	0.000			0.000			0.000			0.000		

(table continues)

Table 3 (continued)

Predictor Variables	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	Odds Ratio	SE	95% CI	Odds Ratio	SE	95% CI	Odds Ratio	SE	95% CI	Odds Ratio	SE	95% CI
Total time with children	0.976	.019	0.939-1.015	0.973	.019	0.937-1.011	0.975	.019	0.938-1.012	0.973	.019	0.937-1.011
Number of children	0.889**	.028	0.836-0.945	0.947	.028	0.893-1.004	0.943	.028	0.889-1.000	0.944	.028	0.890-1.001
Age of youngest child	1.030**	.006	1.017-1.042	1.053**	.006	1.012-1.036	1.049**	.006	1.036-1.061	1.024**	.006	1.033-1.059
Spouse paid work hours	0.989**	.001	0.988-0.991	0.990**	.001	0.988-0.992	0.990**	.001	0.988-0.992	0.990**	.001	0.988-0.992
Personal characteristics												
Gender												
Fathers	1.162**	.048	1.072-1.259	1.136*	.047	1.049-1.231	1.139**	.047	1.052-1.234	1.043	.050	0.949-1.146
Mothers	0.000			0.000			0.000			0.000		
Age	1.013**	.004	1.006-1.260	1.007	.004	1.000-1.015	1.012*	.004	1.004-1.021	1.015**	.004	1.006-1.023
Health												
Good	3.283**	.176	2.956-3.646	3.288**	.178	2.957-3.657	3.287**	.178	2.957-3.654	3.303**	.178	2.972-3.672
Poor	0.000			0.000			0.000			0.000		
Education												
Some post-secondary	1.214**	.055	1.111-1.327	1.243**	.056	1.138-1.358	1.240**	.056	1.135-1.354	1.248**	.056	1.142-1.363
High school or less	1.403**	.090	1.238-1.591	1.418**	.092	1.249-1.609	1.428**	.092	1.258-1.621	1.456**	.094	1.282-1.653
Bachelor's or higher	0.000			0.000			0.000			0.000		
Immigration status												
Yes	2.533**	.156	2.244-2.859	2.590**	.163	2.290-2.929	2.614**	.163	2.314-2.954	2.602**	.162	2.303-2.941
No	0.000			0.000			0.000			0.000		
Unpaid work time	0.992**	.002	0.989-0.996	0.991**	.002	0.988-0.995	0.992**	.002	0.988-0.995	0.991**	.002	0.988-0.955
Other characteristics												
Diary day												
Weekday	1.527**	.087	1.365-1.708	1.619**	.093	1.446-1.813	1.608**	.093	1.435-1.801	1.615**	.095	1.439-1.812
Weekend	0.000			0.000			0.000			0.000		
Intercept	1.155	.176	0.856-1.558	1.307	.199	0.969-1.763	1.349	.203	1.004-1.812	1.275	.192	0.948-1.713
Df	20			21			22			23		
Wald chi2	1,657.11			1,638.72			1,771.44			1,757.04		
Prob > chi2	0.000			0.000			0.000			0.000		

$p < 0.05$, *$p < 0.01$, **$p < 0.001$.

= .904-.935; p = .000), and the interaction remained significant in Models 3 and 4 ([OR = .925; 95% CI = .908-.943; p = .000], and [OR = .937; 95% CI = .919-.954; p = .000], respectively) (Table 3). In terms of the interaction term parent's age by quality time with children, the odds ratio stayed significant and stable from Model 3 to Model 4 ([OR = .984; 95% CI = .975-.993; p = .000], and [OR = .977; 95% CI = .967-.987; p = .000], respectively) (Table 3). The interaction term parent's gender by quality time with children was also a statistically significant predictor of work-family balance (OR = .753; 95% CI = .655-.865; p = .000). All three interaction terms were significant predictors of parents' satisfaction with work-family balance, holding constant the other variables in Model 4, which suggested that age of the youngest child, parent's age, and parent's gender significantly moderate the effect of quality time with children on parents' work-family balance.

Stata 11 and later versions provide margins plots for regression models (Williams, 2012), which enable researchers to estimate predicted probabilities more easily when examining interaction effects. In the current study, since in Model 2, Model 3, and Model 4, both the odds ratios and significance levels of the three interaction terms remained stable from model to model, Stata 14 was used to conduct OLS regressions for Model 4 and then generate three predictive margins plots (Figures 2, 3, and 4) from the OLS regression.

In Figure 2, I plot quality time with children versus work-family balance for youngest child's age of 0, 9, and 17 years. These ages were chosen because they covered the whole age range for the youngest child in the study sample and showed how the effect of quality time with children differed by age of the youngest child. In addition, 4 years of age was plotted to show where the effect of quality time with children changed from positive to negative. The

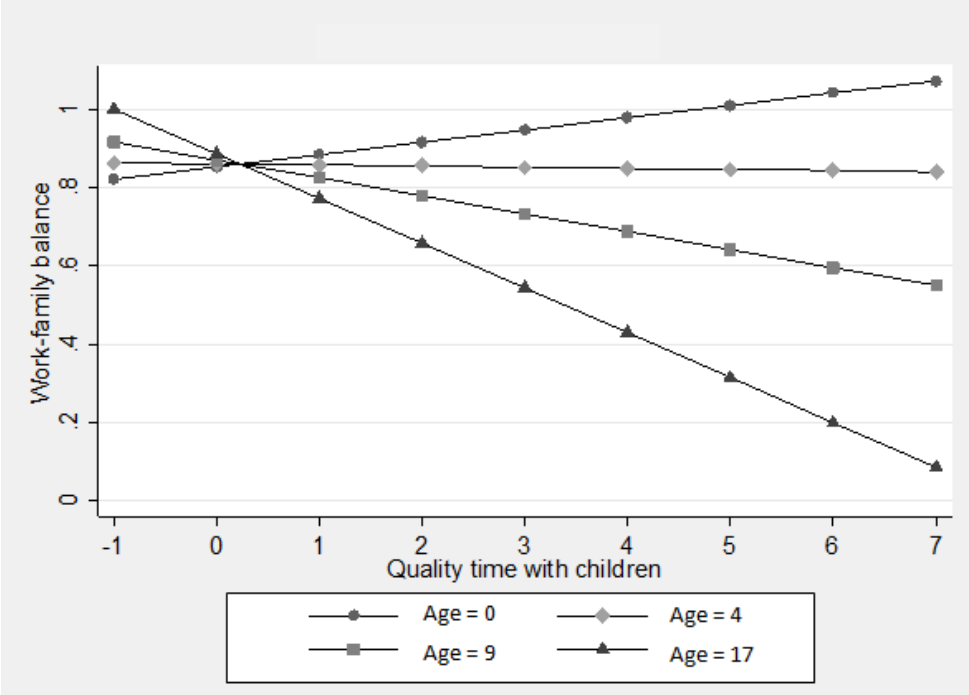

Figure 2. Association between work-family balance and quality time with children, moderated by age of the youngest child.

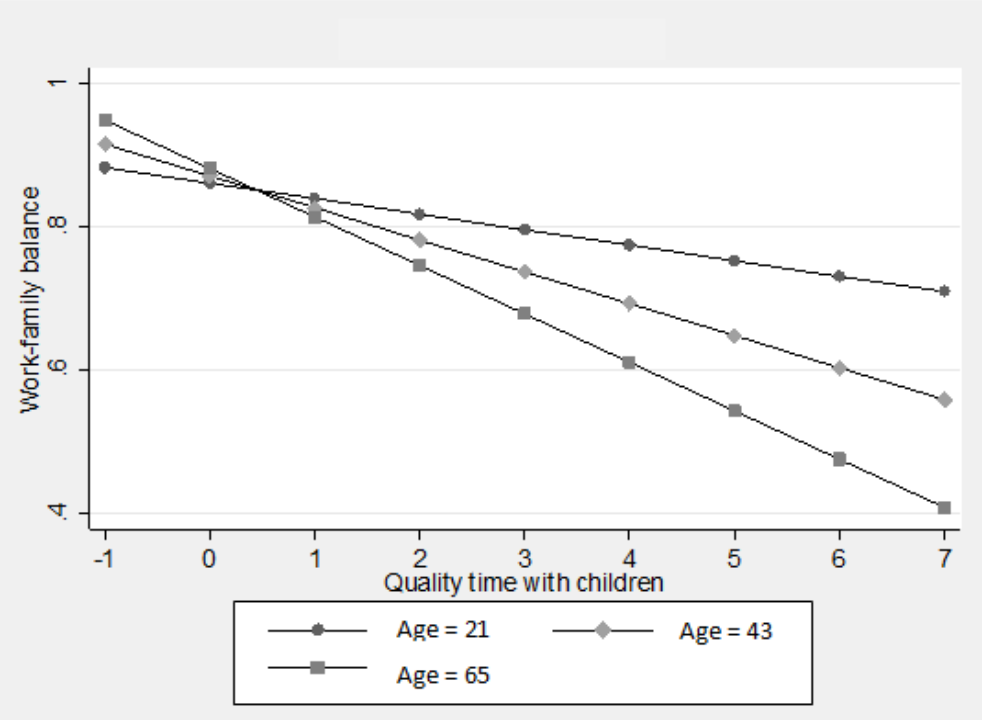

Figure 3. Association between work-family balance and quality time with children, moderated by parent's age.

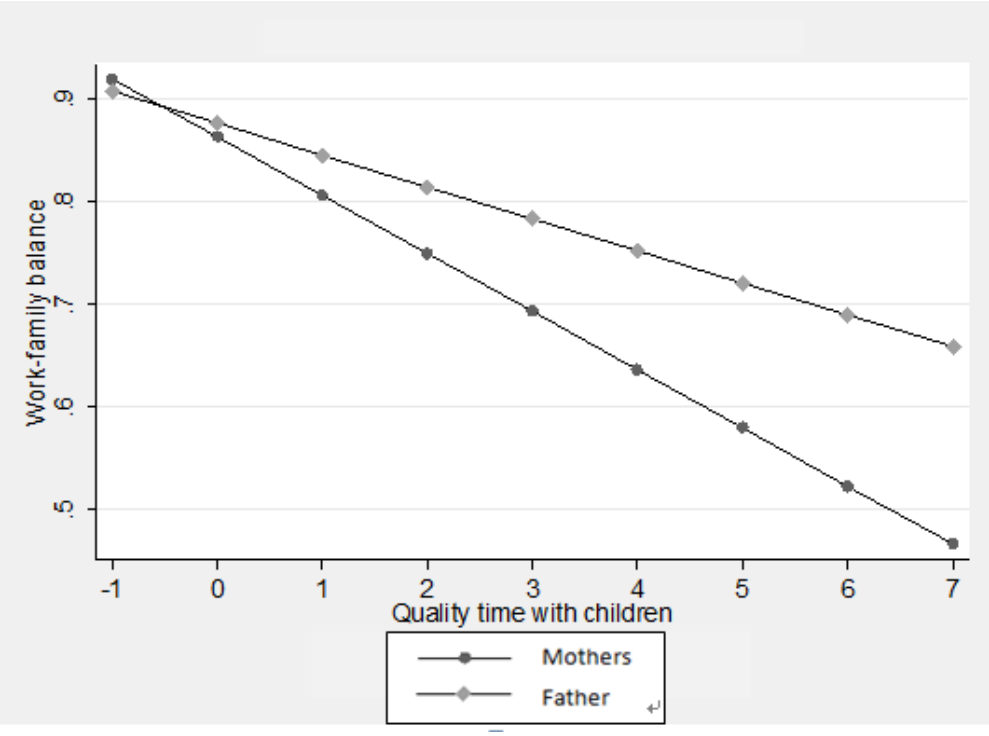

Figure 4. Association between work-family balance and quality time with children, moderated by respondents' gender.

plot suggests that for respondents whose youngest child was aged between 0 and 4 years, work-family balance was positively predicted by quality time with children, and the positive effect of quality time with children became weaker as the age of the youngest child increased. However, for respondents whose youngest child was aged between 4 and 17 years, work-family balance was negatively predicted by quality time with children, and the negative effect of quality time with children became greater as the age of youngest child increased. Thus Hypothesis 3, which posited that the positive effect of time with children on work-family balance is stronger for parents of younger children than parents of older children, was partly supported.

To understand the moderating effect of parent's age, the ages of 21, 43, and 65 were chosen for plotting in Figure 3, which shows that the older the respondents were, the greater

the negative effect of quality time with children on work-family balance. Hypothesis 4, which posited that the positive effect of time with children on work-family balance is stronger for younger parents than for older parents, was not supported.

Figure 4 shows that for both mothers and fathers, quality time with children negatively predicted work-family balance. However, the negative effect of quality time with children was stronger for mothers compered to fathers. This result did not support the relationship proposed in Hypothesis 5, that the positive effect of time with children on work-family balance is stronger for mothers than for fathers.

Work characteristic variables. Among the work characteristic variables, *flexible schedule,* s*hift work,* and *paid work hours* were significantly related to work-family balance across all four models, and the directions of effect and odds ratios were consistent. Self-employment was not a significant predictor in any of the four models; work from home became nonsignificant once the interaction terms were added to the models.

Respondents who had a flexible schedule in their workplace had greater odds of experiencing work-family balance compared to those who did not (OR = 1.569; 95% CI = 1.451-1.697; p = .000) (Table 3). The odds of experiencing work-family balance were statistically higher for those who were daytime regular workers compared to those who worked other kinds of shifts (OR = 1.235; 95% CI = 1.133-1.346; p = .000) (Table 3). The odds of experiencing work-family balance statistically decreased for parents as the hours of paid work increased (OR = .944; 95% CI = .934 -.954; p = .000) (Table 3).

Family characteristic variables. Among the family characteristics, *household income, age of the youngest child,* and *spouse's paid work hours* had significant effects on parents'

satisfaction with work-family balance, whereas *number of children* and *total time with children* were not significant predictors of work-family balance. The significance levels of household income, age of youngest child, and spouse's paid work hours were stable across the four models, and the directions of effect and odds ratios were consistent. Number of children was not significant once the interaction terms were included (Models 2, 3, and 4).

Respondents whose annual household incomes were $92,300 or less were found to have greater odds of experiencing work-family balance compared to those who had annual household incomes that were higher than $92,300 (OR = 1.737; 95% CI = 1.565-1.929; p = .000) (Table 3). Respondents were more likely to be satisfied with work-family balance if they had a youngest child of an older age, compared to respondents who had a youngest child of a younger age (OR = 1.024; 95% CI = 1.033-1.059; p = .000) (Table 3). The odds of experiencing work-family balance decreased statistically as spouse's paid work hours increased (OR = .990; 95% CI = .988 -.992; p = .000) (Table 3).

Personal characteristic variables. All of the personal characteristics variables, except for gender, were significant predictors of work-family balance in the final model. Older parents were more likely to report being satisfied with their work-family balance than younger parents (OR = 1.015; 95% CI = 1.006-1.023; p = .000) (Table 3). The odds of experiencing work-family balance were statistically higher for those who rated their health as good, compared to those who rated their health as poor (OR = 3.303; 95% CI = 2.972-3.672; p = .000) (Table 3). Respondents were more likely to report being satisfied with their work-family balance if they had a high school or less level of education or some post-secondary education, compared to those who had a bachelor's degree or higher level of

education ([OR = 1.456; 95% CI = 1.282-1.653; p = .000] and [OR = 1.248; 95% CI = 1.142-1.363; p = .000], respectively) (Table 3). Immigration status was a statistically significant predictor of satisfaction with work-family balance. Respondents who were immigrants to Canada were more likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance compared to those who were not immigrants (OR = 2.602; 95% CI = 2.303-2.941; p = .000) (Table 3). Unpaid work hours also mattered. The odds of experiencing work-family balance statistically decreased for parents as their hours of unpaid work increased (OR = .991; 95% CI = .988-.955; p = .000) (Table 3).

Gender was significant from Model 1 to Model 3, and the direction of effect and odds ratios were consistent; however, the relationship between gender and work-family balance became nonsignificant after all three interaction terms were added into Model 4. Age of parents was not significant in Model 2, which included the interaction term age of youngest child by quality time with children, but age of parents became significant again in Models 3 and 4, which included the interaction term age of parents by quality time with children and the interaction term gender by quality time with children. For health, education, immigration status, and spouse's paid work hours, odds ratios and significant levels were consistent across the four models.

Other characteristics. Diary day was a statistically significant predictor of individuals' satisfaction with work-family balance in all four models, and the direction of effect and odds ratios were consistent. Individuals who reported their time use on a weekday had statistically higher odds of experiencing work-family balance compared to those who reported their time use on a weekend day (OR = 1.615; 95% CI = 1.439-1.812; p = .000) (Table 3).

Summary

The purpose of the current study was to assess the association between quality time with children and parents' work-family balance and to measure the moderating effects of children's age, parents' age, and parents' gender on the association between quality time with children and parents' work-family balance in dual-earner families, holding constant work, family, personal, and other characteristics. The results of the t-tests showed that both quality time with children and total time with children were negatively related to parents' work-family balance. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 that quality time with children would be positively related to work-family balance, and Hypothesis 2 that total time with children would be positively related to work-family balance, were not supported by findings of the current study.

The majority of variables were significant predictors of parents' work-family balance; only self-employment, work from home, number of children, total time with children, and gender were not significantly related to work-family balance. Among the significant variables, flexible schedule, shift work, age of the youngest child, age, good health, immigration status, and reporting time use on a weekday, were positively related to satisfaction with work-family balance; quality time with children, paid work hours, household income, spouse's paid work hours, education, and unpaid work hours, were negatively related to satisfaction with work-family balance.

Furthermore, youngest child's age, parent's age, and parent's gender moderated the association between quality time with children and work-family balance. Specifically, the negative effect of quality time with children on work-family balance was stronger for parents

who had a youngest child of an older age than for those who had a youngest child of a younger age, for parents who were older than for those who were younger, and for mothers more than for fathers. Therefore, Hypothesis 3, which posited that the positive effect of quality time with children would become weaker as age of the youngest child increased was partly supported by my results; Hypothesis 4, which expected that the positive effect of quality time with children would be stronger for younger parents than for older parents, and Hypothesis 5 that the positive effect of quality time with children would be stronger for mothers than for fathers, were not supported by the results of the current study.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of the current study was to assess the association between a family-related characteristic -- quality time with children -- and parents' work-family balance, and to measure how the association between quality time with children and parents' work-family balance is moderated by children's age, parents' age, and parents' gender. In contrast to previous research that has focused on work characteristics, the current study focused on how family-related characteristics influence individuals' work-family balance. In this chapter, the results of the statistical analyses are discussed. Based on the findings of the present study, the implications for employed parents and organizations that wish to provide a better work-family balance culture for employees are explored. In addition, the limitations of the study are presented, and suggestions for future research are made.

Quality Time with Children

The current study was based on role theory, which argues that individuals' behaviours can be predicted based on information about role expectations, and roles have a significant influence on individuals' behaviours, beliefs, and attitudes (Biddle, 1986). In the case of this study, individuals with different roles have different expectations in terms of how much time they should spend with their children. The differences in expectations may in turn affect the association between time with children and work-family balance for individuals with different roles.

In Hypothesis 1, I expected that quality time with children would be positively associated with work-family balance. The hypothesis was based on the rationale that mothers'

feelings of work-family balance largely depend on if they think they spend enough quality time with children (Milkie, Kendig, et al., 2010). However, in agreement with Marks et al. (2001), I found a negative relationship between quality time with children and work-family balance. Marks et al. (2001) explained that the finding may be due to mothers already spending much time taking care of their children; therefore, spending leisure time with children may be considered as an extra activity that mothers have to do. This explanation may also apply in my study. Nevertheless, the relationship between quality time with children and work-family balance was found to be positive by Milkie, Kendig, et al. (2010). These researchers used data from 2000, which was nearly 10 years older than the data used in the current study. It may be that people have different perceptions in terms of work-family balance in 2000 and in 2010. This finding could be especially possible when using a subjective measure of work-family balance, as was the case in both studies. In addition, Milkie, Kendig, et al. (2010) used American data, which could be very different from the Canadian data of the current study. People in the two countries may have different perspectives about family and paid work demands.

The negative association between quality time with children and work-family balance may be due to Canadian parents viewing quality time with children as a burden if they already spend a lot of time taking care of children (Marks et al., 2001). In the current study, on average, parents spent 61 minutes per day with their children. Of the 61 minutes, 18 minutes were quality time with children, which means parents spent 43 minutes per day on routine child care activities, on average. Note here that only the time when taking care of children as the primary activity was counted. Parents also spent time with children as a

secondary activity while performing the primary activities, for example, preparing supper while supervising children on their homework. According to Statistics Canada (2011a), information on both primary and secondary activities was collected in the time use diary. It is likely that parents actually spent more time taking care of their children than is reported in the primary activity categories. The information in terms of secondary activities should be explored in future research in this field as it was beyond the scope of this study.

In addition, factors that I was not able to control for in the logistic regression models, like supervisors' and co-workers' support, job value, job complexity, job satisfaction, parental attachment, parents' subjective feelings about if they spent enough time with their children, children's well-being, marital satisfaction, and gender attitude, may affect work-family balance. If Statistics Canada were to include information on these factors in future data collection efforts, future research could include these factors to help explain the association between quality time with children and work-family balance.

Furthermore, the GSS is a cross-sectional data set, therefore, causation cannot be inferred between time with children and work-family balance: It might be that because parents are satisfied with their work-family balance, they are spending less time with their children. Longitudinal studies are needed to explore the relationship between time with children and work-family balance.

Moderating effect of age of the youngest child. The age of the youngest child had a moderating effect on the association between work-family balance and quality time with children. When the age of the youngest child was less than 4 years, the more quality time parents spent with children, the more likely parents were to be satisfied with their

work-family balance. When the age of the youngest child was more than 4 years, the more quality time parents spent with children, the less likely parents were to be satisfied with their work-family balance. Hypothesis 3 posited that the positive effect of time with children on work-family balance would be stronger for parents of younger children than for parents of older children. My findings were partly in the expected direction (when the youngest child's age was younger than 4 years).

Young children require the most intense attention from their parents (Craig & Sawrikar, 2009), and providing care to young children plays a very important role in parents' balancing act (Marks et al., 2001). Fulfilling both family and paid work responsibilities is very important for balancing family and paid work (Voydanoff, 2005). Parents of younger children are expected by society and themselves to spend more time with their children than parents of older children, and providing intense attention for their young children is an essential part of fulfilling family responsibilities since parents know that their children need them. Spending time with children is a behaviour that meets parents' role expectation when their children are young, which in turn may increase parents' satisfaction with their work-family balance. Therefore, when children are very young, spending quality time with children would positively contribute to parents' work-family balance. However, as the children's age increases, the feeling of needing to be with their children may become weaker since older children are more independent than younger children and do not need intensive, hands-on care from their parents as much as younger children. It may also be that spending quality time with older children, for example, talking, having conversations, and emotional care, is more fraught and not as enjoyable as with younger children. Therefore, spending quality time with

children would adversely contribute to parents' work-family balance when the youngest child is older.

Moderating effect of parent's age. I expected that the association between work-family balance and quality time with children would be positive, and Hypothesis 4 posited that the positive effect of quality time with children would be stronger on younger parents' work-family balance than on older parents' work-family balance. However, my findings suggest that spending quality time with children had a negative effect on parents' work-family balance, and the negative effect was stronger on older parents' work-family balance than on younger parents' work-family balance. Hypothesis 4 was based on the rationale that older parents may be less likely to let family demands affect work-family balance since they have rich experience and efficient coping strategies that could help them achieve balance between their paid work and family life (Sterns & Huyck, 2001). Sayer et al. (2004) found that older employed mothers spent less time with children compared to younger employed mothers. The authors explained that older employed mothers may have more paid work demands compared to younger employed mothers since older employed mothers are in the advancement stage of their careers. Therefore, older parents may be more likely than younger parents to value their paid work since older parents may be in their career advancement stage. My finding may be because spending quality time with children occupies parents' time and energy, which would interfere with older parents' ability to meet their role expectations as employees in workplaces; whereas for younger parents who are not in the career advancement stage, the feeling of their careers being hampered by spending quality time with children may be not as strong as for older parents. In addition, Hill et al. (2014)

suggested that older parents have other role demands that younger parents may not have, for example, taking care of their ill parents or spouses. Therefore, the negative effect of spending quality time with children is weaker for younger parents.

Moderating effect of parent's gender. In a previous study, Milkie, Kendig, et al. (2010) found that quality time with children had no effect on fathers' work-family balance, however quality time with children had a positive effect on mothers' work-family balance. In contrast, Marks et al. (2001) found that time with children had a negative effect on wives' work-family balance, but for husbands, time with children with wives present had a positive effect on their work-family balance. Partly in agreement with Marks et al. (2001), I found a negative association between quality time with children and work-family balance for both mothers and fathers, and the negative association was stronger for mothers than for fathers. Hypothesis 5, that positive effects of time with children on work-family balance are stronger for mothers than for fathers, was not supported by this result. This finding may be due to the fact that women are more likely than men to have their family responsibilities interfere with their paid work responsibilities (Allen & Finkelstein, 2014). Based on traditional gender role theory, mothers are expected by themselves and society to spend more time on childcare activities than on paid work (Townsend, 2002). Therefore, mothers may still spend quality time with children even if mothers know there is a potential of not being able to fulfill their paid work demands since spending time with children is consonant with their role expectations as mothers. It may be that increased quality time with children leads to not being able to fulfill their job demands for mothers, thus decreasing the likelihood of being satisfied with work-family balance.

Work Characteristics

Flexible schedule. Having a flexible work schedule has been found to have a positive effect on work-family balance in previous research (Duncan & Pettigrew, 2012; Galea et al., 2014; Hill et al., 2001; Olsen & Dahl, 2010). My logistic regression results showed that respondents were 1.6 times more likely to be satisfied with work-family balance if they had a flexible schedule in their workplace, compared to those who had no schedule flexibility in their workplace. This finding was in agreement with previous research (Duncan & Pettigrew, 2012; Galea et al., 2014; Hill et al., 2001; Olsen & Dahl, 2010). There is evidence from the literature that indicates that a flexible schedule enables employees to arrange their family and paid work activities in a way that suits their schedules, which could contribute to work-family balance (Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 2002).

Shift work. Previous research has indicated that irregular work hours have a negative effect on work-family balance (Duncan & Pettigrew, 2012; Olsen & Dahl, 2010; Tausig & Fenwick, 2001; Williams, 2008). In agreement with this previous research, I found that daytime regular workers were 1.2 times more likely to experience work-family balance compared to those who worked a night shift or irregular hours. This finding was expected and shows that perhaps regular work hours enable employed parents to make plans around their work schedule more easily, which could help them to achieve work-family balance (Williams, 2008).

Self-employment. Previous research has found mixed results on the association between self-employment and work-family balance, and in the current study, the relationship was not statistically significant. Some studies have found that self-employment status has a strong

negative effect on men's work-family balance (Duncan & Pettigrew, 2012; Georges et al., 2010). Other research (Hilbrecht & Lero, 2014) has found that individuals who are self-employed are more likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance than those who are paid workers.

Work from home. There are mixed findings on the impact of working from home on work-family balance in previous research (Stawarz et al., 2013; Sturges, 2012). Stawarz et al. (2013) found that work-family balance was damaged by working from home via modern technological products, since bringing paid work home blurred the boundary between work and family demands. However, Sturges (2012) found that some respondents reported that doing some of their paid work at home helped them to achieve work-family balance. In my study, there was no significant relationship between working at home and work-family balance.

Paid work hours. In most previous studies, paid work hours have been found to significantly reduce workers' satisfaction with work-life balance (Frederick & Fast, 2001; Hill et al., 2001; Keene & Quadagno, 2004; MacDonald et al., 2005; McNamara et al., 2013; Milkie, Kendig, et al., 2010; Tausig & Fenwick, 2001). However, Marks et al. (2001) found that wives' work family balance was only negatively associated with weekend total work hours, but positively associated with weekday total work hours. In agreement with the majority of the previous studies, I found that with every additional hour of paid work per day, individuals were 6% less likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance. It may be that long hours of paid work occupy too much of individuals' energy and time, which could interfere with meeting family demands (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). This feeling of being

unable to fulfill family demands may decrease individuals' satisfaction with work-family balance.

Family Characteristics

Household income. The relationship between household income and work-family balance has been found to be negative in previous research (Duncan & Pettigrew, 2012; Wu et al., 2013). My findings support these studies as individuals with lower household incomes were 1.7 times more likely to be satisfied with work-family balance than those with higher household incomes. It may be the case that individuals with higher household incomes have much more job responsibility and more pressure than individuals with lower household incomes, which may then damage work-family balance of higher income individuals (Wu et al., 2013).

Total time with children. The results of the t-test showed that total time with children was significantly and negatively associated with parents' work-family balance. This finding was contrary to Hypothesis 2, which posited that total time with children would be positively associated with parents' work-family balance. Perhaps spending more time with children leads to a lack of personal time and paid work time, which would decrease individuals' satisfaction with their work-family balance. Nevertheless, total time with children was not a significant predictor of parents' work-family balance in the logistic regression analysis, once work-related, family-related, and personal factors were taken into account. The bivariate correlation test indicated that time with children was significantly associated with many other variables in the logistic regression model. After controlling for these factors, total time with children was not a significant predictor any longer in the logistic regression tests.

Number of children. In previous research, most studies have found a significant negative relationship between number of children and work-family balance (Clark, 2001; Frederick & Fast, 2001; Olsen & Dahl, 2010; Tausig & Fenwick, 2001). In contrast to these results, Marks et al. (2001) and Tomer et al. (2015) found no relationship between number of children and work-family balance, and my findings support these two studies.

Age of youngest child. Results on the association between age of the youngest child and parents' work-family balance have been mixed in previous research. Some of the previous studies have found a positive association between children's age and parents' work-family balance (Georges et al., 2010; McNamara et al., 2013), while others have found no effect of children's age on parents' work-family balance (Craig & Sawrikar, 2008; Duncan & Pettigrew, 2012). My findings are in agreement with the findings of Georges et al. (2010) and McNamara et al. (2013): With every additional year of age for the youngest child, parents were 2% more likely to report being satisfied with their work-family balance. Younger children need more childcare than do older children (Craig & Bittman, 2008). It may be that when the youngest child is very young, the childcare burden occupies much energy and time of parents (Larson & Richards, 1994), thus parents may not be able to fulfill other family demands and paid work demands, which could lead to dissatisfaction with work-family balance.

Spouse's paid work hours. Marks et al. (2001) found that husbands' work-family balance was positively related to their wives' paid work hours on weekends. However, Duncan and Pettigrew (2012) found that spouse's part- or full-time work status was not related to respondents' work-family balance. In the current study, with every additional hour

of spouse's paid work per week, the respondents were 1% less likely to be satisfied with work-family balance. Perhaps when a spouse spends less time in paid work, the spouse can share more family responsibilities, which would enable respondents to have fewer conflicts between work demands and family demands.

Personal Characteristics

Gender. My logistic regression analysis revealed no significant association between gender and work-family balance. In previous research, Tomer et al. (2015) found that women were less likely to be satisfied with their work-life balance than men. In addition, numerous studies have looked at gender differences on work-family balance and have found that work-family balance of men and women is affected by different factors (e.g., Duncan & Pettigrew, 2012; Frederick & Fast, 2001).

Age. Previous research has indicated that older employees are more likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance than younger employees (Georges et al., 2010; McNamara et al, 2013; Tausig & Fenwick, 2001). In agreement with these studies, I found that with every year of age, respondents were 1.5% more likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance. Thrasher, Zabel, Wynne, & Baltes (2015) have indicated that as age increases, older individuals are more likely than younger ones to put emphasis on autonomy, which enables older individuals to choose job activities that would not damage their work-family balance. It is also perhaps that older employees can use their long-term experience of dealing with work-family conflict to manage their paid work and family demands well (Sterns & Huyck, 2001). These factors could increase the odds for older individuals to be satisfied with their work-family balance.

Health status. Better health has been found to predict greater work-family balance in previous research (Frederick & Fast, 2001; McNamara et al., 2013). In agreement with these studies, I found that reporting good health was highly predictive of being satisfied with work-family balance for parents: The odds of being satisfied with work-family balance for individuals who reported good health were 3.3 times greater than for those who reported poor health. It may be that individuals with good health are able to deal with their family and work responsibilities well, which could help them to achieve work-family balance more easily.

Education. Results of the current study showed that if the respondents had some post-secondary schooling or had a high school or less level of education, the respondents were more likely than those who had a bachelor's or higher level of education to be satisfied with their work-family balance (by 1.2 times and 1.5 times, respectively). Although one prior study has found that education was not related to work-family balance (Milkie, Kendig, et al., 2010), my findings are in agreement with other studies that have included education (Duncan & Pettigrew, 2012; Tausig & Fenwick, 2001). People with higher educational levels may be more likely to have jobs with more complexity and responsibilities than people with lower educational levels (Duncan & Pettigrew, 2012), and it could be more difficult to fulfill both paid work and family demands for people with higher educational levels than people with lower educational levels. Therefore, the decreased odds of being satisfied with work-family balance for people with higher educational levels.

Immigration status. Previous work-family balance research has paid little attention to immigration status. I found that the relationship between immigration status and work-family balance was very strong: Respondents who were immigrants to Canada were 2.6 times more

likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance than those who were not immigrants. This finding may be due to people from other countries having different definitions of work-family balance. It may also be the case that people who were immigrants, especially parents, often find themselves suffering from stress, since immigration is a big life change (Tsao, Creedy, & Gamble, 2015; Yoo & Vonk, 2012). While dealing with a stressful situation, people who were immigrants probably had lower expectations of work-family balance, which can then lead to greater odds of reporting being satisfied with work-family balance among immigrants.

Unpaid work hours. In agreement with previous research (Frederick & Fast, 2001), I found a negative association between work-family balance and unpaid work hours: With every additional hour spent on unpaid work per week, respondents were 1% less likely to be satisfied with their work-family balance. Perhaps the more time individuals spend on unpaid work, the less time they have available for leisure with their family members and friends, which can then lead to a decreased likelihood of being satisfied with their work-family balance.

Other Characteristics

Results of the logistic regression analysis showed that respondents who reported their time use on a weekday were 1.6 times more likely to report being satisfied with work-family balance than those who reported their time use on weekend day. For many employed people, it is likely that they need to deal with both paid work and family demands on weekdays, but paid work duties scale down and unpaid work duties largely increase on weekends. It may be that parents feel stressed out because of performing too much unpaid work on weekends,

which can lead to a decreased likelihood of being satisfied with work-family balance for respondents who reported their time use on a weekend day.

Summary

The purpose of this research was to understand the moderating effects of age of youngest child, parent's age, and parent's gender on the association between work-family balance and quality time with children in Canadian dual-earner families. The findings indicated quality time with children was negatively associated with work-family balance. Among work characteristics, flexible schedule and a regular daytime job were positively related to work-family balance; paid work hours were negatively related to work-family balance. In terms of family characteristics, only age of the youngest child was positively related to work-family balance; family income and spouse's paid work hours were negatively related to work-family balance. Concerning personal characteristics, age, good health and being an immigrant were positively related to work-family balance; educational level and unpaid work time were negatively related to work-family balance. In addition, reporting time use on a weekday was positively related to work-family balance. Self-employment, work from home, total time with children, number of children, and gender were not significant predictors of work-family balance in this study. Age of the youngest child, parent's age, and parent's gender were found to moderate the association between work-family balance and quality time with children, and they did so in ways that were not expected. Specifically, the negative effect of quality time with children on work-family balance became stronger as the age of the youngest child and parent's age increased, and was stronger for mothers compared to fathers.

Limitations

Like other studies, the present study has some limitations. First, it was limited by the variables available in the 2010 General Social Survey. The outcome variable, work-family balance, was measured by a single self-report question: How satisfied are/were you with the balance between your job and home life? In a qualitative study, Sturges (2012) found that although some people reported long paid work hours and frequently worked overtime, they still believed that their work-family balance was currently good. Therefore, people may have different understandings of work-family balance that are not well captured in a single question. Although satisfaction with work-family balance is largely based on individuals' subjective feelings and experience, my findings could be stronger if there were measures for work-family balance that included both subjective and objective questions to assess the extent to which individuals are meeting paid work and family demands. For example, one study developed a six-item scale to measure work-family balance (Carlson et al., 2009), and several later studies showed this scale has validity (Brough et al., 2014; Haar, 2013). This six-item scale included questions that inquire as to both subjective feelings and perspectives from other people, like "I do a good job of meeting the role expectations of critical people in my work and family life" and "People who are close to me would say that I do a good job of balancing work and family"(p. 1483). Therefore, adding a scale like this to the GSS questionnaire could help with capturing more complete information on respondents' work-family balance.

Second, some variables that have been found to be related to work-family balance in previous studies were not available in the 2010 GSS, for instance supervisors' and co-workers'

support, job value, job complexity, job satisfaction, children's well-being, parents' feelings about time with children, marital satisfaction, and gender attitude. It would also be a good idea to explore factors such as social support for parents, and culture and ethnicity. However, only those variables that were available in the 2010 GSS could be included in the analyses. My findings could be more informative if all the variables that have been found to be related to work-family balance in past research could be included in the analyses. Additionally, the 2010 GSS collected detailed information on only one individual per household. For couples, it would be useful to include much more information about the partner, such as partner's satisfaction with work-family balance and their time use diary.

Third, considering the distribution of respondents, one of the important independent variables, part-time work, was removed from the logistic regression models due to low cell counts. Similarly, due to low cell counts with the outcome variable, work-family balance, I collapsed "very dissatisfied" and "dissatisfied" categories on the question inquiry about respondents' satisfaction with work-family balance, resulting in lost information on this variable.

Fourth, residents of full-time institutions and residents of the Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut were not included into the 2010 GSS. Therefore, the results of this research cannot be generalized to residents in these places. In addition, the GSS is a cross-sectional data set, therefore, although associations between predictors and work-family balance can be established, causation cannot be inferred. Finally, the 2010 GSS was a telephone survey. Therefore, those without access to a telephone were not included in the survey sample. Despite these limitations, compared to many previous studies focused on

work-family balance, this research has its strength in its representativeness: The findings can be generalized to Canadian dual-earner parents in the 10 provinces, aged 18-65, with at least one child in the household. This study is also one of the few studies to look at the association between quality time with children and work-family balance among Canadian parents.

Implications and Directions for Future Research

The findings of the current study indicate that further research is needed in terms of the association between quality time with children and the work-family balance of Canadian parents. The finding that quality time was negatively associated with parents' satisfaction with their work-family balance was unexpected and needs to be researched further to see if it continues to hold when including factors that are not included in this study, such as children's well-being. In addition, future research should use both objective and subjective ways to measure an individual's satisfaction with work-family balance. In addition, in order to understand the reasons for the association between quality time with children and work-family balance, it would be worthwhile to undertake qualitative research to explore how and to what extent quality time with children affects family and paid work responsibilities for parents. For example, it would be good to ask parents to define what work-family balance means to them and to ask them to describe the relationship between spending time with their children and their work-family balance.

With respect to the moderating effects of age of the youngest child, parent's age, and parent's gender on the association between work-family balance and quality time with children, the findings of the current study were unexpected. However, they do provide useful information about how different individuals were affected by quality time with children.

Previous research has indicated that attitudes toward gender equality affect the distribution of paid and unpaid work between partners, which in turn, affect individual's work-family balance (Marks et al., 2001). Perhaps it is gender attitude rather than gender itself that affects individual's perception of time with children and work-family balance. Future research could look at the moderating effect of gender attitude instead of gender on the association between quality time with children and work-family balance.

As well, comparisons to age, life stage and career stage may better capture individual's family and paid work demands. For instance, parents around their 60s would usually be classified as pre-retirement age and often shift their center of life to family; however, they may still want to stay in the labour force (Carrière & Galarneau, 2011). Additionally, older parents may also have other family responsibilities, such as taking care of their aging parents. These factors may affect their ways of dealing with paid work and family demands. Future research should explore the effect of life stage or career stage instead of age alone on work-family balance. In addition, it would be worthwhile in future research to explore other moderators, like shift work, on the association between quality time with children and work-family balance since these other factors may have effects on how people perceive their family demands and paid work demands.

The current study focused on individuals who were married or living in common-law relationships, aged 18 to 65, and living in a dual-earner family with at least one child in the household. Dual-earner families are not the only families that struggle to balance paid work and family life. Previous research has indicated that balancing paid work and family life is also a challenge for lone-parent families and three-generation families since parents in these

families may face more family responsibilities than other forms of families (Jacobs & Gerson, 2001). Future studies should look at the relationship between quality time with children and work-family balance among parents from other family structures, like lone-parent families and three-generation families, which may provide a more comprehensive understanding of work-family balance by exploring individuals' experience of work-family balance in varied family structures.

The finding that some work characteristics were related to work-family balance suggests that there is opportunity for organizations and employers to make policies and provide work-family balance programs that could improve employees' experiences of work-family balance, for example, providing flexible work schedules for employees to help them better manage their paid work and family demands. My findings showed that quality time with children had a negative effect on parent's work-family balance, and the negative effect was stronger for older employees, female employees, and employees who have an older youngest child. Therefore, in order to ensure satisfaction with work-family balance for employees in Canada, workplaces should provide family-friendly programs, such as providing childcare for employees' children to improve employees' productivity, reduce absenteeism, and retain valued employees (Duxbury et al., 2009); family programs and related organizations should be alert to parents who have older children, are older themselves, and mothers and help them to cope with paid work and family demands with suitable strategies. In addition, for those whose work involves advising parents, it is important to let parents know that children bring both joy and stress to parents and having children is a decision that will affect their work-family balance, but the negative effects might be reduced by using family-friendly

policies, if available, in their workplaces. Furthermore, parents may need to think about role expectations and whether their expectations are realistic. They may need to find ways to achieve work-family balance with less consideration of societal expectations.

Conclusions

The findings of the current study contribute to the understanding of work-family balance and work, family, and personal characteristics. More importantly, in contrast to most previous research, the current study explored the association between work-family balance and quality time with children. In addition, the moderating effects of age of the youngest child, parent's age, and parent's gender were assessed. This research provides information on how the work-family balance of parents is affected by quality time with children; as well, it has significant meaning for Canada as more and more mothers have entered the workforce and older employees have moved back their retirement dates in the past twenty years (Albanese & Rauhala, 2015; Jacobs & Gerson, 2001; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2007). Understanding employed mothers' and older employees' work-family balance is important for improving satisfaction with work-family balance of the Canadian population overall.

The current study is important for organizations that want to improve their employees' satisfaction with work-family balance; also, it is important for family programs that want to help people to balance paid work and family demands. The results can help organizations to adopt and promote workplace policies that support employees with their work-family balance. Those working with families need to let parents know that having children not only brings joy, but also may cause difficulties with balancing family and paid work. In addition, other factors

that were not included in the current study may also have effects on work-family balance. Additional research is needed to explore other factors related to work-family balance.

Unexpectedly, quality time with children was found to be negatively associated with work-family balance in this study. This result may be due to how work-family balance was measured. Additional research is needed to look into the relationship between quality time with children and work-family balance by using a measure of work-family balance that combines objective and subjective questions. Age of the youngest child, age of parent, and gender of parent were found to moderate the effect of quality time with children on work-family balance in ways that were not expected: The negative effect of quality time with children was stronger for parents who had a youngest child of older age, for older parents, and for mothers. It is perhaps that other factors also moderate the effect of quality time with children on work-family balance; thus, additional research is warranted concerning the moderators.

Since the majority of Canadian families with children depend on two incomes, it is important to explore dual-earner parents' experience of work-family balance. Researchers in this field should explore factors, especially family characteristics, that improve individuals' satisfaction with work-family balance. It is hoped that this research can stimulate responsible organizations and policy makers to develop practical policies that are helpful for Canadian employees in balancing their paid work and family life.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Total quantity of time with children (CHLDDOMS)

Variable name	Description
DUR2001	Total duration (in minutes) for child care (infant to 4 years old)
DUR2002	Total duration (in minutes) for food preparation for child under 5 years of age
DUR2003	Total duration (in minutes) for feeding the child (infant to 4 years old)
DUR2110	Total duration (in minutes) for putting the children to bed
DUR2120	Total duration (in minutes) for getting children ready for school
DUR2130	Total duration (in minutes) for personal care for children of the household
*DUR2200	Total duration (in minutes) for helping/teaching/reprimanding
*DUR2301	Total duration (in minutes) for reading with children
*DUR2302	Total duration (in minutes) for talking/conversation with children
*DUR2400	Total duration (in minutes) for play with children
DUR2501	Total duration (in minutes) for medical care of household children
*DUR2502	Total duration (in minutes) for emotional care of household children
DUR2600	Total duration (in minutes) for unpaid babysitting of household children
DUR2811	Total duration (in minutes) for visiting child care/school establishments
DUR2812	Total duration (in minutes) for associated communication related to child care/school activities
*DUR2818	Total duration (in minutes) for other educational help for household children
DUR2819	Total duration (in minutes) for other non-educational help for household children
DUR2910	Total duration (in minutes) for travel to/from personal care activities for household children

Note. Adapted from Statistics Canada. (2011). General Social Survey Cycle 24: *Time-Stress and Well-Being Public Use Microdata File Documentation and User's Guide* (Catalogue no. 12M0024X).

Appendix B: Ethics Approval

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Research Ethics and Compliance
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APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

October 26, 2015

TO: **Shuting Xie** (Advisor K. Duncan)
Principal Investigator

FROM: **Lorna Guse, Chair**
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board

Re: **Protocol #J2015:120**
"Dual-Earning Parents' Work-Family Balance and Time with Children: The Moderating Effects of Gender and Age"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2). **This approval is valid for one year only**.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note:

- **If you have funds pending human ethics approval, please mail/e-mail/fax (261-0325) a copy of this Approval (identifying the related UM Project Number) to the Research Grants Officer in ORS in order to initiate fund setup. (How to find your UM Project Number: http://umanitoba.ca/research/ors/mrt-faq.html#pr0)**

- **if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.**

The Research Quality Management Office may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba *Ethics of Research Involving Humans*.

The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study (available at: http://umanitoba.ca/research/orec/ethics/human_ethics_REB_forms_guidelines.html) **in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.**

Appendix C: Bivariate Correlations for Predictor Variables (N = 3,441,783)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Work-family balance	1	.030**	.080**	.138**	.036**	-.002**	-.023**
2. Gender		1	.122**	.033**	.085**	-.015**	-.046**
3. Age of respondent			1	.048**	.030**	-.053**	.032**
4. Health				1	-.011**	-.021**	.029**
5. High school or less					1	-.384**	-.325**
6. Post-secondary						1	-.748**
7. Bachelor or higher							1
8. Immigrate status							
9. Self-employee							
10. Work shift							
11. Work flexibility							
12. Work from home							
13. Income $92,300 or less							
14. Income not provided							
15. Income higher than $92,300							
16. Paid work time							
17. Unpaid work time							
18. Quality time spent with children							
19. Total time with children							
20. Number of children							
21. Age of youngest child							
22. Spouse paid work time							
23. Report on weekday							

** $p < 0.001$, two tailed test.

Appendix C (continued)

Variables	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Work-family balance	.093**	.021**	.022**	.052**	.007**	.044**	-.004**	-.036**
2. Gender	-.013**	.073**	-.095**	.065**	.065**	-.036**	-.093**	.114**
3. Age of respondent	.056**	.147**	-.033**	.080**	.052**	-.121**	.018**	.092**
4. Health	.012**	-.048**	.004**	-.001	-.066**	-.066**	.005**	.055**
5. High school or less	.019**	.009**	.004**	-.043**	-.082**	.145**	.029**	-.156**
6. Post-secondary	-.016**	.025**	-.115**	-.102**	-.033**	.079**	-.015**	-.058**
7. Bachelor or higher	.150**	-.032**	.115**	.136**	.093**	-.185**	-.006**	.171**
8. Immigrate status	1	-.017**	-.039**	.003**	-.106**	.085**	.047**	-.118**
9. Self-employee		1	-.093**	.224**	.459**	-.031**	.041**	-.008**
10. Work shift			1	.114**	-.006**	-.089**	-.010**	.089**
11. Work flexibility				1	.298**	-.156**	.059**	.088**
12. Work from home					1	-.126**	.040**	.078**
13. Income less than $92,300						1	-.367**	-.577**
14. Income not provided							1	-.548**
15. Income higher than $92,300								1
16. Paid work time								
17. Unpaid work time								
18. Quality time spent with children								
19. Total time with children								
20. Number of children								
21. Age of youngest child								
22. Spouse paid work time								
23. Report on weekday								

** $p < 0.001$, two tailed test.

Appendix C (continued)

Variables	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1. Work-family balance	-.046**	-.035**	-.032**	-.044**	-.044**	.085**	-.056**	-.005**
2. Gender	.165**	-.306**	-.062**	-.126**	-.051**	.000	-.201**	.030**
3. Age of respondent	.031**	-.053**	-.230**	-.330**	-.088**	.719**	-.039**	.002**
4. Health	-.025**	-.002**	.033**	.047**	.021**	.006**	-.012**	.014**
5. High school or less	.033**	-.031**	-.055**	-.057**	.004**	.103**	-.036**	.030**
6. Post-secondary	-.038**	.126**	-.057**	-.068**	.010**	.038**	.037**	-.055**
7. Bachelor or higher	.015**	-.107**	.098**	.111**	-.013**	-.113**	-.012**	.035**
8. Immigrate status	.009**	.011**	-.022**	-.012**	-.039**	-.029**	.024**	-.013**
9. Self-employee	.032**	-.049**	-.051**	-.086**	.008**	.136**	.041**	-.004**
10. Work shift	-.032**	-.030**	-.068**	-.017**	-.007**	-.061**	.009**	-.013**
11. Work flexibility	.031**	-.063**	.022**	.037**	.035**	.012**	.003**	-.002**
12. Work from home	-.033**	-.032**	-.010**	-.001	.094**	.031**	.050**	-.034**
13. Income less than $92,300	.041**	.104**	.001	.002**	-.010**	-.078**	-.034**	.060**
14. Income not provided	-.052**	-.012**	.006**	.015**	-.022**	.025**	.016**	-.047**
15. Income higher than $92,300	.008**	-.083**	-.006**	-.015**	.029**	.048**	.017**	-.013**
16. Paid work time	1	-.078**	-.081**	-.132**	-.001	-.002**	.030**	.643**
17. Unpaid work time		1	-.011**	.072**	.156**	-.037**	.158**	-.013**
18. Quality time spent with children			1	.639**	.055**	-.295**	-.026**	.044**
19. Total time with children				1	.165**	-.490**	.030**	.080**
20. Number of children					1	-.228**	.011**	.003**
21. Age of youngest child						1	.000	-.029**
22. Spouse paid work time							1	-.009**
23. Report on weekday								1

** $p < 0.001$, two tailed test.