

**Mothers, daughters and workers? An analysis of the relationship
between women's family caring, social class and labour market
participation in the UK.**

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Declaration

No part of this thesis has been submitted for another degree

No research in this thesis has been published yet

All the work in this thesis is mine alone

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Abstract

This thesis concerns the family caring that women do or do not do, coupled with the implications this has for the time they spend in paid work. Comprising three separate papers, each takes a new approach to the old problem of 'who cares?' and how this is related to UK women's lives in the 21st century. Using data from the Millennium Cohort Study and the British Household Panel Survey, I analyse three separate aspects of informal family caring. Chapter 2 takes an innovative look at the evolution of women's work/family balance in light of demographic changes in the age of motherhood and life expectancy. The findings suggest that caring for parents and children simultaneously is linked to reduced labour market participation for older women and women with older parents. Chapters 3 and 4 both take a different approach from most studies in recognising the heterogeneity across various forms of eldercare and childcare. Chapter 3 examines the extent of class variation in the provision of different types of eldercare to parents and the results suggest that a certain types of support are socially patterned. Chapter 4 considers different childcare options and employer support in relation to the length of time a mother takes to return to work post childbirth. The findings suggest that childcare usage by type is linked to timings of post-childbirth returns into full- and part-time work. The results also suggest that the extent to which a work-place is family-friendly can also influence the speed of return.

Chapter 1 **Introduction**

This thesis concerns the family caring that women do or do not do, coupled with the implications this has for the time they spend in paid work. Comprising three separate papers, each takes a new approach to the old problem of ‘who cares?’ and how this is related to UK women’s lives in the 21st century.

The value of informal caring

We all needed looking after when we were young and we all hope that there will be someone to care for us when we are old. Yet precisely how care arrangements for children and the elderly are organised appears to present a challenge for policymakers and families alike. Successive government administrations have emphasised the advantages of mothers returning to paid work as this both promotes growth in the national economy and helps to protect household budgets from poverty and economic hardship. Yet despite policy initiatives designed to help with access to childcare places and thereby assist mothers back into work, difficulties in finding suitable childcare remains a persistent problem (see Hein and Cassirer, 2010; Smith et al, 2010). At the other end of the age spectrum accessing quality eldercare seems to carry its own difficulties. Much debate and discussion has centred on how eldercare should be funded and how best it should be delivered (see Wanless 2006, Comas-Herrera et al, 2010; Dilnot, 2011). Indeed the quality and cost of eldercare has proved a topic of major concern and media attention.

A large part of the problem is that providing care is a time-consuming and labour intensive activity and this has serious cost implications. Whether funded by the public purse or private funds/savings, formal childcare and eldercare tends to be expensive. Side-stepping this often steep price-tag, the main alternative is where family members

informally provide their time and effort free-of-charge as part of the family bond. Yet even here there are less visible costs to be borne. Family carers tend to be women and where these women are looking after their children and/or elderly parents they tend to be less active in the labour market and lose out on their own earnings potential and pension rights.

This issue is well known. Research has consistently found that part-time working, a common strategy used by women to achieve a work/family balance, is associated with less advantageous pay, pensions and status (Olsen and Walby, 2004; Manning and Petrongolo, 2008; Lyonette et al, 2010). There is also evidence to suggest that taking time out of the labour market to care for family can lead to occupational downgrading and/or exiting paid work altogether (Connolly and Gregory, 2008, 2009; Mumford and Smith, 2009; Tomlinson et al, 2009). The ramifications and opportunity costs of providing unpaid informal care can therefore be quite considerable.

Caring is a valuable activity given that we all have occasion to draw on it a certain stages of our lives and sometimes for extended periods. This is a point emphasised by assessments of the contribution that family carers contribute to the national economy, currently estimated to be about £119 billion per year (Buckner & Yeandle, 2011). Many informal carers withdraw either partially or fully from paid work in order to care and subsequently find it hard to make ends meet. A recent study of 4,000 informal carers found that 4 in 10 found themselves in debt as a result of caring and over 45 percent were cutting back on daily essentials like heating and food (Carers UK, 2011). Family caring is gendered but does this matter? Some have challenged

the view that women have natural attributes that best equip them for caring roles and that the gender bias in unpaid caring is simply an efficient form of task specialisation (see Guberman et al, 1992). However, the issue for gender equity is the imbalance in the rewards of work. Paid work is generally conducted outside of the home, in the public sphere, with tangible rewards such as a pay packet, pension rights, and so on. Almost by definition, these visible and transparent rewards are not available to unpaid carers and this creates a shadowy notion of just how valuable caring is; which is not made any the easier by the fact that some forms of care have no market substitute, rendering it virtually impossible to quantify either its value or appropriate reward.

If it is not possible to fully understand the 'value' of caring and, given that women are disproportionately providing this 'value', it is perhaps illuminating to understand how women's unpaid work relates to their paid work. This would at least give some indication of the trade-off between the two. Furthermore, allied to Crenshaw's (1991) notion of 'intersectionality', it is important to know who is providing unpaid care as there may be pockets of women providing more informal care than others and thus subject to more than one site of inequity.

Work/family balance: what options are there for women?

It has been argued that whether a woman adopts the role of an informal carer and is exposed to the opportunity costs of caring is increasingly a matter of individual choice:

‘Personal preferences a[re] an important determinant of women’s behaviour, ...attitudes, values and preferences are becoming *increasingly* important in the lifestyle choices of rich people in modern societies. This does not mean that economic and structural factors suddenly vanish, or cease to be important. However, their *relative* weight declines as the relative importance of lifestyle preferences steadily grows.’ (Hakim 2000:17; author’s original emphasis).

‘Contextual influences and institutional constraints remain, but they are becoming less important. ... it is more and more the case that the key factors are attitudinal: work-lifestyle preferences, motivation, aspirations, and determination to achieve goals.’ (Hakim 2000: 275).

Hakim suggests that as a reflection of personal orientation towards either a job or a family career, women fall into one of three categories. Firstly, ‘committed’ women place greater emphasis on their job career and are thus those who predominantly work in full-time jobs and spend less time in the family setting. Secondly, ‘uncommitted’ women place greater emphasis on their family careers and are therefore more likely to be full-time family carers and only work when the domestic setup facilitates it. Thirdly, ‘adaptive’ women fluctuate in their attachment to either job or family depending on their life stage (Hakim, 2000). This theory of ‘preference’ acknowledges that some women are highly subject to socio-structural constraints and identifies these as ‘adaptive’ women in their balancing of work *and* family commitments. Conversely, it suggests that those ‘committed’ and ‘uncommitted’ women are relatively unaffected by such constraints in their choice between either work *or* family (Hakim, 2000).

However, this highlights the main difficulty with this approach, i.e., it points to an understanding of lifestyle choices guided by values and preferences but pays scant attention to the manner in which these preferences are both generated and applied. Crompton and Harris note that preference theory is unable to entirely explain the process behind the allocation of women into the categories of 'committed', 'adaptive' or 'uncommitted'. From qualitative evidence, they find substantial variation in the management of the work/family balance amongst women who invested heavily in a job career. From this they conclude that it is not possible to ascribe women into the three categories as Hakim suggests; firstly because the exercise is too much of an oversimplification, and secondly, that a woman might identify herself with the values of a 'committed' careerist but operate as an 'adaptive' due to the constraints placed on her. This raises the question of establishing exactly who these 'adaptive' women are. Are they women who choose to fluctuate between orientations towards a job or family career over the life-course or are they women who find themselves torn between the demands and rewards of family and job careers over the life-course? Thus, for Crompton and Harris, by presenting a theory of preference that posits women can be distinguished by their psychological attachments to either a job or family career and that some alternate in this psychology over the lifespan without an explanation as to why, Hakim 'contriv[es] to have the argument all ways at once' (Crompton & Harris, 1999).

In addition, many have suggested that orientations to work or to family do not appear out of a vacuum and are themselves a consequence of socio-cultural influences, e.g., ethnicity, social class, geographies, etc. Giddens reminds us that social theory must take account of individual agency only in light of its freedom to operate within social structure. The parameters of personal choice are themselves reflections of socio-

structures as 'agents are always rooted in a structural context...always and inevitably drawing upon their knowledge of that structural context when they engage in any sort of purposeful action' (Stones, 2005). Thus preference can rarely be understood without reference to social location.

Moreover, women are often precluded from following any innate dispositions freely. Normative assumptions of the female role as the care giver and the domestic worker disadvantage women in the labour market as it is often presumed that women will have need to concentrate on home life and family care to some degree and are therefore unfocused employees (Le Feuvre, 1999). Women are much more likely than men to spend extended periods out of the labour market to fulfil caring duties and are thus viewed as less reliable over the long term (Trewsdale & Tonman, 1993): 'it is assumed that the typical woman worker will show less resistance to movement out of work in order to accommodate changing domestic circumstances' (Kremer, 1993: 193). Furthermore, even if a subsequent return to paid work is achieved, the potential spill-over of caring duties into paid work time has implications for a woman's employability. Such stereotypes of women as uncommitted employees are often cited as part of the explanation for the existence of 'glass ceilings' and 'sticky floors' where women suffer disadvantage in seeking promotion and increased wages at both the top and bottom of the skills spectrum (Barron et al, 1993; Booth et al, 2003; Ginther & Hayes, 2003; Filippin & Ichino, 2005). In this way, both the existence and presumption of a woman's caring role influence the pursuit of preference.

In summary, the notion that UK women in the 21st century are increasingly able to choose their own destiny is strongly undermined by the fact that it is not possible to tell whether the lifestyles that women pursue are the ones that they would otherwise

choose and, even if they are, such choices are socially constructed and therefore not freely made.

C. Wright Mills famously advocated the need to frame individual circumstances within their sociological context or to see 'private troubles' as 'public issues' where a phenomenon is so widespread that the 'ordinary individual in his restricted milieu will be powerless....to solve the troubles this system or lack of system imposes' (Mills, C. Wright 1959: 10). Individual women and their families make decisions over to how to organise informal caring but, as these choices are not free, it is important to reveal the extent to which informal caring is socially patterned. Given that unpaid caring jeopardises women's financial independence and that women's decisions in 'choosing' unpaid family caring in favour of paid work (or vice-versa) are not entirely self-determined, it is also important to consider the context and nature of informal caring to assess the manner in which it shapes women's lives.

Taking hitherto under-explored aspects of family caring this thesis adds to existing knowledge by addressing gaps in the literature in two main respects. Firstly, the work/family balance is reconceptualised to include the balancing of work demands against the care of both the young *and* the old. Secondly, specificity within different care options is considered. Recognising the differences between variant types of intergenerational caring, alternative childcare options and the kinds of family-friendly policies that employers adopt, the aim is to understand more specifically how family caring is socially organised. Firstly in terms of the support that carers give, i.e., adult daughters to their parents, and secondly in terms of the help that family carers receive, i.e. childcare and employer support.

Thesis outline

Using data from the Millennium Cohort Study and the British Household Panel Survey, I analyse three separate aspects of informal family caring. Chapter 2 takes an innovative look at the evolution of women's work/family balance in light of demographic changes in the age of motherhood and life expectancy. Chapters 3 and 4 both take a different approach from most studies in recognising the heterogeneity across various forms of eldercare and childcare. The former examines the extent of class variation in the provision of eldercare to parents, whereas the latter considers different childcare options and employer support in relation to time spent out of the labour market.

The second chapter considers the trend of women to delay motherhood combined with rising life expectancy and the greater likelihood that women will be situated between the care needs of their elderly parents and of their young children. I assess whether being sandwiched between the needs of the old and the young is linked to labour market participation by separately analysing the likelihood of being in paid work and the amount of hours spent in paid work; both relative to child- and eldercaring women perform. The results show a complicated picture but offer clear indications that, when caring for children and parents, older women and women with older parents are particularly likely to face barriers in relation to paid working. Yet there are signs that sandwiched caring can embody some synergistic qualities. Working mothers with older parents tend to work slightly more hours per week than otherwise if they also provide some form of eldercare. This marginal difference does little to compensate for the substantial reduction in working time that sandwiched

women experience relative to women without caring roles, but it does indicate some potential economies of scale.

Taking a more specific focus on the different kinds of support activities that adult daughters provide to their parents, the third chapter investigates whether provision is patterned by socio-economic status. Often overlooked in research studies are the qualitative differences between the types of instrumental support that daughters provide. Giving lifts by car, help with cooking, cleaning, shopping, personal care and so on; rely on different sets of resources, skills and attitudes to caring. In recognition of these differences I assess each type of support separately, the results of which indicate that social patterning exists in the provision of some types of support and not others.

Finally, Chapter 4 examines the connections between the time it takes a mother to return to work, childcare usage and employer support. The results suggest that earlier returns to work are associated with the use of informal childcare whilst later returns are linked with a range of childcare provision, formal and informal; although regardless of the time take to return, mothers tend to use only one provider at a time. With respect to support in the workplace, it would appear that certain kinds of family-friendly support can be influential in the timing of post-childbirth returns to work as some are linked to early returns and others to later returns. However, it would also appear that the availability of many forms of employer support is rather limited and furthermore is stratified by occupational class.

Whilst each of these three chapters examines different aspects of unpaid family caring, i.e., sandwiched care, eldercare and childcare respectively; the sociological

interest of all three is fundamentally the same. Family caring is generally a private affair, occurring behind closed doors and beyond the public gaze. Yet, paradoxically, it performs a vital social function that we all rely on. Caring has very rapidly moved up the political agenda in recent years and barely a week goes by without a high profile media campaign warning about either the plight of UK adult social care or the problems associated with finding appropriate childcare: the poor quality of home care services, childcare adult-staff ratios, new online childcare vouchers schemes with tax breaks and carers being at high risk of suffering depression have been some of the more recent political footballs. This creates the incentive to understand who provides care, where and when. Societal changes in terms of demographic ageing and female labour market participation have implications for the supply and demand of informal care. There is a practical question of how to respond to these changes and still all manage to care for each other but there is also an emancipatory question of how to respond in such a way that promotes social justice. Whether looking at the labour supply of women providing sandwiched care, the provision of particular types of eldercare, or the use of particular types of childcare and how family friendly employers are, the aim of this thesis is to provide some insights as to handle both the practical and emancipatory questions.

Chapter 2 The Sandwiched Generation at Work? An analysis of the labour market participation of UK women caring for parents and dependent children.

Introduction

Despite much progress on the road to gender equity, traditional divides between male and female roles in family caring persist. When considering the unpaid tasks associated with care provided to family members ill-equipped to care for themselves, such as children and the elderly, numerous studies show that women fulfil the majority of these tasks (see Fredriksen-Goldsen & Scharlach, 2001; Lewis, 2003; Henz, 2006; Del Bono et al, 2009). The effects of caring either for dependent children or for parents on women's job careers is well documented, but the hurdles faced by women who care for young children and elders at the same time has received less attention. Women who find themselves simultaneously providing care for parents and children have been referred to as the 'sandwich generation' due to being wedged between the needs of the young and the needs of the old (Pierret, 2006). Whilst relatively few studies consider the impact of sandwiched caring on female labour participation, the number of women who fall into this sandwich category might well be expected to rise. Demographic trends such as increasing life expectancy and delayed motherhood imply an increasing probability for a woman to be in a sandwiched position (Neal & Hammer, 2007).

The focus of the vast majority of research into work/family balance centres either on the care of children or the care of elders. By contrast, this investigation seeks to bridge the gap between these two strands by considering the relatively unexplored implications of caring for both children and elders on women's labour market

participation. Moreover, much research on exchanges between older parents and their adult children has focused on co-residence, whereas analyses of intergenerational co-residence have shown such living arrangements to be a declining trend in many Western countries, including the UK. It is therefore important to know more about intergenerational support which is not characterised by co-residence.

I exploit the data within the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) on support given to parents who live outside the household. Using this information I explore the conjoint caring of children and elders and its relationship with women's paid work; both in terms of the propensity to work and, for those in work, the amount of hours they work. This innovative approach to studying women's work/family balance seeks not only to reveal the circumstances of sandwiched caring but also, through the combined consideration of elder- and childcaring, to promote a more holistic way of thinking about the nexus between work and family for women.

Considering women aged between 25 and 50 years, the findings suggest that whilst dependent children, both in terms of their age and number, are associated with a reduction in both a mother's propensity to work and the number of usual working hours per week, caring for a parent who lives outside the household has a negligible effect on these labour market outcomes for daughters. Furthermore, there is little evidence of an overarching interaction effect between caring for children and for parents, either in terms of work hours or likelihood of working.

Taking a closer look at women aged 39 to 50 and women with parents aged 70⁺, although the likelihood of these women being in paid work for appears to be related

to the children they have but not the eldercaring they do, for those in work, caring for both elders and children appears to be linked to reductions in paid work hours. For working women aged 39 to 50 the estimated reductions associated with sandwiched caring can be as much as 15½ hours per week depending on the age/number of children and how involved the eldercaring is. For working women with older parents whilst child- and eldercaring also appears to be linked to reductions in weekly hours albeit only for less involved forms of eldercaring. Here the tendency to work fewer hours reflects a combination of the reductions associated with caring for older parents and caring for children but this is tempered slightly by positive synergies associated with conjoint elder- and childcaring.

Background

Women and caring and working.....

It is widely acknowledged that women are disadvantaged in the UK labour market by the gendered dimension of family caring and this disadvantage has been shown to relate to the care of both the young and the old.

Although many more fathers are actively involved in the care of their children than in previous generations, mothers still shoulder most of the responsibility for childcaring (Tang & Cousins, 2005; McRae, 2008). This is exemplified and entrenched by the current disparity between the statutory maternity and paternity provision for leave and pay. Whilst protecting the employment rights of new mothers, the fact that women's entitlements substantially outstrip that of men's reinforces the gender imbalance in childcaring (Himmelweit, 2008; Featherstone, 2010). This gendered nature of the

responsibility for childcaring translates into restricted employment opportunities for mothers in terms of pay and working hours.

Over the period between 1996 and 2011 the employment gap for women with and without children narrowed from 5.8 percentage points in 1996 to 0.8 percentage points in 2011. In the final quarter of 2010, 67.3 percent of women without a dependent child were in work compared to 66.5 percent of mothers. This narrowing has been driven by a rise in mothers working full-time as 23.1 percent of mothers worked full-time in 1996 compared to 29.0 percent in 2010. Yet throughout this time period the percentage of mothers working part-time has remained fairly static, hovering between 37 and 39 percent; that is to say, always higher than the proportion of mothers working full-time (ONS, 2011a).

Whilst mothers of young children have experienced the largest rise in employment chances over recent decades relative to their male and childless female counterparts, they remain the most disadvantaged in terms of employment opportunities (Berthoud & Blekesaune, 2006). In recognition of this, statutory entitlements to maternity leave and pay have been extended several times since the turn of the century. Prior to April 2003 mothers had been able to spend up to 18 weeks (or 29 weeks from the birth, conditional upon length of service) away from the workplace and received Statutory Maternity Pay calculated at 90 percent of earnings for the first six weeks and the lesser of either a flat rate (£75 per week in 2002/3) or 90 percent of earnings for 12 weeks thereafter. Various legislative changes have meant that all current expectant mothers are now entitled to spend 52 weeks away from the workplace and receive 90 percent of earnings for the first six weeks and the lesser of either a flat rate (£136.78

per week in 2013/14) or 90 percent of earnings for 33 weeks thereafter. April 2003 also heralded the right for parents with a child aged under six (or a disabled child aged under 18) to request flexible working arrangements and has been subsequently extended to cover all parents of a child aged under 17. However, the effectiveness of the right to apply to work flexibly relies heavily on employers' discretion given that the entitlement only refers to an ability to 'request' rather than receive. Furthermore, despite these various changes women are still more likely to than men to be economically inactive due to looking after the family/home. In 1994 nearly half (48.1 percent) of all economically inactive women reported themselves as looking after the family/home compared to 35.4 percent in 2011. For men the proportions were 4.7 percent in 1994 and 5.7 percent in 2011 (ONS, 2011b). Although this identifies some convergence in the proportions of male and female home-makers over time, it also demonstrates a sizably persistent gender gap.

There is much evidence indicating that unpaid eldercare is also gendered. Despite an increasing propensity for older men to engage in informal caring, particularly in spousal care (Himmelweit, 2008), women of all ages are still more likely to participate in eldercaring activities than men, are more likely to either reduce their paid working hours or exit the labour market altogether to do so (Yeandle & Buckner, 2005), and are also more likely to be main carers for the elderly than men and thus more likely to experience the front line difficulties faced by primary carers in reconciling job and family demands (Carmichael and Charles, 2003).

In the UK in 2009/10, 61 percent of adult informal carers provided support to someone living outside their own household, principally to their parents. This data

from the Family Resources Survey 2009/10 also shows that 38 percent of female informal carers provided extra-residential care for a parent compared to 34 percent of their male counterparts (MacRory, 2012). The contribution made by unpaid carers has long been recognised as informal care has been an integral part of the 'Care in the Community' agenda (Dept of Health, 1989, 1999). Those who provide care for more than 20 hours per week are entitled to have their caring needs assessed. However there is widespread concern regarding the efficacy of this support or indeed whether it leads to positive outcomes for carers (Mayhew, 2012). The main financial support provided to carers via the welfare system is Carer's Allowance (£59.75 per week in 2013/14). Entitlement is restricted to those caring in excess of 35 hours per week for an individual on a qualifying disability benefit provided the carer does not earn more than £100 in take-home pay from any employment. The rate of Carer's Allowance is lower than other income-replacement benefits and a White Paper on the Universal Credit proposals recognises that Carer's Allowance 'play[s] an ineffective role, neither effective in poverty prevention nor in meeting the needs of carers' (DWP, 2010). In 2007 the right to request flexible working arrangements was extended to cover those caring for adults, however as with caring for dependent children this only provides an entitlement to 'request'.

It is therefore clear that family caring in the UK is characterised by gender differences and these differences are a key part of the explanation of inequality. However, what is less than clear are the implications this has on the labour supply of women caring at both ends of the age spectrum simultaneously, i.e., those caring for both their children and parents.

...but caring as a mother is different to caring as a daughter

In the UK, caring for children or caring for elders typically presents differing challenges to women who seek to balance such roles with paid work. This diversity reflects the differential social norms and institutional practices regarding the care of children on the one hand and the care of the elderly on the other. Broadly speaking, these centre on issues of predictability and responsibility which I discuss in the next two sections.

Predictability in caring

It is generally expected that children will more or less follow a similar path towards independence which is characterised by known phases of a child's life as typified by the age related thresholds of school entry, legal majority, and so on. Such thresholds are found to be particularly relevant in the way that women with very young children organise their work/family balance (Paull, 2006). In a study of first-time mothers, Houston and Marks (2003) find that one of the key dimensions in enabling new mothers return to work after childbirth is planning. "If women make plans during pregnancy about how they will return to work, they are much more likely to do so" (Houston and Marks, 2003: 209). Nonetheless, the efficacy of planning is conditioned on the ability to predict the factors surrounding any return and this is not always easy. Nonetheless, an expectant mother can roughly but reliably envisage when her baby will be born, start at primary school, move on to secondary school, and so on. The relatively transparent, if somewhat complicated, nature of entitlements to statutory maternity leave and pay helps mothers to calculate the level of support they are likely to receive via their employer; yet this is counter-posed by uncertainty regarding the granting of 'requests' to work flexibly. This means that an expectant mother has some

information, albeit incomplete given the difficulty in predicting other factors, as to the maximum length of time she might be able to withdraw from paid working in order to care for her children and tentatively plan her desired work/family balance accordingly.

The same cannot be said of caring for elders. Unlike children, there is an absence of any obvious starting and ending point of probable caring that might be determined a priori and to some degree this renders caring for elders an open-ended commitment. Furthermore, the decision to have babies and children is largely a lifestyle choice and one can elect whether or not to become a parent but, for adult children, having parents that need looking after is clearly not a free choice and not something that one can control. For most people, it is difficult to envisage the rate at which their parents will decline, when this decline will begin and how long it will last (Martin Matthews and Campbell, 1995). Some enter a rapid terminal decline whilst others require care over the long term. For a woman who takes time out of the labour market to provide this care, this has implications for the amount of control she can exercise over her job career. Interruptions to paid working are known to have adverse effects on job status, pensions and pay (as discussed below); and the uncertainty regarding the timing and duration of any exit from the labour force is likely to place women providing eldercare in a particularly vulnerable position.

Responsibilities in caring

Aside from this dissimilarity between the likely calculability of child- and eldercaring there are also differences in the paths of responsibility for these two roles. Unlike the responsibility to care for one's children which lacks any element of choice, taking on

the de facto responsibility to care for one's parents is a matter of how choices are collectively interpreted by all interested parties such as the elder themselves, other siblings and public/private providers of care (Finch, 1989; Ingersoll-Dayton et al, 2003). Although the primary statutory duty for the care of the elderly falls on the Local Authority within which the elder resides, information from the 2001 census suggests that 12.6 percent of the adult population provided unpaid care to a family member (Buckner and Yeandle, 2011). Using data from the General Household Survey, Maher and Green (2002) find that just over half of unpaid carers provided care for a parent with 71 percent of carers providing practical support such as cooking and shopping and 25 percent provide help with personal care. Yet, even though they may perform vital caring activities for their parents, at no point in time do adult children become automatically responsible for this care and at least in principle are able to withdraw their support at anytime.

This ambiguity in the path of responsibility is demonstrated by the number of studies that investigate the likelihood of being an eldercarer. Henz (2006) finds that women with two or more children are less likely to take on informal eldercaring than otherwise similar women; and this highlights the normative assumption that mothers will care for their children but that whether daughters will care for parents is a matter of negotiation. However, it is also found that the age of the youngest child has no effect on the propensity to eldercare or on the likelihood of an eldercarer to exit paid work, suggesting that the demands presented by differing child ages are of little consequence (Henz 2006). Being an only child or being the youngest sibling tends to increase the likelihood of providing support to parents, as does having parents who live alone (Ermisch, 2009). Women are more likely to feel a deeper obligation than

men to extend care to their parents, and this translates into an increased propensity to provide care but the extent to which this translation occurs depends on geographical and social closeness of the parent and child (Stern, 1996; Dautzenberg et al, 2000; Ermisch, 2009). Emotional attachments to one's parents will likely induce a sense of moral obligation to provide filial care but this may be shared with siblings or offset by viable alternatives offered by state provision or the voluntary sector (Finch and Mason, 1993)¹.

However, many researchers and studies suggest that the identification of likely eldercarers evades neat categorisation (see Arber and Ginn, 1991; Robertson Elliot, 1996; Tinker, 1996: Chp10). In the absence of clear paths of responsibility for eldercaring, exactly who within the family takes on the role of caring for one's parents is the product of a complex set of contributory factors such as appetite for eldercaring, competing job or family commitments, geographical distance, social expectations as to who should provide eldercare and in what circumstances, and so on (Finch and Mason, 1993).

Time to care or time to work? The balancing act

With regard to the relationship between family caring and paid work I draw on three sets of literature, all of which pay scant attention to the circumstances of UK sandwiched women. The first and second of these consider separately the effects of children and elders on paid working. The third and much smaller body of work

¹ Since 2002, unlike elsewhere in the UK, in Scotland the financial costs of nursing and personal care have been met by the state. However, evidence on the substitution of formal care away from informal care is mixed (Christie, 2002; Dickinson et al, 2007; Dept. Of Health, 2005).

examines the consequences of a care burden presented by both children and elders but is overwhelmingly based on US data.

Mothers' work

All women refrain from working around the time of childbirth but the length of this period varies; some return after a few weeks whilst others may take several years.

Some return to full-time working and sustain this over the long term, whereas others fluctuate between full-time, part-time and zero working hours to accommodate a work/family balance and caring commitments over the life course.

Using data from the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS), Paull (2008) finds that the major shift of women into part-time work or leaving paid work altogether occurs at a first birth. Comparing movements between full-time work and part-time work/not working, 90.7 percent of childless female full-timers will still be in full-time work two years hence. However, for those women who experience a first birth in the intervening two years, only 30.4 percent will still be in full-time work, 42.9 percent will be working part-time and 26.7 percent will have left the labour market altogether. Subsequent births have a similar but more muted effect and during the first ten years after a first birth there is an increased likelihood of moving back into part-time jobs upon re-entry into work (Paull, 2008). Another critical watershed for mother's employment is the point when their children enter compulsory schooling: a mother whose youngest child starts school is especially likely to move into work but a mother with remaining pre-school children are unusually likely to leave work (Paull, 2006). Walling (2005) finds that the 2004 UK employment rate for coupled mothers

of pre-school children was 59 percent, compared to 77 percent for those with a youngest child aged 5-10 years (primary schoolers) and 80 percent for those with a youngest child aged 11-15 years (secondary schoolers). In the latter case roughly half of those employed were in full-time jobs and half in part-time jobs. However, in both the cases where the youngest child was either pre-school aged or primary-school aged the proportion of employed mothers in part-time jobs was roughly two-thirds (Walling, 2005). This demonstrates that as children mature not only mothers more likely to be in work but also they are more likely to work a greater number of hours per week.

Part-time working offers the particular advantage of facilitating the use of cheap childcare support from partners or close family members (Dex et al, 1996). However, substantial penalties are suffered by women who work less than full-time hours as part-time working has been shown repeatedly to be linked with low wage, low status jobs and inferior pension entitlements (Olsen and Walby, 2004; Connolly and Gregory, 2008; Manning and Petrongolo, 2008; Paull, 2008). Furthermore, the effects of any withdrawal from full-time working during active motherhood have been shown to cast a shadow over future work career prospects till long beyond when children have grown up and left home (Ungerson 1987; Paull, 2008). Nonetheless, part-time working remains a keystone in how mothers organise their work/family balance (Lewis and Campbell, 2007; Harkness, 2008).

Daughters' work

Much debate surrounding choices and constraints within work/family balancing focuses on the experience of women with dependent children, which further

emphasises the unequivocal relationship of responsibility from mother to dependent child; but women with parents to care for can also experience work/family conflict. Issues such as limited hours of daycare availability and transportation difficulties, the cost of market-based care substitutes being too expensive and inflexible jobs can restrict the carer's labour supply (Glendinning, 1992; Twigg and Atkin, 1994; Phillips, 1999).

The evidence demonstrating a link between eldercaring and labour market outcomes is somewhat mixed. Based on US data, Wolf and Soldo (1994) find little association between caring for co-resident elder and either the propensity to work or hours of work for married women. However, in addressing the potential endogeneity of caregiving and employment, Ettner (1995) finds co-residency to be an important factor as living with a disabled elder is found to have a negative effect on women's labour market participation whereas the evidence for extra-residential parent care is less conclusive. This is echoed by UK data, where the negative relationship between informal eldercaring and employment is found for co-resident carers only (Heitmueller, 2007). Yet, Carmichael and Charles (2003) note that caring for an elder outside of the household might pose alternative constraints. Considering the number of care hours and the role of primary carer, they find differences relative to non-carers in employment and wage rates for both co-resident and extra-resident carers. Equally, evidence from an analysis of informal caregiving using BHPS data demonstrates that labour market participation of female carers, both in terms of the proportions employed and the average hours of paid work per week, was lower than that of their non-caring counterparts (Carmichael et al, 2008). Yet, it may be the case that those who adopt the eldercaring role are simply those less inclined to participate

in the labour market preferring to focus on unpaid work in the family (Heitmueller, 2007). Nonetheless, responses from women who mix paid work and informal caregiving report important difficulties in combining the two (Carmichael et al, 2008); suggesting that women who perform paid work and unpaid eldercare lack the support to optimise their work/family balance.

Sandwiched work

Clearly there are both similarities and differences between filial and parental caring. Of course, the particular care burden presented is determined by the amount that the care recipient can do for themselves; but this is true for both elders and children. Equally, the limitations that childcaring and eldercaring might place on a woman's capacity for paid working might be regarded similarly, as a primary carer is likely to experience comparable family/work tensions regardless of whether the dependent is a child or an elder (Joshi, 1995).

This begs the question as to how a woman's paid work time is affected by the confluence of these two roles, i.e., sandwiching. Evidence from the US suggests that those women fulfilling sandwiched caring roles tended to experience higher levels of absenteeism (Fernandez, 1990; Friedrikson & Scharlach, 1999). Furthermore, a study of dual-earner sandwiched American couples indicates that sandwiched wives are more likely than their husbands to make accommodations in their work by forgoing the chance of promotion, working fewer hours or choosing jobs with greater flexibility (Neal and Hammer, 2007). Yet, in the Netherlands, eldercaregiving is found to have a very limited impact on hours of work whether in a sandwiched position or not; however, it is noted that this might reflect the strong public provision

of services to the elderly and infirm at minimal cost to the individual (Dautzenberg et al, 2000). A recent descriptive study of 1,009 sandwiched carers in the UK found that only half were able to juggle care and work, and 22 percent of those that did manage to combine caring and working reported a negative impact on their job due to tiredness, lateness and absence. One third of the respondents in the study had given up work to care full-time (of whom 81 percent were women) compared to 26 percent working full-time and 22 percent working part-time (Carers UK, 2012). This evidence highlights the pressures faced by UK sandwiched carers and identifies this as an issue of the present for those who are struggling to meet the challenges on the current frontline, but also as an issue of the future in relation to demographic change

With an ageing population and a public social care system struggling to meet current challenges let alone future ones, how we care for our elderly is a much debated topic (see Laing, 1993; Richards et al, 1996; Wanless, 2006). Equally, much discussion surrounds the future sustainability and affordability of pension provision in the UK; bringing into question the degree of financial resources each will have to fund their own care in the future (Hills, 2006; Turner, 2006). This may herald the need for greater care provision from within the family, the lynchpin of social caring, as ‘families are the safety nets for society. They handle whatever problem [for which] there is no program or organizational response’ (Settles et al, 2009). Yet, as women delay motherhood, families with ageing parents become increasingly likely to have dependent children and the two caring roles are liable to converge. Given the gender inequity within family care, it is important to understand what this means for UK women’s paid work time.

For sandwiched women the balancing act becomes a tripartite consideration of children, work and parents. If having young children means that women typically reduce their time in the labour market, might they participate yet less if they also care for their parents? If so, does sandwiching caring mean working fewer hours or not working at all? Relative to women without caring commitments, in principle the following statements could apply:-

- 1a. Women with dependent children are less likely to be in paid work.
- 1b. Women who care for their parents are less likely to be in paid work.
- 1c. Women with dependent children and who also provide care for their parent(s) are less likely to be in paid work.

- 2a. Working women work fewer hours if they have dependent children.
- 2b. Working women work fewer hours if they provide care to their parents.
- 2c. Working women with dependent children work fewer hours if they also care for their parents.

Items 1a and 2a have already been studied extensively and there is evidence that women with children, and in particular those with young children, are less likely to be in work, and those in work are more likely to work fewer hours. Items 1b and 2b have also been investigated but the results are mixed but 1c and 2c have not been analysed for the UK and they will be the focus of the remainder of this investigation.

Data and Methods

Data

To explore the relationships between filial care, parental care and paid working this investigation uses data from the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS). Since 1991 the BHPS has collected data from an original sample of approximately 5,500 households which corresponds to roughly 10,000 adult interviews per annual wave (Taylor, 2010). Each wave contains a wealth of information regarding socio-demographic characteristics, household composition, labour market profiles, etc. Additionally, the waves conducted in 2001 and 2006 report information regarding the kinds of caring activities that adult children conduct for their parents and the time it takes to travel to where a parent lives.

Variables

The following variables were identified and constructed from the data within the BHPS to explore the relationship between paid working and family caring. Detailed definitions and summary statistics of all variables are given in appendices I and II.

Dependent variables

- Time spent per week in paid work

The first part of the analysis considers the probability of being in paid work relative to unpaid caring as this will reveal any dissonance between caring *or* working.

Correspondingly, a dichotomous variable denoting 'in paid work' or 'not in paid work' was constructed. The second part of the analysis addresses the further issue of establishing the extent of any dissonance between caring *and* working as it considers the working hours of those who combine paid work and caring in light of those

without caring commitments. Here the dependent variable represents the usual hours of work per week ranging from 1 to 60.

Independent variables

- Number and ages of child(ren)

To identify the relationship between a mother's paid labour supply and the children she has in age and number, two variables were constructed: the first being a count of the number of children in the household aged under sixteen² and the second a categorical variable indicating the age of the youngest child in the household as follows:-

1. No children
2. Youngest child is aged 0-4 (Pre-school age)
3. Youngest child is aged 5-11 (Primary school age)
4. Youngest child is aged 12-15 (Secondary school age)

To address the difference in the 'age of majority' in Scotland relative to the rest of the UK³, the notion of a 'dependent' child is confined to those children aged under sixteen with an additional dummy variable included to denote the presence of a sixteen, seventeen or eighteen year old still in full-time education within the household.

² Ranging from 'no children' up to 'three or more children'.

³ Under the Law Reform (Parent and Child) (Scotland) Act 1986, an individual is defined as a 'child' until they reach 18 years of age. Nonetheless, all parental rights cease on a sixteenth birthday. The only parental responsibility that extends beyond 16 and up until 18 is that of providing the child with guidance and advice (Jamieson, 1995)

- Caring for parents

Responses to the following questions within the data were used to construct a binary variable to indicate whether or not the respondent provides some form of care for their parents.

“Nowadays, do you regularly or frequently do any of the things listed on this card for your parents?”

1. Giving them lifts in your car (if you have one);
2. Shopping for them;
3. Providing or cooking meals;
4. Helping with basic personal needs like dressing, eating or bathing;
5. Washing, ironing or cleaning;
6. Dealing with personal affairs e.g. paying bills, writing letters;
7. Decorating, gardening or house repairs;
8. Financial help;
9. Anything else.

As the focus of this investigation centres on eldercare activities that have the potential to affect the amount of time a woman spends in the labour market, items eight and nine are not regarded here as eldercaring activities: providing monetary assistance is not a form of help that is likely to limit the amount of time that a woman will spend working and it is not clear if this is also the case for ‘Anything else’ activities. Thus I concentrate on items one to seven, with the binary variable constructed to take unity if respondents report fulfilling at least one of the seven tasks. It is possible to see how

differences between these itemised tasks might translate into differences in intensity of care. Yet, exactly how intensive these tasks might be depends on what they involve; how much needs doing, how often it needs to be done and how long it takes. The BHPS data provides little account of how often or for how long these tasks were performed, thus it is problematic to assume that some tasks necessarily involve more (or less) effort than others. Using the example of giving lifts in the car, this might be a low intensity task if it is a local journey and does not involve a great deal of effort. Equally it might be a higher intensity task if travelling further afield, more often or at peak rush hour times. Providing personal care is generally an intensive form of care and one could base a set of analyses on this assumption but it is often unpopular type of care for elder parents and adult children alike due to the degree of burden and intimacy involved (Ungerson, 1987; Finch, 1989; Finch and Mason, 1993); which can lead to the problems associated with estimating rare events for binary models.

Another approach involves constructing a binary variable to take unity if respondents report fulfilling any one of the care tasks. This requires no assumptions regarding how intensive a task may be and measures only whether the respondent does 'something'. A further approach is to construct a variable to take unity only if respondents report fulfilling two or more tasks. Whilst it still not possible to infer any degree of intensity through this latter approach as two 'light' tasks may be less intensive than one 'heavy' one, it does give some account of how involved the respondent may be in the care of a parent, i.e., across how many different areas of care. Table 2.1 shows different specifications of a care variable outlining the

Table 2.1: Distribution of carers across alternative specifications of 'care' and across those who do and do not provide personal care

Provides personal care	Performs at least one task		Total
	No	Yes	
No	37% (544)	59% (797)	96%
Yes	-	4% (48)	4%
Total	37%	63%	100%
	Performs at least two tasks		
	No	Yes	
No	62% (865)	34% (476)	96%
Yes	-	4% (48)	4%
Total	62%	38%	100%
	Performs at least three tasks		
	No	Yes	
No	77% (1061)	20% (280)	96%
Yes	0% (4)	4% (44)	4%
Total	77%	23%	100%

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N=1389)

Cell percentages weighted using cross sectional weights. Unweighted observations in brackets.

proportions of the overall sample providing care as specified by 'at least one task' (something), 'at least two tasks' and 'at least three tasks'. This also shows how these specifications are related to the provision of personal care, arguably the most intense form of care. This highlights the unpopularity of providing personal care as only a very small proportion of my sample provides this type of care. Furthermore it demonstrates that those who provide personal care also tend to provide help in others areas; when 'care' is more narrowly specified to constitute at least two tasks, all the personal carers meet this condition and indeed most of them meet the condition for providing at least three tasks. Table 2.1 also tells us that as the specified number of

tasks increases the overall proportion of carers decreases: specified as one tasks it is almost two-thirds (63 percent), approximately two-fifths for two tasks (38 percent) and one-fifth for three tasks (20 percent). Whilst it may not be possible to infer levels of intensity as discussed above, the decline in numbers of carers as the breadth of caring increases may reflect the difficulties of caring across multiple areas. To recognise differences in the level involvement in the care of parents, I conduct analyses on the three care specifications in Table 2.1, i.e., one or more, two or more and three or more tasks. To capture any overarching effects of simultaneously caring for both elders and children an interaction term was further included.

- Year/Wave

The 2001 and 2006 waves of the BHPS do not yield a sample for my purposes with sufficient size or variation across waves to conduct longitudinal analyses. I pool the data and focus on cross sectional analyses. In recognition that the information originates from two different points in time, I include a dummy variable to account for any year effects.

- Respondent's characteristics

A variety of individual characteristics are known to be associated with labour market participation and patterns of involvement in family caring and although not a specific focus of this investigation it is necessary to account for them. These include the respondent's age, educational achievements, attitudes towards paid working and eldercaring, socio-economic class, ethnic grouping, partner's income, partnership status, the region of the UK the respondent lives in and subjective well-being.

- Respondent's parent(s) characteristics

When considering how caring for parents is related to a woman's paid work, the picture becomes yet more complex. Having a living parent may or may not mean that one takes on an eldercaring role, irrespective of whether the parent is in need of care, as this responsibility does not wholly rest with any one of the elder's adult children. The meeting of care needs can be, and often is, devolved to others such as the state or other siblings. Naturally, as the number of siblings increases, the options to depute eldercare tasks also increase. Accordingly, a variable is included to account for the number of the respondent's siblings and birth order; the latter having been shown to be an important factor in eldercaring propensity (Ermisch, 2009). As the greater the distance one lives from one's parents decreases the chances of providing care for them, a variable is constructed to indicate the time required to travel from the respondent's home to that of her parent(s)⁴.

In the absence of any information regarding the health of the parents, parental age is taken to indicate the prospect of a care need. In those cases where both parents are alive, the measure used is the mean age of the two. With increasing age, the likelihood of one's parent(s) experiencing health difficulties increases. Further indications of the demand for care are taken from the occupational prestige scores and educational levels of parents as these provide an approximate measure of the resources that parents might have to pay for any market-based care substitute.

⁴ Where parents live apart the measure of distance used is the time taken to travel to the mother as mothers are more likely to receive support from their adult children than are fathers (Ermisch, 2009).

- Respondent's job characteristics

For those in paid work, the amount of hours they do is likely to be related to the type of job they do. Jobs in the private sector are generally less favourable to women as the emphasis on profit motives and productivity conflicts with the needs of those combining family and work (Esping-Andersen, 1990). To account for differences in job stability and attachment, I include variables denoting jobs tenure⁵ and whether the job offers promotional opportunities.

Sample

The 2001 and 2006 waves of the BHPS contain information relating to a sample of women with at least one parent alive at the time of interview. Pooling the information in these two waves, I consider the chances of being in paid work and, for those in work, the number of hours usually worked per week for groups of women in three particular life phases; women aged 25 to 50 years, women aged 39 to 50 years and women with parents over the age of 70 years. Table 2.2 shows the distribution of individuals contributing to the 2001 and 2006 waves in this pooled information. As this shows, some individuals contribute to both waves so for all estimations I adjust the standards errors to allow for clustering at the individual level.

⁵ This is capped at 10 years as after spending many years in the same job, the effect of any further time is negligible

Table 2.2: Distribution of individuals contributing to either one or both waves, across samples.

	# Individuals	N	2001	2006	2001 & 2006	Total
Women aged 25-50	1181	1389	11%	46%	41%	100%
Women aged 39-50	620	700	14%	55%	31%	100%
Women with parents age 70+	487	553	17%	48%	35%	100%
Women in paid work						
Women aged 25-50	880	1019	11%	52%	37%	100%
Women aged 39-50	479	536	14%	55%	31%	100%
Women with parents age 70+	371	414	16%	53%	31%	100%

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: All statistics weighted using cross-sectional weights. Numbers of individuals and observations are unweighted. 'Women in paid work' represents a subset of the main sample, for whom hours of work are observed.

Women in the 25 to 50 age bracket are likely to be more attached to the labour market than their younger or older counterparts as they are less likely to be in full-time education or contemplating retirement. Equally, this is the period of a woman's life where she is most likely to have dependent children; thus raising the prospect of being sandwiched. Considering two dimensions of demographic change, i.e., postponed motherhood and population ageing, I also analyse the particular circumstances of women above the sample median age, that is to say women aged 39 to 50; and women who report having at least one parent aged over 70. I exclude women who report paid work hours of more than 60 per usual working week (4 cases) and women that report monthly incomes in excess of £5,000 (44 cases).

Summary Statistics

Tables 2.3 and 2.4 present summary statistics and pooled sample sizes for the three groups of women used to analyse the chances of paid work and working hours respectively. Table 2.3 indicates that the vast majority of women have a paid job regardless of which of the three categories they fall within. Table 2.4 further suggests that when looking at mean working hours, promotion chances, job sector or job tenure, the results are broadly similar across all three categories of working women.

Focussing on working women, Table 2.4 presents the information on a restricted set of the women appearing in Table 2.3. However, as this restricted set forms a large part of the sample described in Table 2.3 it is not surprising that the details regarding dependent children and eldercaring are somewhat similar in both tables. Women aged 25 to 50 tend to have more and younger dependent children than older women and women with older parents. This is perhaps reflective of differences in life-stage where some or all of the children of older women are liable to have grown up and moved into adulthood. When considering eldercaring as providing one task/area of support, approximately 63 percent of women aged 25-50 and 65 percent of women aged 39 to 50 provide care for their parents. Women with older parents tend to themselves be older and roughly 70 percent of these women provide some sort of care for their parent(s). Furthermore, around two fifths of each age category of women provide care in at least one area to their parents whilst caring for dependent children at the same time. When considering eldercaring that covers more than one area, i.e., at least two and at least three areas of support, Table 2.4 also shows that the proportions providing support follow a similar pattern. Within each specification of eldercaring the proportion of women across age categories providing simultaneous

Table 2.3: Summary Statistics

	Women aged 25-50 (1)	Women aged 39-50 (2)	Women with parents age 70+ (3)
Has a paid job	82.3%	85.4%	88.6%
Number of dependent children			
- None	30.6%	38.1%	39.6%
- One	26.3%	31.0%	24.7%
- Two	32.2%	23.2%	25.4%
- Three or more	11.0%	7.7%	10.3%
Age of youngest child			
- youngest aged 0-4	27.3%	8%	14.2%
- youngest aged 5-11	27.3%	30.0%	26.2%
- youngest aged 12-15	14.8%	23.9%	20.0%
Performs care for their parents			
- At least one eldercare task	62.9%	65.0%	71.1%
- At least two eldercare tasks	38.3%	41.3%	50.6%
- At least three eldercare tasks	23.3%	25.8%	32.3%
Cares for parents and children simultaneously			
- At least one eldercare task	43.0%	38.6%	43.1%
- At least two eldercare tasks	25.6%	22.5%	28.8%
- At least three eldercare tasks	16.1%	14.5%	19.3%
Respondent's mean age	38.3 yrs	44.0 yrs	43.7 yrs
Parent(s)' mean age	66.9 yrs	72.9 yrs	75.7 yrs
N	1389	700	553

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: All statistics weighted using cross-sectional weights. Observations unweighted

Table 2.4: Summary statistics of women in paid work

	Women aged 25-50 (1)	Women aged 39-50 (2)	Women with parents age 70+ (3)
Mean usual working hours per week	28.1 hrs	28.6 hrs	28.1 hrs
Job has promotional opportunities	46.0%	39.3%	42.4%
Job is in the private sector	54.5%	50.1%	51.4%
Mean job tenure in years	3.7 yrs	4.3 yrs	4.3 yrs
Number of dependent children			
- None	35.4%	41.4%	41.7%
- One	26.4%	30.1%	24.0%
- Two	29.7%	20.7%	23.9%
- Three or more	8.6%	7.8%	10.3%
Age of youngest child			
- youngest aged 0-4	23.9%	7.8%	15.0%
- youngest aged 5-11	25.5%	27.0%	24.8%
- youngest aged 12-15	15.3%	23.8%	18.4%
Performs care for their parents			
- At least one eldercare task	63.1%	64.7%	69.2%
- At least two eldercare tasks	39.0%	41.8%	50.4%
- At least three eldercare tasks	24.1%	26.8%	32.8%
Cares for parents and children simultaneously			
- At least one eldercare task	41.1%	37.0%	41.5%
- At least two eldercare tasks	26.1%	23.5%	30.1%
- At least three eldercare tasks	16.1%	15.0%	20.0%
Respondent's mean age	38.6 yrs	44.0 yrs	43.6 yrs
Parent(s)' mean age	67.3 yrs	72.9 yrs	75.5 yrs
N	1019	536	414

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: All statistics weighted using cross-sectional weights. Observations are unweighted

elder- and childcaring are similar (roughly two-fifths of women for at least one task, one-quarter for at least two tasks and one-sixth for at least three tasks).

Methods

To investigate the relationship between women's labour supply and informal caring I estimate two joint models using maximum likelihood estimation. The first joint model is a bivariate probit model that simultaneously examines the chances of being in paid work and the chances of being an eldercarer. In a similar manner, the second model jointly estimates the usual weekly working hours and the chances of being an eldercarer.

Model 1 set outs the standard probit model for the probability of being in work.

$$y_i^* = \alpha_0 + \beta x_i + \delta z_i + \zeta f_i + \varepsilon_i, \varepsilon_i \text{ iid } N(0,1)$$

$$\text{and } \text{Cov}(x_i, \varepsilon_i) = 0, \text{Cov}(z_i, \varepsilon_i) = 0 \text{ and } \text{Cov}(f_i, \varepsilon_i) = 0 \quad (1)$$

where y_i^* represents a continuous latent variable, propensity to work, which is unobserved but linked to an observed dummy variable y_i (a binary indicator of whether 'in work' or 'not in work') by the following relationship:

$$y_i = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } y_i^* > 0 \\ 0 & \text{if } y_i^* \leq 0 \end{cases}$$

and:

α_0 = constant

x_i = vector of pertinent characteristics in the explanation of female labour supply

z_i = a binary indicator of whether 'provides eldercare' or 'does not provide eldercare'.

f_i = age and number of dependent children

ε_i = random error term

β, δ, ζ = parameters of interest

In this model I am interested in the relationships between labour market participation on one hand and child- and eldercaring on the other. Everything not captured in the model by the observed variables contributes to an error term, ε , which is assumed to be identically and independently normally distributed with a mean of zero and a variance of one. A further assumption of this model is that each observed variable must not be correlated with the error terms. The difficulty associated with this standard model specification in relation to paid working and informal caring is that it fails to address the problems of endogeneity and unobserved heterogeneity (Pindyck and Rubinfeld, 1998: chp 12). In particular, I am concerned with the potential endogeneity of eldercaring. This endogeneity issue may occur if there are unobserved variables explaining both the probabilities of eldercaring and of working, or if the decisions to work and to provide eldercare are not independent but causally linked to each other in some way. The endogeneity issue implies that the assumption of zero covariance between the dummy for eldercaring and the error term ε fails (i.e. $\text{Cov}(z_i, \varepsilon_i) \neq 0$), and ultimately it causes an inconsistent estimation of the parameters of the model (1).

Endogeneity

Whilst labour supply and caring might be conceived of as separate issues, it is crucial to recognise that the kinds of factors that affect these might overlap. When choosing a work/family balance, the processes behind work decisions and care decisions are unlikely to be independent of each other. Thus we have a 'chicken and egg' dilemma, as it not obvious which part precedes which: do working patterns predict caring behaviours or do caring behaviours predict working patterns? (Heitmueller, 2007).

Here the distinction between elder- and childcaring becomes evident. Parents must care for their dependent children and deciding to take on these responsibilities for childcaring would form part of earlier fertility decisions and, thus, pre-exist any current labour market decisions. In other words, the responsibility that a mother has for the care of her children is unrelated to her current work status and thus childcaring represents a pre-determined variable. Eldercaring responsibilities, on the other hand, are subject to wider negotiations and a daughter with substantial work commitments might well cite this heavy workload as legitimate grounds for not shouldering eldercare duties. Rather than being pre-determined, the decision to care for elders is likely to be taken simultaneously with the work decision. To recognise the endogeneity between work patterns and eldercaring, model 1a specifies a bivariate probit model for the joint probability of working and eldercaring.

By allowing the error terms in the work equation, ϵ_i , and the eldercare equation, η_i , to co-vary, joint estimation offers the advantage of relaxing the assumption that decisions over how much paid work one does and the eldercaring one does are made independently of each other. This is particularly important as we might reasonably

anticipate such decisions to be co-dependent. This is also important if we are unable to observe all relevant variables explaining both the decisions to provide care for the elderly and to work. This is because such unobserved heterogeneity can lead to a correlation between ε_i and η_i .

$$\left. \begin{aligned} y^*_i &= \alpha_0 + \beta x_i + \zeta f_i + \delta z_i + \varepsilon_i, \\ z^*_i &= \nu_0 + \gamma w_i + \chi f_i + \eta_i, \end{aligned} \right\} \quad (1a)$$

$y_i = 1$ if $y^*_i > 0$, 0 otherwise,
 $z_i = 1$ if $z^*_i > 0$, 0 otherwise,
 $E(\varepsilon_i) = E(\eta_i) = 0$,
 $\text{Var}(\varepsilon_i) = \text{Var}(\eta_i) = 1$,
 $\text{Cov}(\varepsilon_i, \eta_i) = \rho$.

where additionally:

ν_0 = constant term

z^*_i = a continuous latent variable measuring propensity to care

w_i = vector of pertinent characteristics in the explanation of female eldercare. This includes (i) the set of characteristics defined by x_i and (ii) a set of exclusion restrictions; the latter of which are pertinent characteristics in explanation of female eldercare but not in the explanation of female labour supply⁶.

⁶ This set of exclusion restrictions consists of the following variables: age of parents, distance lived from parents, whether or not parents live together, respondent's number of siblings and whether or not the respondent is their parents' youngest child.

η_i = random error term

γ, χ = parameters of interest

To ensure the empirical identification of the bivariate probit model, I use some exclusion restrictions in the eldercare equation. These are variables that can be considered to be unrelated to labour supply, yet strongly correlated to the eldercare propensity. It is entirely plausible that the amount of hours one works in the labour market are not related to the age of one's parents, or how far away they live, or whether they live on their own, number of siblings, or sibling birth order. Yet these items are associated with the propensity to be an eldercarer (Ermisch, 2009; Scott & Wenger, 1995). As exogenous factors for the work equation but strong predictors in the eldercare equation, these characteristics represent credible exclusion restrictions.

The presence of children denoting a mother's childcaring responsibilities does not present an endogeneity problem in the above model as the decision to care for a child is predetermined. However, the extent to which mothers sub-contract their childcaring responsibilities elsewhere does present such a problem. Approaches towards the use of childcare providers and their connection with paid working are likely to be correlated with components of the error term, ε_i . A limitation of this model is that in order to produce unbiased estimates, variables relating to childcare usage are omitted.

Sandwiched caring

Considering the decision to have children to care for as a decision made in the past and by relaxing the assumption that eldercaring and work decisions are made independently of each other, Model 1a estimates the relationships between labour

market participation and (a) childcaring and (b) eldercaring. It does this by treating child- and eldercaring as two separate dimensions, taken in additive combination to represent sandwiched caring. Yet caring for children and elders simultaneously may carry its own pros or cons i.e., the sum may be greater (or smaller) than the two parts. To recognise this Model 1b includes an interaction term to account for any elements of conjoint caring of elders and children that may be associated with labour market participation. This provides a model that specifies three dimensions of sandwiched caring; the child part, the elder part and the child/elder part. Taken together these represent the relationship between sandwiched caring and labour market participation.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} y^*_i = \alpha_0 + \beta x_i + \zeta f_i + \delta z_i + \phi g_i + \varepsilon_i, \\ z^*_i = \nu_0 + \gamma w_i + \chi f_i + \eta_i, \end{array} \right.$$

$$y_i = 1 \text{ if } y^*_i > 0, 0 \text{ otherwise,}$$

$$z_i = 1 \text{ if } z^*_i > 0, 0 \text{ otherwise,}$$

$$E(\varepsilon_i) = E(\eta_i) = 0,$$

$$\text{Var}(\varepsilon_i) = \text{Var}(\eta_i) = 1,$$

$$\text{Cov}(\varepsilon_i, \eta_i) = \rho.$$

(1b)

where additionally:

g_i = an interaction term denoting conjoint elder- and childcaring, i.e. a dummy variable equal to 1 if the individual provides care for her parents and has children below 16, and equal to 0 otherwise.

ϕ = parameter of interest

Caring and work hours

Having considered the relationship between informal caring and whether women work or not it is also important to evaluate the relationship in terms of work intensity, i.e., work hours. This establishes whether the relationship differs at the extensive and intensive margins of labour supply. Equally, women who combine work and care must have achieved some degree of success in resolving such conflicts; making them a group worthy of separate investigation. Drawing on all the earlier points, I specify a joint model to estimate the relationship between hours of work, childcaring and eldercaring; including a child/eldercaring interaction term.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} h_i = \omega_{h0} + \beta_h x_i + \zeta_h f_i + \tau_h j_i + \delta_h z_i + \phi_h g_i + v_i, \\ z_i^* = \nu_{h0} + \gamma_h w_i + \chi_h f_i + \psi_i, \end{array} \right.$$

$$z_i = 1 \text{ if } z_i^* > 0, 0 \text{ otherwise,}$$

$$E(v_i) = E(\psi_i) = 0,$$

$$\text{Var}(v_i) = \sigma^2,$$

$$\text{Var}(\psi_i) = 1,$$

$$\text{Cov}(v_i, \psi_i) = \sigma \rho_h$$

(2)

where:

h_i = number of hours normally worked per week

z^*_i = a continuous latent variable measuring propensity to care

z_i = a binary indicator of whether 'provides care' or 'does not provide care'.

x_i = vector of pertinent characteristics in the explanation of female labour supply

j_i = vector of pertinent job characteristics

f_i = age and number of dependent children

w_i = vector of pertinent characteristics in the explanation of female eldercare. This includes (i) the set of characteristics defined by x_i and (ii) a set of exclusion restrictions; the latter of which are pertinent characteristics in explanation of female eldercare but not in the explanation of female labour supply⁷.

g_i = an interaction term denoting conjoint elder- and childcaring, i.e. a dummy variable equal to 1 if the individual provides care for her parents and has children below 16, and equal to 0 otherwise.

ω_{h0}, ν_{h0} = constant terms

v_i, ψ_i = random error terms

$\beta_h, \delta_h, \gamma_h, \phi_h, \tau_h, \chi_h$ = parameters of interest

Results

In this section, I present the results in two parts, the first of which considers the propensity to be in work and the second analyses the number of work hours. Both include sensitivity analyses to establish whether caring for children and elders has particular relevance in women's work-time for two particular groups, i.e., older women or women with older parents, and eldercaring in one or multiple areas as defined by the performance of at least one, two or three tasks respectively. By

⁷ This set of exclusion restrictions consists of the following variables: age of parents, distance lived from parents, whether or not parents live together, respondent's number of siblings and whether or not the respondent is their parents' youngest child.

focusing separately on women aged 39 to 50⁸ years old and subsequently on women with at least one parent aged over 70, these additional analyses examine whether being in a sandwiched position matters for women's labour market participation at specific stages of the life cycle. All the following multivariate analyses incorporate a range of factors (as discussed in the Data and Methods section) which are considered to be of relevance to this investigation.

Part one: Propensity to work

Separate or joint models

Table 2.5 presents the results from the separate and joint probit models related to working and eldercaring, each including the child/eldercaring interaction term. If the decision to work and the decision to eldercare are made independently of each other, conditionally on the explanatory variables, then the estimates from the separate models (columns (1) and (2)) offer the most useful account. Indeed, as the covariance between the error terms from the joint caring and working model is not significantly different from zero at the $p < 0.05$ level, I do not reject the assumption that care and work models in this specification are independent of each other. The estimates produced by the separate models are remarkably similar to those in the joint models and the estimate in column (1) indicates that 'performs care for parent(s)' does not bear a statistically significant relationship to the likelihood of working, thereby offering further indication that the decision to eldercare and the decision to work are unrelated to each other in this specification. As this chapter is principally about the implications of sandwiched caring on work-time rather than the likelihood of

⁸ This reflects all women aged above the median age of the entire sample.

eldercaring, for simplicity, throughout the remainder of this chapter I present the details from the joint models only where they represent the most appropriate account of the data.

Mother, daughter AND worker?

The question here is whether women are even less likely to work if they care for children *and* parents rather than caring just for parents or just for children or indeed neither. From the results in Table 2.6 it would appear this is not the case, as the only statistically significant relationships between caring and working refer to childcaring.

These

Table 2.5: Propensity to work and propensity to eldercare for women aged 25-50 - modelled separately and jointly

	<i>Separate models</i>		<i>Joint model</i>	
	Working (1) Coeffs.	Eldercaring (2) Coeffs.	Working (3) Coeffs.	Eldercaring (4) Coeffs.
Performs care for parents (1=Yes 0=No)	-0.16		0.04	
Cares for parents and children (1=Yes 0=No)	0.25		0.25	
Number of children aged under 16	-0.23***	0.04	-0.23***	0.05
Age of youngest child -				
- No children				
- 0-4	-0.61***	-0.06	-0.60***	-0.07
- 5-11	-0.23	0.06	-0.24	0.05
- 12-15	0.08	0.02	0.07	0.01
Respondent is youngest child of parents (1=Yes 0=No)		0.15		0.15
Number of siblings		-0.07*		-0.07*
Distance lives from parent(s) -				
- Less than 15 mins		Ref.		Ref.
- 15 mins to 30 mins		-0.37***		-0.38***

- 30 mins or more		-1.19***		-1.19***
Age of parents		0.04***		0.04***
Parents live together (1=Yes 0=No)		-0.24***		-0.24***
Parents have further/higher ed. qualification (1=Yes 0=No)	-0.03	-0.05	-0.03	-0.05
Parents' job prestige	-0.00	-0.00*	-0.00	-0.00*
Constant	-1.12	3.33**	-1.37	3.34**
ρ				-0.14
Log-likelihood	-591.62	-641.28		-1232.43

* $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N=1389)

Notes: Models estimated via maximum likelihood with robust standard errors clustered at the individual level, separate models = probit regression and joint model = bi-variate probit regression. All models include controls for respondent's occupational class, age, age², partnership status, educational qualifications, ethnicity, having an older teen (16⁺ yrs) living in the household, region of the UK, year/wave, partner's income, parent(s)' education and parent(s)' job prestige.

results are produced when eldercaring is considered as providing support in one area, i.e, lifts in car or shopping or cooking or personal care or cleaning/laundry or personal affairs or gardening/DIY. However, similar results are produced when considering eldercaring as at least two or at least three of these tasks, the results of which are shown in Appendix III⁹.

Women aged 25-50

Women aged between 25 and 50 appear less likely to be in paid work if they have dependent children rather than no children at all, particularly if the youngest child is aged under five years. Yet, whether or not they care for their parents seems to make

Table 2.6: Propensity to work

	Women aged 25-50	Women aged 39-50	Women with parents aged
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⁹ Appendix III contains the results when elder-caring is considered as at least one, two or three tasks for each group of women I consider, i.e., women aged 25-50, women aged 39-50 and women with parents aged over 70.

			over 70
Variables	(1) Coeffs.	(2) Coeffs.	(3) Coeffs.
Performs care for parents (1=Yes 0=No)	-0.16	-0.20	-0.47
Cares for parents and children (1=Yes 0=No)	0.25	0.31	0.50
Number of children aged under 16	-0.23***	-0.15	-0.26*
Age of youngest child -			
- No children	Ref.	Ref	Ref
- 0-4	-0.61***	-0.62*	-0.46
- 5-11	-0.23	-0.32	-0.24
- 12-15	0.08	0.04	-0.10
Constant	-1.12	-4.07	-0.12
Log-likelihood	-591.62	-261.62	-207.29
N	1389	700	553

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes (i) Models estimated by maximum likelihood (probit regression) with robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. (ii) All models include controls for respondent's occupational class, age, age², partnership status, educational qualifications, ethnicity, having an older teen (16⁺ yrs) living in the household, region of the UK, year/wave, partner's income, parent(s)' education and parent(s)' job prestige. (iii) 'Performs care for parents' is defined as performing at least one task from either 'lifts in car' or 'shopping' or 'cooking' or 'personal care' or 'cleaning/laundry' or 'personal affairs' or 'gardening/DIY'. See Appendix III for details of models where eldercaring is defined as 'at least two' or 'at least three' tasks.

little difference to their chances of being in work. The interaction term 'cares for parents and children' from column (1) of Table 2.6 that expresses the relationship between propensity to work and the joint effect of caring for parents and children contemporaneously is also not statistically significant. This implies that a woman's chances of being in paid work are not likely to be affected by the eldercaring she does, regardless of whether she has dependent children.

Table 2.7: Mean predicted probabilities of working by child age and number across

	Women aged 25-50	Women aged 39-50	Women with parents aged over 70
No dependent children	0.87	0.87	0.89
Youngest aged 0-4			
- One child	0.71	0.70	0.75
- Two children	0.64	0.65	0.67
- Three or more children	0.56	0.60	0.58
Youngest aged 5-11			
- One child	0.78	0.79	0.80
- Two children	0.72	0.75	0.74
- Three or more children	0.65	0.71	0.66
Youngest aged 12-15			
- One child	0.84	0.85	0.82
- Two children	0.79	0.82	0.76
N	1389	700	553

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: Probabilities calculated from the estimates in Table 2.6 but are not computed for the age group 'youngest aged 12-15' by family size of three or more children as this category is not featured in the data

The presence of pre-school children is often found to be remarkably influential on a mother's chances of being in paid work. This is likely to reflect the particular difficulties associated with securing childcare for these very young children which are often cited as a major hurdle for women seeking post-childbirth employment (Walfogel, 1998; Léon, 2005; Hansen et al, 2006). However, some mothers opt to refrain from paid working whilst their children are very young because they consider themselves as the best person to raise their children and stay out of the labour market to do so (Jenkins, S. 2004).

Table 2.7 (column 1) reports the predicted probabilities that a woman age 25 to 50 will be in paid work, relative to the children she has. A woman without any children has a mean predicted probability of working of 0.87. For mothers whose youngest child is aged under five, her mean predicted probability is 0.71 if she has only one child, 0.64 if she has two children and 0.56 if she has more than two children. The predicted probability of being in work decreases as the number of children gets larger, but increases as the age of the children increases. Women with only one child have a predicted probability of being in work of 0.71 if their child is pre-school-aged, 0.78 if their child is primary-school-aged and 0.84 if their child is secondary-school-aged. Interesting in the latter case, the probability is approximate to that of childless women, indicating that as the last/only child that a woman has progresses beyond primary school her labour market behaviour is similar to that of a woman without dependent children.

Women aged 39-50

Concentrating on older women, the chances of being in paid work also appear to be unrelated to eldercaring yet related to the presence of children. Whilst the child-related estimates in column (2) of Table 2.6 do not meet conventional standards of statistical significance, when age and number of children are jointly assessed, having a youngest child aged 0 to 4 or 5 to 12 is statistically significant at the $P < 0.01$ level. From this it would appear that women aged roughly in their forties whose children have progressed beyond primary school tend not to experience the same kinds of motherhood-related barriers to paid working. Studies of the timing of childbearing have found the postponing of motherhood to be associated with socio-economic advantage and the accumulation of human capital (Gustafsson, 2001; Hawkes et al,

2004). Older mothers are arguably better placed to achieve a harmonious balance between family and work via such advantages, whilst at the same time having higher opportunity costs in respect of a complete withdrawal from the labour market over the longer term.

Women with parents aged 70+

The results from column (3) of Table 2.6 indicate that women who have at least one parent aged over 70 are less likely to be in work if they have dependent children but whether or not they care for their parents appears not to matter. Column (3) of Table 2.7 shows the predicted probabilities of being in work for women with older parents and in a pattern similar to women aged 25 to 50, these results indicate that both increases in family size and having children of a younger age typically translate into reductions in the likelihood of being in paid work¹⁰

We might think of caring for older parents as a potentially more burdensome activity given the expectation that older people need more support. However, the predicted probabilities of being in work for women with a parent aged over 70 (Table 2.7, column 3) show a set of estimates remarkably similar to all the women in our sample aged 25 to 50 (column 1). Thus the daughters of older parents do not appear to be a distinct group with specific barriers in relation to caring for the young.

¹⁰ Again, whilst none of the dependent child-related coefficients in Column (3) meet conventional standards of statistical significance when age and number of children are jointly assessed, having children aged 0 to 4 and 5 to 11 display statistical significance at the $p < 0.05$ level.

Returning to the question of whether women are less likely to work if they have children *and* parents to care for, the answer from these results seems to be no.

Whether in the phase of active motherhood (aged 25 to 50), or older (aged 39 to 50), or having older parents (aged 70⁺), women tend to experience barriers to paid working in relation to their children only.

Part two: Hours of work

Work-hours for sandwiched women

Moving on to consider hours of work, the question now is whether women work fewer hours per week if they care for children *and* parents as opposed to caring for one or the other or not at all. The picture portrayed by the results is somewhat complex. For older women and women with older parents, sandwiched caring seems to be associated with a reduction in working hours compared to women without caring responsibilities. However, with older women, the reduction in hours simply reflects an eldercaring component added to a childcaring component; and appears to operate whether eldercaring is considered to constitute one, two, or three⁺ tasks. Yet, sandwiched caring for older parents appears to embody some offsetting between the child and elder components, as mothers who care for older parents tend to work slightly more hours than mothers with older parents who do not provide eldercare. However, there is evidence to support this only where eldercaring is considered as 'at least one task'.

Table 2.8: Usual work hours per week for women in paid work

	Women aged 25-50	Women aged 39-50	Women with parents aged over 70
Variables	(1) Coeffs.	(2) Coeffs.	(3) Coeffs.
Performs care for parents (1=Yes 0=No)	-0.96	-2.47**	-2.93**
Cares for parents and children (1=Yes 0=No)	-0.31	2.07	3.94**
Number of children aged under 16	-3.01***	-2.12***	-2.74**
Age of youngest child			
- No children	Ref.		Ref
- 0-4	-4.25***	-3.87	-6.27***
- 5-11	-2.12	-3.48*	-4.71***
- 12-15	-0.64	-2.06	-2.57
Job has promotional opportunities (1=Yes 0=No)	2.01***	0.83	2.23**
Private sector job (1=Yes 0=No)	0.89	1.31	1.01
Job tenure (years)	0.20	0.23	0.24
Constant	51.45***	90.23	53.63**
R²	0.31	0.26	0.33
N	1019	536	414

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes (i) Models estimated by OLS regression with robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. (ii) All models include controls for respondent's occupational class, age, age², partnership status, educational qualifications, ethnicity, having an older teen (16⁺ yrs) living in the household, region of the UK, year/wave, partner's income, parent(s) education and parent(s) job prestige. (ii) 'Performs care for parents' is defined as performing at least one task from either 'lifts in car' or 'shopping' or 'cooking' or 'personal care' or 'cleaning/laundry' or 'personal affairs' or 'gardening/DIY'. See Appendix III for details of models where eldercaring is defined as 'at least two' or 'at least three' tasks.

Women aged 25-50

The results¹¹ in column (1) of Table 2.8 indicate that women aged between 25 and 50 experience work time constraints relative to the children they have but not the parents

¹¹ These results refer to elder-caring as 'at least one tasks'. Similar results are produced when elder-caring is considered as caring in multiple areas. (These are shown in Appendix III.iv)

they care for, even where they look after both. Neither the 'performs care for parents' variable or the 'cares for parents and children' interaction term display a statistically significant association with women's working hours.

For these women, increased family size is associated with working 3.01 hours less per week per additional child. Furthermore, in relation to women without dependent children, mothers with a pre-school child typically work 4.25 hours less and mothers with a primary-school child work 2.12 hours less. Although in Table 2.8 the coefficients from column (1) indicate non-statistically significant effects for families with a youngest child aged twelve to fifteen, when number of children is taken into consideration, tests of statistical significance indicate that mothers of older children also tend to experience a reduction in working hours. Table 2.9 demonstrates the estimated effect this has by child number and age. This shows that a woman with two children, one of whom is under five will typically work 10.27 hours less than a woman without dependent children. For families of older children the effects are less intense: a mother of two children aged between 12 and 15 years typically works 6.66 hours less than childless women.

Table 2.9: Estimated reduction in working hours of mothers (aged 25 to 50) relative to childless women - across child age and number

Age of youngest child	Number of children		
	1	2	3 or more
- 0-4	-7.26	-10.27	-13.28
- 5-11	-5.13	-8.14	-11.15
- 12-15	-3.65	-6.66	-9.67

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N=1019)

Notes: Reductions calculated from the estimates in Table 2.8

Table 2.10: Estimated reduction in working hours of older mothers (aged 39-50) relative to women without caring responsibilities - across child age and number and sandwiched caring (Eldercaring = at least one task)

	Age of youngest child	Number of children		
		1	2	3 or more
Caring for children only				
	- 0-4	-5.99	-8.11	-10.23
	- 5-11	-5.60	-7.72	-9.84
	- 12-15	-4.18	-6.30	-8.42
Caring for children and elders (one task), i.e., sandwiched caring				
	- 0-4	-8.46	-10.58	-12.70
	- 5-11	-8.07	-10.19	-12.31
	- 12-15	-6.65	-8.77	-10.89

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N=536)

Notes: Reductions calculated from the estimates in Table 2.8. Here eldercaring is defined as performing at least one task from either 'lifts in car' or 'shopping' or 'cooking' or 'personal care' or 'cleaning/laundry' or 'personal affairs' or 'gardening/DIY'

It is perhaps unsurprising that the age and number of dependent children appears to exert an effect on working, whether it be propensity to work as in Table 2.6 or intensity of work as in Table 2.8, as the constraints that very young children and larger families represent are particularly potent on both levels (see Gershuny, 2002; Paull, 2008). If the job that a woman has offers promotional opportunities she is likely to be working on average two hours per week more than otherwise. From these results it doesn't appear that working in the private sector or the length of time spent in a job exerts any particularly noteworthy influence over work hours.

Table 2.11: Usual work hours per week for working women aged 39 to 50 across alternative specifications of eldercaring

Variables	At least one task	At least two tasks		At least three tasks	
	Work hours (1) Coeffs.	Work hours (2) Coeffs.	Eldercaring (3) Coeffs.	Work hours (4) Coeffs.	Eldercaring (5) Coeffs.
Performs care for parents (1=Yes 0=No)	-2.47**	-4.94***		-6.82**	
Cares for parents and children (1=Yes 0=No)	2.07	1.00		1.97	
Number of children aged under 16	-2.12***	-2.04**	-0.02	-2.17**	-0.16
Age of youngest child					
- No children	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
- 0-4	-3.87	-3.24	-0.14	-2.15	0.05
- 5-11	-3.41*	-2.33	0.24	-1.22	0.33
- 12-15	-2.06	-1.09	0.17	0.07	0.28
Respondent is youngest child of parents (1=Yes 0=No)			0.27*		0.37**
Number of siblings			-0.04		-0.05
Distance lives from parent(s)					
- Less than 15 mins			Ref		Ref
- 15 mins to 30 mins			-0.21		-0.13
- 30 mins or more			-0.91***		-0.73***
Age of parents			0.04***		0.04***
Parents live together (1=Yes 0=No)			-0.31***		-0.30**
Job has promotional opportunities (1=Yes 0=No)	0.83	0.96	-0.02	0.64	0.01
Private sector job (1=Yes 0=No)	1.31	1.20	-0.18	1.17	-0.02
Job tenure (years)	0.23	0.19	0.00	0.15	-0.04
Constant	90.23	82.85	-6.51	59.18	-15.40
ρ			0.29**		0.54**
R^2	0.26				
Log-likelihood			-2177.36		-2145.56

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N=536)

Notes: (i) Model 1 produced by OLS regression. Model 2 (columns 2/3) and model 3 (columns 4/5) estimated by maximum likelihood treatment effects models. Standard errors adjusted for clustering at the individual level in all models (ii) All models include controls for respondent's occupational class, age, age², partnership status, educational qualifications, ethnicity, having an older teen (16⁺ yrs) living in the household, region of the UK, year/wave, partner's income, parent(s)' education and parent(s)' job prestige.

Women aged 39-50

Focusing on older women, column (2) of Table 2.8 shows that performing at least one eldercare task is associated with a reduction of 2.47 hours per week in working time.

Additionally, having dependent children is connected with reductions in working time; the level of which being conditional on the age and number of children.

However, these results do not provide any support for the notion that caring for both children and elders conjointly represents any deepening or counterbalancing of the squeeze on working hours as the interaction term does meet an acceptable level of statistical significance: that is to say, older women with young children who also care for their parent(s) typically experience a reduction in working time firstly in relation to their child(ren) and secondly in relation to their parent(s) but not as a consequence of caring for both ends of the generational spectrum at the same time.

Table 2.10 sets out these estimated reductions and highlights the downward pressure on working time related to caring for children and caring for both children and parents. Again, caring for larger families or younger children tends to be linked to fewer work hours but for older women sandwiching appears to matter. For example, on average, older sandwiched mothers tend to work nearly 13 hours per week less than their counterparts without caring responsibilities if they have three or more children, one of whom is a pre-schooler. This compares to a reduction of 10.23 hours per week for an older mother with similarly aged children who does not provide eldercare and a reduction of 2.47 hours for older women who provide care to their parent but have no dependent children.

If we further consider eldercaring as defined as performing at least two or at least three tasks Table 2.11 Shows that the reductions intensify as level of eldercaring

increases, i.e., 4.94 and 6.82 hours less per week respectively. Setting out these estimated reductions when eldercaring constitutes three or more tasks, Table 2.12 highlights the particular hurdles that sandwiched older women experience when increasingly involved in the care of their parents as these results suggest that the lightest reduction associated with sandwiched caring, i.e., caring for one teenager and parent(s), at 9.06 hours per week is deeper than any of the reductions connected with caring only for broods of children, regardless of child age or number

Table 2.12: Estimated reduction in working hours of older mothers (aged 39-50) relative to women without caring responsibilities - across child age and number and sandwiched caring (Eldercaring = at least three tasks)

	Age of youngest child	Number of children		
		<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3 or more</i>
Caring for children only	- <i>0-4</i>	-4.32	-6.49	-8.68
	- <i>5-11</i>	-3.39	-5.56	-7.73
	- <i>12-15</i>	-2.24	-4.41	-6.58
Caring for children and elders (three tasks), i.e., sandwiched caring	- <i>0-4</i>	-11.14	-13.31	-15.50
	- <i>5-11</i>	-10.21	-12.38	-14.55
	- <i>12-15</i>	-9.06	-11.23	-13.40

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N=536)

Notes: Reductions calculated from the estimates in Table 2.11. Here eldercaring is defined as performing at least three tasks from either 'lifts in car', 'shopping', 'cooking', 'personal care', 'cleaning/laundry', 'personal affairs' or 'gardening/DIY'

Table 2.13: Usual work hours per week for working women with parents aged 70⁺ across alternative specifications of eldercaring

	At least one task	At least two tasks	At least three tasks
Variables	(1) Coeffs.	(2) Coeffs.	(3) Coeffs.
Performs care for parents (1=Yes 0=No)	-2.93**	-1.32	-0.28
Cares for parents and children (1=Yes 0=No)	3.94**	2.23	-0.10
Number of children aged under 16	-2.74**	-2.83***	-2.86***
Age of youngest child			
- No children	Ref		
- 0-4	-6.27***	-4.68*	-3.66
- 5-11	-4.71***	-3.07	-1.94
- 12-15	-2.57	-0.95	0.20
Job has promotional opportunities (1=Yes 0=No)	2.23**	2.06**	2.02**
Private sector job (1=Yes 0=No)	1.01	1.06	0.98
Job tenure (years)	0.24	0.22	0.24
Constant	53.63**	52.42**	50.49**
R²	0.33	0.32	0.32

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N=414)

Notes: (i) Models estimated by OLS regression with robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. (ii) All models include controls for respondent's occupational class, age, age², partnership status, educational qualifications, ethnicity, having an older teen (16⁺ yrs) living in the household, region of the UK, year/wave, partner's income, parent(s)' education and parent(s)' job prestige.

Women with parents aged 70+

For women of older parents, providing some form of elder support whilst also caring for dependent children is likely to be associated with some economies of scale, although this appears to be contingent on how involved the task of eldercaring is.

Column (3) of Table 2.8 indicates that reductions in working hours are linked to the dependent children a woman has and whether or not she provides some sort of care to

her parents, but crucially for this group of women, the results suggest that some counterbalancing occurs in this type of sandwiched caring. Women who care in some way for much older parents who also have dependent children tend to experience a modest abatement of the reduction in work hours as the interaction term estimating the likely effects associated with the overlap between child- and eldercaring reports

an increase of 3.94 work hours per week. As this more than offsets the reduction associated with eldercaring, i.e., 2.93, these results indicate that whatever combination of children in terms of age and number a woman has, additionally providing some form of support for much older parents reflects a relaxing of the squeeze on women's work hours. Yet what the results in Table 2.13 Also suggest is that for more involved forms of eldercaring, i.e., more than two or three tasks, sandwiched caring is neither linked to economies of scale nor reductions in paid work time.

One possible explanation for any such link between sandwiched caring and economies of scale is a higher degree of contemporaneous reciprocity between adult children and much older parents. Naturally as parents become older they generally require more support but typically they are also keenly aware of the extra burden this places on their adult children and may seek to reduce this load by helping out in small but important other ways (Ungerson, 1987). Using 2004-2006 data UK population estimates suggest that expected years of living free from a disability or limiting chronic illness from the age of 65 is 10.1 years for men and 10.6 years for women (Smith et al, 2008). Furthermore, predictions of the length of time one might be expected to enjoy good or fairly good health from the age of 65 is 12.8 years for

men and 14.5 years for women. This implies ample scope for parents above the age of 70 to provide a certain amount of support to their adult children. Elderly parents who are not entirely self-dependent can offset any unwelcome indebtedness to their adult daughters. For example, in the case of complementary childcare where grandparents provide the wrap-around, after-school, unsocial hours of care that market-based childcare lacks (Wheelock and Jones, 2002; Léon, M, 2005); relatively modest amounts of grandparental childcare can prove pivotal in boosting the amount of time a mother can spend in the labour market. However, this is not to say in a linear sense that the more care a daughter provides the more reciprocal support an elder will provide in return as the results in Table 2.13 suggest that any such reciprocity operates at the margins of caring where the burdens of eldercaring are perhaps the least intense and both daughters and elders can support each other. For working women with elderly parents, as eldercaring becomes a more involved activity the link between eldercaring/sandwiched caring and their work time disappears.

Conclusion

Using data from the BHPS, this investigation has looked at the relationship between paid working, the presence of dependent children and caring for parents who live outside the household. Almost all other considerations of the work/family balance tend to conceptualise the potential conflict as that which exists between the 'good worker' and the 'good mother' role, that is to say the competing demands of the workplace on one hand and caring for children on the other. In recognition that female family caring is not purely concerned with the care of children, this study goes beyond this by reframing the work/family balance in more holistic terms and

incorporating into this the 'good daughter' role as well. This tripartite dilemma is much over-looked and warrants greater attention as more data becomes available.

Earlier studies considering the relationship between paid work and the presence of children have consistently shown a negative association between women's labour market outcomes and having dependent children. By contrast, previous work on the relationship between paid working and extra-residential eldercaring offers an unclear picture as the evidence is somewhat varied. The findings from this study are broadly consistent with both of these positions. In general they suggest that whilst the presence of dependent children is associated with reduced participation in the labour market, both in terms of propensity to work and working hours, caring for parents who live outside the household tends to be characterised by links to such labour market outcomes only in certain circumstances.

The chances of being in paid work seems to be unrelated to sandwiched caring for the three groups of women I examine, i.e., aged 25 to 50, aged 39 to 50 and those with parents aged over 70. Yet a different story emerges when looking at working hours. Here sandwiched caring appears to have relevance for the latter two groups of women. In the case of older women (aged 39 to 50) who are in work, the results show quite sharp differences in likely working hours for a sandwiched woman compared to an otherwise similar woman without caring responsibilities. Under the simplest definition of eldercaring, i.e., doing something/anything for one's parents, the estimates suggest 2.47 hours per week less in respect of eldercaring, intensified further by as much 10.23 hours for a mother of three children where the youngest is a

pre-schooler. Under more stringent definitions of eldercaring, i.e., caring in multiple areas, the results show a more intense squeeze on the work hours of sandwiched older women who work.

Working women with older parents appear to experience certain synergies in relation to work hours if they provide both elder- and childcare. These women typically work fewer hours if they provide care to their parents or if they have dependent children; however, if they perform these caring activities conjointly, one offsets the other by an average of 1.01 hours per week. However, this only applies when eldercaring is considered as simply providing some sort of support for parents. When eldercaring is considered as providing help in multiple areas the relationships between work hours and sandwiched caring evaporate.

In seeking answers to my research questions, the overall account provided by these results is not an entirely straightforward one. Women's work patterns persistently tend to reflect the childcaring they are responsible for but whether or not eldercaring/sandwiched caring matters will depend on the circumstances. Part of the explanation for this might be that, in the UK at present, providing care for one's parents is not mandatory in anything like the same sense as it is for children. Thus whilst women with dependent children will almost certainly be actively involved in at least some part of their children's care, women with parents who require some form of care may or may not shoulder this particular responsibility.

This analysis has highlighted the relationship between women's employment and family caring in respect of two important demographic trends; postponed motherhood

and population ageing. The key findings indicate that sandwiched caring does have some relevance for women's labour market participation in the case of older mothers and older parents. In the context of drawing up responses to the societal problem of how care is organised, these results offer some insight with regard to strategies that also seek to maintain and extend female labour market participation. If demographic change means that the elderly live ever longer and more and more women have their children later, such changes might be expected to have important consequences for women's involvement in paid work unless effective alternative strategies for caring for the young and old can be found.

Appendix I: Definition of variables

Table 2.14: Definition of variables

Variable	Definition	Derived from BHPS variable(s)
Working	Dummy variable equal to 1 if in paid work and 0 otherwise	wJBHRS
Job hours	Usual paid working hours per week 1= \geq 60	wJBHRS
Performs care for parents	A set of separate dummy variables constructed to equal 1 if performs a caring activity specified as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At least one care task • At least two care tasks • At least three care tasks and 0 otherwise	wPAAIDA, wPAAIDB, wPAAIDC, wPAAIDD, wPAAIDE, wPAAIDF, wPAAIDG, wPAAIDH, wPAAIDI
Cares for parents and children	Interaction term between 'performing a care activity for parents' (0=no 1=yes) and 'has a child in the household aged under 16' (0=no 1=yes)	wNKIDS, wPAAIDA, wPAAIDB, wPAAIDC, wPAAIDD, wPAAIDE, wPAAIDF, wPAAIDG, wPAAIDH, wPAAIDI
Age	Age at date of interview (Years)	wAGE
Age squared	Squared values of age variable to indicate non-linear function	wAGE
Partnered	Dummy variable equal to 1 if married or living as a couple and 0 if divorced, separated, widowed or never married	wMASTAT
Highest academic qualification is above 'GCSE' level	Categorical variable grouped as follows:	wQFACHI

or equivalent	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. O' level or equivalent, or below 2. A level/HND or equivalent 3. Degree 	
Occupational Class	Categorical variable corresponding to NS SEC three-class version. 1 = Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations, 2 = Intermediate occupations, 3 = Routine and manual occupations ¹²	wJBSEC, wMRJSEC
Subjective Wellbeing	Likert scale variable equal to 0 if least distressed and 36 if most distressed	wHLGHQ1
Non-white	Dummy variable equal to 1 if ethnic group is other than white and 0 otherwise	wRACE, wRACEL
Region of the UK	<p>Categorical variable grouped as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. London/South East/East Anglia 2. South West 3. East and West Midlands 4. North West 5. Yorkshire 6. North East 7. Scotland 8. Wales 9. Northern Ireland 	wREGION
Partner's income	Partner's total income last month (£1,000)	wPID (indresp and egoalt files), wFIMN

¹² All respondents had had a job at some time rendering a 'never worked' category unnecessary.

Number of children aged under 16	Number of dependent children ¹³ in the household	wNKIDS,
Age of youngest child	Categorical variable denoting age of youngest of child in the household: 1. No children 2. Youngest child is aged 0 - 4 years 3. Youngest child is aged 5 -11 years 4. Youngest child is aged 12-15	wNKIDS, wNCH02,wNCH34, wNCH511, wNCH1215
16-18 yrs old in household	Dummy variable equal to 1 if a dependent child aged 16+ ¹⁴ is present in the household and 0 otherwise	wNCH1618
Promotional opportunities	Dummy variable equal to 1 if job has opportunities for promotion and 0 otherwise	wJBOPPS
Private Sector	Dummy variable equal to 1 if works in the private sector and 0 otherwise	wJBSECT
Job Tenure	Number of years spent in job ¹⁵	wCJSTEN, wJBBGY4
Number of siblings	Number of brothers and sisters lived with as a child	wMANYSIBS
Respondent is youngest child of parents	Dummy variable equal to 1 if lived as a youngest child in the household and 0 otherwise	wFAMPOS, wNSIBS
Distance lived from parents	Categorical variable denoting the time it takes to travel to parents residence ¹⁶ : - Less that 15 minutes - 15 to 30 minutes - More than 30 minutes	wMAFAR, wPAFAR
Age of parents	Mothers age if father deceased, fathers age if mother deceased,	wMAAGYB, wMABY, wLVMA,

¹³ Aged under 16

¹⁴ Defined as those unmarried, aged under 19, and in school or non-advanced further education

¹⁵ Capped at 10 years

¹⁶ Where parents live apart the distance measured is to the mother's residence

	mean age of both parents if both alive	wPAAGYB, wPABY, wLVPA
Parents live together	Dummy variable equal to 1 if parents live together and 0 if they live apart or are widowed	wMALONE, wLVMA, wPALONE, wLVPA
Parents' have further/higher education qualifications	Dummy variable equal to 1 if either parent achieved higher or further education qualification	wPAEDHI
Parents' job prestige	Hope-Goldthorpe prestige score of parents job when respondent was age 14, either mother's or father's whichever the highest	wMAHGS, wPAHGS,

Appendix II: Description of variables

Table 2.15: Description of variables - summary statistics

	Women aged 25-50 (1)	Women aged 39-50 (2)	Women with parents age 70+ (3)
Has a paid job	82.3%	85.4%	88.6%
Number of dependent children			
- None	30.6%	38.1%	39.6%
- One	26.3%	31.0%	24.7%
- Two	32.2%	23.2%	25.4%
- Three or more	11.0%	7.7%	10.3%
Age of youngest child			
- youngest aged 0-4	27.3%	8%	14.2%
- youngest aged 5-11	27.3%	30.0%	26.2%
- youngest aged 12-15	14.8%	23.9%	20.0%
Performs care for their parents			
- At least one eldercare task	62.9%	65.0%	71.1%
- At least two eldercare tasks	38.3%	41.3%	50.6%
- At least three eldercare tasks	23.3%	25.8%	32.3%
Cares for parents and children simultaneously			
- At least one eldercare task	43.0%	38.6%	43.1%
- At least two eldercare tasks	25.6%	22.5%	28.8%
- At least three eldercare tasks	16.1%	14.5%	19.3%
Respondent's mean age	38.3 yrs	44.0 yrs	43.7 yrs
Parent(s)' mean age	66.9 yrs	72.9 yrs	75.7 yrs
Partnered	82.0%	81.4%	82.3%
Highest ed. qualification			
- 'GCSE' level (or equivalent) or below	53.1%	58.9%	58.6%
- A Level/HND (or equivalent)	28.9%	25.5%	27.2%
- Degree	18.0%	15.6%	14.2%

Occupational class			
- Professional	34.2%	33.4%	33.9%
- Intermediate	33.4%	32.7%	34.6%
- Routine	32.4%	34.0%	31.5%
Mean subjective wellbeing (0=least distressed, 36=most distressed)	11.7	11.9	12.2
Non-white ethnicity	7.5%	7.5%	7.3%
Region of the UK			
- London/South East/East Anglia	30.5%	27.8%	29.7%
- South West	10.3%	9.5%	8.6%
- East and West Midlands	18.4%	19.4%	18.8%
- North West	11.0%	12.0%	12.5%
- Yorkshire	11.0%	11.1%	11.5%
- North East	4.6%	5.4%	4.1%
- Wales	3.8%	4.0%	3.8%
- Scotland	8.5%	9.3%	9.1%
- Northern Ireland	1.9%	1.7%	1.9%
Partner's monthly income (£1,000)	£1.7k	£1.8k	£1.7k
16-18 yrs old in household	8.3%	13.0%	11.9%
Respondent is youngest child of parents	50.0%	48.5%	61.2%
Distance lives from parent(s) -			
- Less than 15 mins	50.0%	49.6%	49.4%
- 15 mins to 30 mins	20.4%	21.7%	22.2%
- 30 mins or more	29.6%	28.7%	28.4%
Parents live together	52.0%	45.8%	40.6%
Parents have further/higher ed. qualification	49.7%	46.3%	44.2%
Mean parents' job prestige	48.2	48.8	48.3
N	1389	700	553

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: All statistics weighted using cross-sectional weights. Column percentages.
Observations are unweighted

Appendix II continued

Table 2.16: Description of all variables - summary statistics of women in paid work

	Women aged 25-50 (1)	Women aged 39-50 (2)	Women with parents age 70+ (3)
Mean usual working hours per week	28.1 hrs	28.6 hrs	28.1 hrs
Job has promotional opportunities	46.0%	39.3%	42.4%
Job is in the private sector	54.5%	50.1%	51.4%
Mean job tenure in years	3.7 yrs	4.3 yrs	4.3 yrs
Number of dependent children			
- None	35.4%	41.4%	41.7%
- One	26.4%	30.1%	24.0%
- Two	29.7%	20.7%	23.9%
- Three or more	8.6%	7.8%	10.3%
Age of youngest child			
- youngest aged 0-4	23.9%	7.8%	15.0%
- youngest aged 5-11	25.5%	27.0%	24.8%
- youngest aged 12-15	15.3%	23.8%	18.4%
Performs care for their parents			
- At least one eldercare task	63.1%	64.7%	69.2%
- At least two eldercare tasks	39.0%	41.8%	50.4%
- At least three eldercare tasks	24.1%	26.8%	32.8%
Cares for parents and children simultaneously			
- At least one eldercare task	41.1%	37.0%	41.5%
- At least two eldercare tasks	26.1%	23.5%	30.1%
- At least three eldercare tasks	16.1%	15.0%	20.0%
Respondent's mean age	38.6 yrs	44.0 yrs	43.6 yrs
Parent(s)' mean age	67.3 yrs	72.9 yrs	75.5 yrs
Partnered	8.8%	83.1%	83.8%
Highest ed. qualification			

- 'GCSE' level (or equivalent) or below	55.3%	58.3%	59.2%
- A Level/HND (or equivalent)	26.0%	27.0%	28.4%
- Degree	18.7%	14.7%	12.4%
Occupational class			
- Professional	40.8%	38.3%	37.7%
- Intermediate	28.3%	27.1%	28.0%
- Routine	30.9%	34.6%	34.3%
Mean subjective wellbeing (0=least distressed, 36=most distressed)	11.7	11.6	12.1
Non-white ethnicity	6.0%	6.5%	5.8%
Region of the UK			
- London/South East/East Anglia	31.8%	28.4%	31.8%
- South West	8.9%	8.1%	6.9%
- East and West Midlands	18.2%	20.2%	20.7%
- North West	10.9%	11.4%	11.4%
- Yorkshire	11.1%	11.0%	11.5%
- North East	5.2%	6.0%	4.5%
- Wales	3.8%	3.8%	3.5%
- Scotland	8.3%	1.0%	8.3%
- Northern Ireland	1.7%	1.4%	1.5%
Partner's monthly income (£1,000)	£1.8k	£1.8k	£1.8k
16-18 yrs old in household	8.5%	13.1%	10.5%
Respondent is youngest child of parents	49.5%	47.0%	59.3%
Distance lives from parent(s) -			
- Less than 15 mins	51.0%	51.7%	51.0%
- 15 mins to 30 mins	19.9%	20.2%	21.4%
- 30 mins or more	29.1%	28.1%	27.6%
Parents live together	49.5%	43.3%	38.4%
Parents have further/higher ed. qualification	48.1%	47.4%	46.2%

Mean parents' job prestige	48.0	48.5	47.5
N	1019	536	414

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: All statistics weighted using cross-sectional weights. Observations are unweighted

Appendix III: Eldercaring across alternative specifications

Table 2.17: Propensity to work for women aged 25-50 across alternative specifications of eldercaring

Variables	At least one task	At least two tasks		At least three tasks
	Working (1) Coeffs.	Working (2) Coeffs.	Eldercaring (3) Coeffs.	Working (4) Coeffs
Performs care for parents (1=Yes 0=No)	-0.16	0.26		-0.06
Cares for parents and children (1=Yes 0=No)	0.25	0.37*		0.24
Number of children aged under 16	-0.23***	-0.22***	-0.02	-0.23***
Age of youngest child				
- No children	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
- 0-4	-0.61***	-0.56***	-0.06	-0.51***
- 5-11	-0.23	-0.24	0.18	-0.14
- 12-15	0.08	0.03	0.28*	0.16
Respondent is youngest child of parents (1=Yes 0=No)			0.15*	
Number of siblings			-0.05	
Distance lives from parent(s) -				
- Less than 15 mins				
- 15 mins to 30 mins			-0.32***	
- 30 mins or more			-0.90***	
Age of parents			0.04***	
Parents live together (1=Yes 0=No)			-0.29***	
Constant	-1.12	-1.85	2.49**	-1.37
ρ			-0.35**	
Log-likelihood	-591.96	-1330.54		-591.11

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N=1389)

Notes: Models estimated via maximum likelihood with robust standard errors clustered at the individual level, separate models = probit regression (columns 1 and 4) and joint model = bi-variate probit regression (columns 2/3) (ii) All models include controls for respondent's occupational class, age, age², partnership status, educational qualifications, ethnicity, having an older teen (16⁺ yrs) living in the household, region of the UK, year/wave, partner's income, parent(s)' education and parent(s)' job prestige.

Appendix III continued

Table 2.18: Propensity to work for women aged 39-50 across alternative specifications of eldercaring

	At least one task	At least two tasks	At least three tasks
	Working (1) Coeffs.	Working (2) Coeffs.	Working (3) Coeffs.
Performs care for parents (1=Yes 0=No)	-0.20	-0.38	-0.16
Cares for parents and children (1=Yes 0=No)	0.31	0.51*	0.31
Number of children aged under 16	-0.15	-0.15	-0.16
Age of youngest child -			
- No children	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
- 0-4	-0.62*	-0.62*	-0.48
- 5-11	-0.32	-0.33	-0.19
- 12-15	0.04	0.02	0.16
Constant	-4.07	-2.63	-3.37
Log-likelihood	-261.62	-260.46	-261.43

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N=700)

Notes: (i) Models estimated via maximum likelihood probit regression with robust standard errors clustered at the individual level (ii) All models include controls for respondent's occupational class, age, age², partnership status, educational qualifications, ethnicity, having an older teen (16⁺ yrs) living in the household, region of the UK, year/wave, partner's income, parent(s)' education and parent(s)' job prestige.

Appendix III continued

Table 2.19: Propensity to work for women with parents aged over 70 across alternative specifications of eldercaring

	At least one task	At least two tasks	At least three tasks
	Working (1) Coeffs.	Working (2) Coeffs.	Working (3) Coeffs.
Performs care for parents (1=Yes 0=No)	-0.47	-0.43	-0.23
Cares for parents and children (1=Yes 0=No)	0.50	0.53	0.42
Number of children aged under 16	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.26*
Age of youngest child -			
- No children			
- 0-4	-0.46	-0.38	-0.24
- 5-11	-0.24	-0.16	-0.02
- 12-15	-0.10	-0.02	0.11
Constant	-0.12	-0.12	-0.52
Log-likelihood	-207.29	-206.90	-207.63

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N=553)

Notes: (i) Models estimated via maximum likelihood probit regression with robust standard errors clustered at the individual level (ii) All models include controls for respondent's occupational class, age, age², partnership status, educational qualifications, ethnicity, having an older teen (16+ yrs) living in the household, region of the UK, year/wave, partner's income, parent(s)' education and parent(s)' job prestige.

Appendix III continued

Table 2.20: Usual work hours for working women aged 25-50 across alternative specifications of eldercaring

	At least one task	At least two tasks	At least three tasks
	(1) Coeffs.	(2) Coeffs.	(3) Coeffs.
Performs care for parents (1=Yes 0=No)	-0.96	-0.43	-0.16
Cares for parents and children (1=Yes 0=No)	0.31	-0.26	-1.32
Number of children aged under 16	-3.01***	-3.00***	-3.03***
Age of youngest child			
- No children	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
- 0-4	-4.25***	-4.03***	-3.81***
- 5-11	-2.12	-1.86	-1.63
- 12-15	-0.64	-0.37	-0.06
Job has promotional opportunities (1=Yes 0=No)	2.01***	2.01***	2.01***
Private sector job (1=Yes 0=No)	0.89	0.88	0.86
Job tenure (years)	0.20	0.19	0.19
Constant	41.55***	41.05***	40.99***
R²	0.31	0.31	0.31

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N=1019)

Notes: (i) Models estimated via OLS regression with robust standard errors clustered at the individual level (ii) All models include controls for respondent's occupational class, age, age², partnership status, educational qualifications, ethnicity, having an older teen (16⁺ yrs) living in the household, region of the UK, year/wave, partner's income, parent(s)' education and parent(s)' job prestige.

Chapter 3 Is Intergenerational Support Patterned by Class? An analysis of the care provided to parents by their adult daughters and occupational class

Introduction

Unpaid caring for elderly family members is a very valuable activity, both to those in need of support and to society. Indeed, the welfare regimes of many developed countries, including Britain, rely quite strongly on the supply of informal care provided within the family (Bookman and Harrington, 2007; Pickard et al, 2007).

Yet, for the unpaid and usually female carer, concentrating one's energies in labour that attracts little or no monetary recompense can lead to a loss of financial independence and to forgone pension entitlements (Martin and Roberts, 1984; Arber and Ginn, 1991; Hancock and Jarvis, 1994). Naturally enough, pecuniary rewards are not the only consideration when looking after loved ones as the process of caring can bring its own compensations; however, against the backdrop of population ageing, changing fertility patterns and women's increasing labour market participation it is recognised that the future and funding of eldercare is a source of much concern (see Laing, 1993; Richards et al, 1996; Wanless, 2006; Commission on Funding of Care and Support, 2011). An awareness of the ways in which adult daughters support their parents can provide insights into the nature of informal care within families.

Various studies have shown links between class and the care of the elderly. Working class elders are more likely to enter residential institutions and at a lower level of disability than middle class elderly people (Grundy, 1989; Caldock, 1992) before reaching middle age, women in lower social classes are more likely to provide co-resident care (Arber and Ginn, 1993); more affluent parents are less likely to receive

support and more affluent children are less likely to give support (Ermisch, 2009); tenants are more likely to receive help from their adult children than home-owners (Grundy, 2005); and women from lower social groups are more likely to be 'care-givers' by directly providing the care themselves, whereas those from higher groups are more likely to be 'care-managers' through using the services provided by others to create and maintain a care package for their parents (Archbold, 1983). However, given that particular types of care require different sets of resources and are based on different attitudinal approaches, socio-economic factors may play out differently depending on the type of care.

This study explores the relationship between social class and the diverse nature of care provided by adult daughters. As co-residence between parents and adult children has been shown to be a declining trend in Britain (Grundy 1999, 2000), this study is confined to an analysis of support activities given by adult daughters to their parents living in separate households. Having controlled for all the factors usually associated with the opportunity to care, the results indicate that social patterning by class exists only in certain types of support, i.e., lifts in car, cleaning/laundry and cooking. Those in the intermediate class are more likely to provide lifts by car and less likely to help with cleaning/laundry than those in the routine class, although the extent to which this happens depends on residential propinquity.

Background

Eldercaring in the UK has long been characterised by a mixed economy of care (Daly and Lewis, 2000). As the boundaries between the family, the state and the market are

shaped by intimate motivations, the policy parameters of care 'involves welfare states in one of their most precarious balancing acts' (Daly, 2002). However, public policy involves itself in the framework of social care through various mechanisms largely channelled towards the care recipient rather than the carer. Arksey and Glendinning (2007) note that informal carers are 'relatively invisible' in policy terms compared to the sick, elderly or disabled people they support. Yet any invisibility cannot be on account of scarcity. Census information for England and Wales shows that in 2001, 10 percent of the population (5.2 million people) were informal carers (Buckner and Yeandle, 2006). From the Family Resources Survey 2009/10, 61 percent of adult informal carers provided support to someone living outside their household, most often to their parents (MacRory, 2012).

Perhaps in recognition of the contribution carers make to the national economy, the last decade or so has seen some policy developments designed to keep carers caring. The National Carers' Strategy, launched in 1999, pledged to provide information, support and new rights for carers. Various legislative changes¹⁷ have introduced carers' entitlements. These include having their desire to work, study or take time off considered by local authorities when arranging care plans, having the right to 'request' flexible working, having care needs assessed (for those who provide 'substantial' and 'regular' care), and protection against discriminative practices on the grounds of their caring responsibilities. Despite these major steps forward, not much appears to have changed 'on the ground' (Clements, 2010). The assessments of

¹⁷ See The Carers (Recognition & Services) Act 1995, The Carers and Disabled Children Act 2000, The Carers (Equal Opportunities) Act 2004, Work and Families Act 2006 and the Equality Act 2010

care needs do not always take place appropriately (Scourfield, 2005; Mayhew, 2012). The right to merely 'request' flexible working is not a strong empowerment (Himmelweit, 2008) and a 2006/7 report by the Commission for Social Care and Inspection (CSCI) categorised support for carers as 'patchy and limited' (CSCI, 2008). The main financial support for carers through the welfare state is Carers' Allowance¹⁸ but as mentioned in Chapter 2, there are some sizeable restrictions on who can receive this. Originally designed as income replacement, at current levels (£59.75 per week in 2013/14) it is 'hardly adequate' (Mayhew, 2012).

Exchanges of intergenerational support

Over the life course parents and their adult children often support each other in a variety of ways. Forming part of the parent-child bond, the intergenerational flow of assistance can be shaped by a number of elements. Theories of social action and exchange draw on the notion that help is given and received on the principle of mutual exchange or altruism: the former being where assistance is provided under the expectation of some form of reciprocation and the latter as an outcome of affection (Emerson, 1976; Piliavin and Charng, 1990). Of course, these are not necessarily mutually exclusive and may overlap. Furthermore, families seldom operate on a quid pro quo arrangement of exchange, tending to provide help on a basis of 'generalised' reciprocity (Finch and Mason, 1993). In this way support is provided through a process of indirect exchange where family members help each other out on the understanding that their actions will perhaps be rewarded at some indeterminate point in the future and possibly by a different member of the family. Exchanges that occur

¹⁸ Other types of cash transfer schemes operate (such as Attendance Allowance, Disability Living Allowance and Personal Independence Payments) but entitlement to these allowances rests with the care recipient.

in this way complicate the picture as both the temporal dimension of future potential pay-offs and the third-party involvement of other family members make it difficult to assess the extent to which altruism and/or instrumentalism play a role in guiding supportive behaviours between parent and child.

Drawing on a broader theory of solidarity between parents and adult children, intergenerational relationships can be influenced through a complex web of intersections across six dimensions: affinity, association, consensus, resource-sharing, normative values and opportunity structures (Bengtson and Roberts, 1991; Bengtson, et al, 1995; Silverstein et al, 1995; Starrels et al, 1995; Silverstein et al, 1996; Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997). The expectation from this framework is that intergenerational solidarity is likely to be influenced by the degree of affection between family members; the amount of engagement and contact between the generations; the extent of agreement regarding values and attitudes; the level of mutual benefits that could be derived from helping each other; recognition of and commitment to family obligations; and having the appropriate resources and capabilities to care. The attraction of this analytical framework is that it acknowledges the role of emotions in caring behaviours. In conceptual terms this recognises the role played by love, camaraderie, antagonism, guilt and so on, and therefore offers an extensive account of intergenerational exchanges of practical support. Yet, it is rarely clear what role these emotions play in motivating caring behaviours, as subjective feelings are notoriously difficult to capture empirically. Thus, as a tool in understanding intergenerational exchanges this framework is of somewhat limited value as it has little verifiable explanatory power.

'Caring about' signifies an emotional relationship between the parent and child, whereas 'caring for' reflects the actual practice of caring in performing particular tasks (Skeggs, 1997). It is relatively easy to observe the 'practice' of caring by taking account of things that people do for each other. However, this practice of caring can be motivated through the unobservable emotional dimensions of positive solidarity (consensus), negative solidarity (conflict) or neutral solidarity (ambivalence) (Lüscher and Pillemer, 1998; Bengtson et al, 2002); signifying that the things people do, or do not do, for each other can be motivated by a whole range of emotions. This all means that it is not feasible to infer any degree of affection imbued in a caring activity: love, ambivalence or dislike for one's parents can be overridden by guilt, obligation or a feeling that someone else should provide the care (Ungerson, 1987: Chp 5). This further suggests that empirically determining the emotional basis behind caring is impracticable. Thus an empirical focus on examining class variation with caring behaviours entails a minimalistic recasting of the intergenerational solidarity framework outlined above. This centres on the dimensions of (a) normative attitudes to caring, (b) family cohesion and (c) the opportunity to care; roughly translated into examining class differences within who should, would and could care.

Are there class differences in the provision of practical support?

Differences in class position have long been associated with disparities in cultural values and access to material resources. Considering attitudes to the question of who should be on hand to provide support, studies have found that lower social classes are more likely to place a greater emphasis on the role of the extended family; the collective support from a wider sphere of family members acting as a buffer against their relative economic disadvantage (Seelbach, 1978; Anderson and Allen, 1984;

Willmott and Young, 1960). It might also be expected that the degree to which family members lean on each other for support would affect the willingness to provide as families can operate on the principle of deserving and undeserving recipients. Those deemed as presuming too much from the family collective without offering much in return can be marginalised within the support mechanism. Thus a continuous evaluation process of 'givers' and 'takers' sets the standard of who is worthy of support. Finch and Mason (1993) find that these 'moral reputations' or ethical judgements regarding who should give and receive care are integral in the shaping of help between family members and that the incidence of support exchanges is not reducible simply to resource issues or 'structural factors' such as social class. However, as those most reliant on each other, it is plausible that lower social groups would be more likely provide support given that they are more likely to require help in return as a consequence of their economic disadvantage.

Ideas surrounding the appropriateness of caring are one thing, whether one acts in accordance with these ideas is another. The degree to which normative understandings translate into caring behaviours depends, at least in part, on what is gained through the exchange. Lee et al (1994) suggest that parents care for their children partly in the hope that their children will one day care for them; thereby modelling to their own children the importance of filial piety. Under the concept of generalised reciprocity, Finch and Mason (1993) also find that through caring for their children, parents enter into some sort of insurance scheme for support later in life; although the difference here is a recognition that rules of 'quid pro quo' do not necessarily apply as the principal beneficiary of any returns to their support may be someone else in the family collective. Consistent with Finch and Mason's proposal

that families exchange support on the principle of mutual assurance, it follows that those most likely to need help from their families in the future would be those most likely to offer support in the here and now. Lower social classes are less able to access formal care services and are thus more reliant on informal family support. They typically have fewer financial assets to fund market-based substitute care. Local authorities can provide assistance in both accessing and subsidising substitute care but lower socio-economic groups typically have less 'leverage' and are less adroit in negotiating advantageous packages with care professionals (Arber and Ginn, 1993). Given their relative disadvantage in securing support offered by the state or the market, those in low socio-economic groups might be expected to display greater readiness to invest in the mechanism of informal family support.

Of course, such discussions over who should care and who would care are incomplete without an assessment of the capacity to provide care. Naturally enough, only those with the requisite capabilities will be able to convert any sense of obligation or motivation for caring into delivery of care. Access to the kinds of resources that facilitate caring tasks is commonly associated with class difference. Having a car, being a home-owner, and higher income levels are linked to higher social class (Harris and Hamnet, 1987; Davies, Joshi and Clarke, 1997); and these material advantages tend to denote greater opportunities to care across greater distances, paying towards parents relocation expenses so they live closer-by and providing financial assistance for market-based care alternatives (Arber and Ginn, 1993; Silverstein, 1995).

Living near one's parents is likely to enhance the opportunities of providing daily or frequent care as there are greater opportunities to see each other. Even accounting for the tendency of adult children in lower class groups tend to live nearer their parents, studies in Britain and the US have found that advantages in the form of home-ownership and higher education tend to lead to a lower likelihood of regular face-to-face contact (Lawton, Silverstein and Bengston; 1994; Grundy and Shelton, 2001). Also the propensity to be economically inactive is greater for women in lower social class positions (Davies, Joshi and Clarke, 1997). It is suggested that their relative disadvantage in the workplace in terms of earning power lessens the opportunity costs associated with either complete or partial withdrawal from the labour market (Coverman, 1983). Henz (2006) also maintains that women in more 'prestigious' occupations can experience the negative aspects of caring less frequently due to an increased ability to combine working and caring through higher earnings and greater experience in the art of delegation.

Does the type of support matter?

Much of the quantitative research into the issue of intergenerational support in Britain has typically focused either on the financial support that generations provide each other or it has considered a combination of informal care activities rather than differentiating between the unique qualities of each type. Differences have been found in the provision of monetary support to parents according economic resources, although this is not a particularly common form of assistance given by adult children to their parents (Ermisch, 2009). Much more common are transfers of time in the form of services such as giving lifts by car, shopping, help with paperwork and so on (Grundy, 2005). Disregarding any specific differences between these tasks, much of

the evidence shows little to point towards a social patterning in caring for parents who live outside the household (Green, 1988; Arber and Ginn, 1993). Yet, different types of activity might possibly draw on different value orientations and are likely to require different sets of resources for those providing extra-resident care.

In distinguishing between personal care on the one hand and all other forms of household help on the other, Brandt et al (2009) find a lower prevalence of 'help' amongst the more highly educated but no corresponding pattern in provision of 'care'. The activity of caring for someone unable to perform the most basic of tasks for themselves represents a type of support different from all others (Waeress cited in Leira, 1994). Washing, bathing and feeding an elderly parent necessarily denotes dependency as assistance is required with the most basic of living needs. In symbolising a loss of independence on the part of the elder, providing this type of care embodies an inversion of their parent-child relationship. It is also the kind of task that represents a relatively high care burden, not least in terms of the time investment required. Thus it is an activity that is often not welcomed by either the elder or the adult child (Ungerson, 1987; Finch, 1989; Finch and Mason 1993). To avoid this, those with the wherewithal to pay for someone else to deliver this care might be expected to do so. Furthermore, unlike most other forms of care, providing help with eating and personal hygiene requires being close enough to touch. This type of support cannot be delivered at a distance and requires both carer and care recipient to be together at the time. As those most likely to live nearer their parents and thus have less geographical barriers, lower social classes might be more likely to provide this type of care.

Other types of support such as laundering clothes and cooking meals are activities that a carer could potentially conduct in their own homes, at times of convenience, and then transport to the care recipient's wardrobe or fridge/freezer. Equally, help with shopping, gardening, personal affairs and so on, need not require the presence of the elder. An exception here is help with transport, as giving someone a lift by car requires being together. Yet, although more likely to live nearer their parents, lower social classes are also less likely to have access to a car (Davies, Joshi and Clarke, 1997). As these expectations pull in opposing directions, the extent to which lower or higher classes might provide lifts by car is unclear.

Aside from these practical issues, class based value attachments might also play a role. In various studies regarding the types of qualities that parents desire to see in their children lower class parents were more likely to want their children to be 'neat and clean', whereas parents from higher classes were more likely to value independence, self-direction and the spirit of exploration (Kohn, 1959; Pearlin & Kohn, 1966). Traditionally a key route for working class women to achieve 'respectability' has been through a strong identification with domesticity and cleanliness. Decency and propriety could be demonstrated through the keeping of clean, healthy homes and bodies (Davidoff, 1995; Skeggs, 1997). This is not to suggest that the desire to be clean is a class issue, as it is reasonable to assume that most people dislike being dirty whatever their class. Rather, the argument here is that those with relatively little to show outwardly in terms of economic or cultural capital might seek to claim value and status through a visible attachment to cleanliness. For

those lacking in the conventional markers of social status or prestige, the symbolic value of respectability associated with being clean and tidy is perhaps likely to hold greater leverage.

In a series of landmark studies of British working class communities of the 1950s and 60s, mothers and adult daughters were routinely found to help each other out with tasks around the home (Townsend, 1957; Young and Willmott, 1957; Townsend and Wedderburn, 1965, Rosser and Harris, 1983). Remarkably similar findings have also been found in a more recent study, designed as a contemporary re-visitation of this earlier work (Charles and Davies, 2005). Those raised in a culture that derives self-worth through a firm attachment to domestic tasks might be more likely to provide support in these particular areas. Yet, whilst shopping, cooking and cleaning can in one sense be encompassed by the umbrella term of domestic work, there are particular differences that set cleaning/laundry apart from the others. Processing dirty linen, heavy basket-loads of wet laundry, clearing up other peoples grime, and so on are highly unlikely to be regarded as appealing or pleasurable tasks in and of themselves. By contrast, helping with shopping and cooking can refer to the humdrum labours of everyday life, but this can also refer to the more glamorous aspects of consumption. Cooking can be an artistic activity.

“When women make foods from fresh ingredients, it is not difficult to see cooking as a creative process. Here, foodmaking is likened to art: the foods are raw materials like clay which she then sculpts with her hands. In this context; a

woman cooks, deriving pleasure from the activity of cooking” (Devasahayam, 2005: 13).

This is not to suggest that meal preparation is rarely a chore, merely that there is at least the potential for it to constitute a leisure activity. Similarly help with shopping can comprise the routine grind of the weekly grocery trip or it can also mean the perhaps more agreeable aspects of retail therapy such as the purchase of luxury items, discovering new products, and so on. As studies of shopping motivations have found, whether it be for groceries or other commodities, shopping can embrace both utilitarian and hedonic qualities (Westbrook and Black, 1985; Arnold and Reynolds, 2003). For those with sufficient income to capitalise on the more pleasant aspects, shopping need not necessarily represent a generally unattractive activity.

Recognising this ambiguity between the mundane and leisure aspects within certain types of what is often in aggregate considered ‘domestic work’ is an important consideration as Adams (1970) found that middle-class families in the US are more likely to spend more of their time engaged in shared leisure activities.

Other specific support tasks that adult children are commonly observed to provide for their parents are also likely to depend on the possession of particular skills and resources. For example, effective help with sorting out private affairs and paperwork requires confident numeracy and literacy skills and a competence in dealing with institutions such as banks and tax authorities.

Class and intergenerational support: a manifold relationship?

In positing an association between social class and the care that adult children provide for their parents, I have suggested that any such connection rests on the type of support that is in question: firstly, because different types of support draw on different types of attributes and/or material resources; and secondly, because exactly who holds these features is likely to vary according to social class. The syllogistic conclusion from this reasoning is that class matters in caring but the way in which it matters depends on the type of caring. This raises questions such as who provides what and in what circumstances. Is provision purely a resource issue or do class values play some role, and if so where? Whilst the connections between social class, material resources and cultural values have been extensively researched, the indirect relationship between these connections and particular types of informal caring has been very much overlooked. The remainder of this study examines these indirect relationships and the contribution they make in the provision of intergenerational support.

Firstly, this involves an empirical examination of class difference regarding the possession of resources needed for caring, such as time, money, availability and so on; thereby highlighting the 'who could care' element. Secondly, class variation in attitudes towards caring are considered in order to assess the 'who should/would' element. In the six dimensional framework outlined earlier (see Bengtson and Roberts, 1991; Bengtson, et al, 1995; Silverstein et al, 1995; Starrels et al, 1995; Silverstein et al, 1996; Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997) it is suggested that the 'would' element of caring is shaped by the degree of reciprocity within families. That is to say, the extent to which family members help each other out is a likely motivator

for the provision of help. However, as Finch and Mason (1993) point out, under the principle of generalised reciprocity families often give and receive help without any form of direct exchange as the pay-off lies in the future or the past. It is beyond the scope of this investigation to consider reciprocal exchanges over the life course. Thus it is assumed that those who feel they should care, actually would if they could.

Thirdly, the different types of care are analysed separately to reveal class variation in 'who does what' so as to map the kinds of care typically provided by different social classes. Finally, to take some account of the different contexts under which carers operate and in recognition that caring behaviours are a combined reflection of 'could', 'should', 'would' and 'what'; a multivariate approach considers all these things in conjunction.

Data and Methods

To analyse whether particular types of intergenerational support provided by adult daughters to their parents are patterned by social class, I use the 2001 and 2006 waves of the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) in which respondents were asked specifically about parents who did not live with them. The BHPS is a nationally representative annual survey that commenced gathering information on approximately 5,500 households in 1991, yielding in the region of 10,000 adult interviews per wave (Taylor, 2010). Each wave contains rich data regarding socio-demographic characteristics, household composition, social values and attitudes, labour market profiles, and so on; however, of particular relevance here are the questions asked in 2001/2006 relating to the help given to parents, the distance lived from parents, whether parents lived together and so on.

Sample

Studies investigating the likelihood of providing care to one's parents routinely identify a strong gender bias, consistent with the notion that women do the lion's share of family caring (see Spitze and Logan, 1990; Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2004; Ermisch, 2009). I therefore concentrate on the care activities of daughters. To focus on the care provided to the parents in the later stages of life, I confine the sample to include only daughters who have at least one living parent aged over 65 years. This produces 1060 pooled observations across the two waves corresponding to 891 women. Table 3.1 shows the proportion of sample members contributing to the 2001 and 2006 waves of this pooled information. As some individuals contribute to both waves, I adjust the standards errors to allow for clustering at the individual level.

Table 3.1: Proportion of sample individuals contributing to either one or both waves.

	# Individuals	N	2001	2006	2001 & 2006	Total
Daughters with a living parent aged over 65 yrs	891	1060	12%	47%	40%	100%

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: All statistics weighted using cross-sectional weights. Numbers of individuals and observations are unweighted.

Variables

Using the data in the BHPS the following variables were constructed to enable descriptive and multivariate analyses of intergenerational support. These were

included in light of their known influence on intergenerational support giving and/or to account for alternative explanations of social patterning. Definitions and descriptions of the variables are given in appendices I and II.

Responses from the following question were used to identify the provision of specific types of help provided to parents:

“Nowadays, do you regularly or frequently do any of the things listed on this card for your parents?”

1. Giving them lifts in your car (if you have one)
2. Shopping for them
3. Providing or cooking meals
4. Helping with basic personal needs like dressing, eating or bathing
5. Washing, ironing or cleaning
6. Dealing with personal affairs e.g. paying bills, writing letters
7. Decorating, gardening or house repairs
8. Financial help.
9. Anything else

Respondents were invited to indicate which, if any, of these types of support they give. As the ninth item says nothing about the nature of support, I concentrate on items one to eight. Using this information, a series of eight dummy variables were constructed to represent the provision of each kind of assistance. It should be noted that items one and two may be subject to some overlap. Helping parents with

shopping may involve taking them to the supermarket by car and so this activity would fall under items one and two.

To assess the extent to which these types of intergenerational help are associated with social class and other relevant factors, the analyses presented here utilise the data within the BHPS as follows:

- Social Class

Using the NS-SEC occupational classification scheme (see Rose and Pevalin, 2003), social class was grouped into three categories: professional (including managerial), intermediate; and routine (including manual) classes. The reference point used was the current job for those in paid work and the most recent job for those not currently in work.

- Attitudes to paid working and filial caring

The readiness with which caring roles are adopted is likely to be an outcome of the orientation to either job or family. Revealing the true nature of these unobserved preferences has been matter of considerable academic debate (see Crompton & Harris, 1999; McRae, 2003). However, to take account of these factors at least in part, two separate variables were each constructed from the responses to the each of the following statements:

“Do you personally agree or disagree . . .”

1. A husband's job is to earn money; a wife's job is to look after the home and family
2. Adult children should care for their parents.

- Highest Educational Qualifications

This variable was grouped into four categories as follows: Degree, A level/HND or equivalent, GCSE or equivalent, below GCSE or equivalent.

- Income and Partner's income

Measured as the amount earned in the month prior to the survey interview, both of these variables reflect earnings in £ (thousands). If no partner is present then partner's earnings were set as zero.

- Number of respondent's siblings and number of and age of respondent's children.

The care that adult daughters provide for their parents will clearly be influenced by the family context. The number of brothers and sisters with whom to share the care of parents might have an important influence on the type of care daughters provide and, indeed, whether they provide any care at all as lone children are more likely to provide support than those with siblings (Circirelli, 1995). Furthermore, evidence shows that birth order matters as well with the youngest most likely be care-providers (Ermisch, 2009). Equally, the call on her time and energies presented by her own children is likely to have a bearing on the type of care provided to parents. Both the dimensions of who is on hand and what commitments they already have factor into

assessments of who should and could care (Finch, 1989; Finch and Mason, 1993). To reflect both of these aspects, variables were included to indicate the number of siblings and sibling position, and the number and age of dependent children.

- Parents' characteristics

The type of help that is, or is not, provided to parents is also likely to be influenced by the characteristics of the parents themselves. How old they are, whether they live together, how far away they live¹⁹, and so on might all be expected to shape the care they receive. To account for these factors, variables were included to indicate the mean age of parents, whether or not the parents live with each other²⁰ and how long it takes the respondent to travel to their parents' place of residence. The ability of the parents to pay for market-based substitute care is also likely to affect the care provided to them by daughters. To at least partially capture this ability, variables signifying parents' occupational prestige and education were constructed: the former referring to the mother or father's position (whichever the highest) on the Hope-Goldthorpe prestige scale when the respondent was aged 14 and the latter referring to whether either parent graduated with further/higher education qualifications.

¹⁹ Where parents live apart the measure of distance used is the time taken to travel to the mother as mothers in general are more likely to receive support from their adult daughters than are fathers (Ladtika & Ladtika, 2001; Ermsich, 2009).

²⁰ This variable was constructed to capture whether both parents lived together, the alternative being a consequence of either widowhood or partnership dissolution. In preliminary analyses a further indicator was included to account for whether both parents were alive but this contributed a negligible amount of explanatory power.

- Car-user

The importance of having a car speaks for itself as it is unlikely that anyone without a car would be able to offer lifts on anything like a regular basis. Furthermore, in terms of the provision of other types of help, access to private transport can provide additional logistical advantages that those reliant on public transport do not enjoy, such as ease and speed of movement to and from parents' home, transferring shopping, and so on. This dummy variable was constructed to equal 1 if the respondent cited having general access to the use of a car or van and 0 otherwise.

Additional control variables accounting for the respondent's age, ethnicity, partnership status, home ownership, subjective wellbeing, region of the UK where the respondent lives, a dummy variable to denote the year (2001 or 2006) and whether the respondent is currently working full-time, part-time or not working are further included in the multivariate analyses.

Methods

To discover any straightforward relationships between social class and caring for parents, I first present an analysis of bivariate relationships that might be expected to shed some prima facie light on class patterns not only in care provision but also in the relation to the kinds of values and resources that are associated with caring (Part One). These elementary breakdowns offer an uncomplicated but valuable account which speaks of the distribution of caring across classes, thereby separately identifying who could, who would/should and who does what.

Whilst it is important to identify these basic relationships between class and caring, they are not of course the whole story. To allow for other factors which may impact on caring behaviours, I conduct a series of multivariate logistic regressions against the eight separate dependent variables corresponding to the provision of specific types of intergenerational support (Part Two). This affords greater analysis of the complex issues surrounding any class divisions in filial care as it takes further account of the particular circumstances under which care activities are performed. However, using this data in a cross-sectional format limits any opportunity to make causal inferences from the finding. Thus the following analysis is confined to examining statistical associations.²¹ To test the robustness of my findings I further estimate re-specified models to identify potential issues of multi-collinearity and separate analyses focussing on any contrast between having parents who live nearby and having parents that live further away.

Results

Part One: Bivariate results

Class patterns in intergenerational support: opportunity structures

If caring behaviour can be viewed as the outcome of a composite blend of evaluations regarding who should, would and could care; then the set of resources on which the carer can lay claim and the competing demands they must manage are key. Table 3.1 gives details of variation across class groups relating to time spent in the labour market, ages of youngest child, car usage and home-ownership. As argued earlier,

²¹ An insufficient number of respondents appeared in both 2001 and 2006 waves to construct a longitudinal panel.

these are all factors that have the potential to influence appetite and/or opportunities for caring.

In family negotiations regarding who should provide care, claims to 'legitimate excuses' in order to evade caring duties can involve citing job commitments and other compelling family commitments such as dependent children (Finch and Mason, 1993: Chp. 4).. Unlike part-time work, full-time work is typically characterised by good quality jobs in terms of rewards and status (Connolly and Gregory, 2008; Manning and Petrongolo, 2008); thereby raising the opportunity costs of caring. In a multivariate analysis, Henz (2006) finds that those in lower class positions and those who work part-time are more likely to give up a job to respond to a care need. This suggests that those less able to adduce an incapacity to care by virtue of a high grade job or the longer hours of full-time working will be more likely to become carers. The information in Table 3.1 suggests that lower classes are not only less likely to be in work but also less likely to work full-time. This means that they are more likely to be in a lower grade job, if they have a job at all, and therefore have less scope in evading the normative ascription of a caring role.

Compared to professional and intermediate groups, those in the routine class are more likely to have their youngest child in the older age-group. Having older dependent children can prove to be a prominent factor in eldercare negotiations for women; they are still necessarily involved in family care duties towards their young teenagers

Table 3.2: Descriptive statistics

	Professional (%)	Intermediate (%)	Routine (%)	All (%)
Labour force participation***				
- Not in work	11.3	19.2	19.3	16.7
- PT	20.1	36.6	46.7	35.0
- FT	68.5	44.2	34.0	48.4
Age of children**				
- No dependent children	55.5	50.0	52.2	52.7
- Youngest child aged under 12	33.4	35.6	27.7	31.9
- Youngest child aged 12- 15	11.1	14.5	20.1	15.4
Use of car ***	93.0	88.1	59.8	78.9
House-owner***	94.8	89.6	75.7	86.0
N	369	298	393	1060

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: Percentages weighted using cross-sectional weights. Observations are unweighted Pearson χ^2 significance tests: ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

without the heavy care burden that much younger children tend to present. In this liminal zone of being on the threshold of deliverance from childcaring duties but not yet entirely free of responsibility, all other things being equal, mothers occupy a particularly weak bargaining position in any eldercare negotiations. This can result in what Paull (2008) refers to as the 'long shadow' of child-caring where mothers withdraw either partially or completely from the labour market to look after their

children without ever returning to their erstwhile job career trajectory, even long after children have grown up and moved on.

Table 3.2 also shows significant class differences in car-usage and home-ownership. Almost all of the professional class own their own home (94.8 per cent) compared to 89.6 per cent of the intermediate class and roughly three-quarters of the routine class (75.5 per cent). Again, almost all of the professional class normally have access to the use of a car, compared to roughly 60 per cent of the routine class.

One of the objectives of this investigation is to map, by class position, the support activities that daughters perform for their parents. Naturally, any care provided may depend to a certain degree on the particular circumstances of the parents. Table 3.3 describes the extent of class difference for these daughters in terms of the characteristics of their parents. This suggests a clear dissimilarity across social classes in the time taken to travel to the parent(s)' place of residence. Whilst 55.5 per cent of the routine class live within 15 minutes of their parents, the corresponding proportions of the intermediate and professional groups are 46.5 and 38.1 per cent respectively.

Also clear from Table 3.3 are some striking differences related to the academic achievements of parents and their tendency to live together. The proportion of parents of the professional class who attained a further or higher education qualification is twice that of the routine group. As higher educational skills typically translate into higher rewards in the labour market, it is likely that those parents with higher skills will have accumulated increased assets upon retirement on which to

Table 3.3: Characteristics of parent(s) by social class

	Professional (%)	Intermediate (%)	Routine (%)	All (%)
Distance from parents ***				
- Within 15 minutes	38.1	46.5	55.5	47.1
- 15 to 30 minutes	18.1	25.9	21.9	21.8
- 30 to 60 minutes	9.6	11.5	7.2	9.2
60+ minutes	34.2	16.1	15.4	21.9
Parents have further/higher education qualification ***	59.6	43.8	30.1	43.8
Parents live together**	45.5	41.6	33.0	39.6
Mean parents age	76.1	75.4	75.5	75.7
N	369	298	393	1060

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: Percentages weighted using cross-sectional weights. Observations are unweighted Pearson χ^2 significance tests: ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

draw upon. It is perhaps also reasonable to assume that more numerate and articulate parents generally require less support in dealing with their personal affairs.

Having parents who live alone due to widowhood or are living apart due partnership dissolution can have important implications for carers. In the case of parents living alone this can mean an increased care burden arising out of issues of loneliness or simply not having in-situ assistance; and in the case of parents living separately, this can mean balancing the needs of two parents who reside at different addresses.

Where both parents live together not only are they able to support each other and thus

reduce any reliance on other family members but can also lead to scales of economy in terms of the time and effort required of the adult child in visiting/contacting only one parental residence. Considering the propensity for parents to live together, Table 3.3 suggests that those in the intermediate and routine classes are significantly less likely than those in the professional class to have co-habiting parents meaning that perhaps those in lower social classes are more likely to experience a greater call to provide eldercare.

However, this data does not seem to support the premise that lower socio-economic groups typically have younger parents as the differences in parental age as shown in Table 3.3 are not only relatively small but also not statistically significant. As parents become older they are generally considered to represent a higher care burden as they tend to require increasing levels of support. Inequalities in mortality rates and fertility patterns across class groupings tend to engender shorter generational lengths for lower classes and earlier orphan-hood (Arber & Ginn 1991; Griffiths and Fitzpatrick, 2001; Henretta et al, 2001). However, analyses of class differences in mortality rates have tended to focus on men and studies on female mortality show a reverse trend driven by a higher incidence of death from breast cancer amongst higher socio-economic groups (White et al, 2010).

In summary, many of the factors generally associated with the opportunity to provide intergenerational support exhibit clear differences by class. Assets such as home-ownership, access to a car and full-time jobs are all associated with higher social class. Less intensive time demands, such as older dependent children and part-time/not working, are associated with lower social class. Equally the potential

demand for support is stratified by class as those in higher classes are more likely to have parents with resources of their own, who can support each other or live far enough away to render other arrangements more viable. Yet, the opportunity to provide assistance is only one dimension of intergeneration support and may or may not translate into actual care provision. To examine the extent to which adult daughters express an orientation to caring for parents, i.e., the 'should/would' element, the next section considers class variation in normative attitudes.

Class variation in attitudes towards caring

Tables 3.4 and 3.5 give account of attitudes towards family and eldercaring respectively, broken down by social class. Referring to the traditional division of household labour, affirmative responses to Statement A suggest clear class distinctions in orientation to paid work. The percentages of the intermediate and professional classes in agreement with Statement A are broadly similar; 4.6 and 4.5 per cent respectively. However, at 12.6 per cent, this proportion of the routine class is almost three times larger. This indicates that those in lower class positions are more likely to emphasise their role as unpaid worker in the domestic sphere. Using data from the British Social Attitudes Survey, Crompton and Lyonette (2008) produce similar results when considering the attitudes of mothers with children aged under 11. Looking at responses across the 1989-2006 time period, they find that women in the professional/managerial class consistently report less traditional attitudes towards the gender division of labour.

Table 3.4: Attitudes towards division of household labour by class

Statement A: Husband should earn and the wife should look after the home and family				
	Agree (%)	Neither agree nor disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	N
Professional	4.5	23.0	72.6	369
Intermediate	4.6	24.4	71.0	298
Routine	12.6	33.7	53.6	393
All	7.6	27.5	64.9	1060

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: Row percentages weighted using cross-sectional weights. Observations are unweighted. Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 35.4208$ P-value = 0.0001

Looking further at attitudes to filial care there appears to be less support for class difference. Table 3.4 shows that although 43.1 per cent of the professional class agree that adult children should care for their children and this is proportionately more than either of the lower classes, these differences are not statistically significant. One explanation for these results is allied to perceptions regarding the role of state intervention. Kaltenhaler and Ceccoli (2008) find that as typical 'gainers' from the redistributive mechanism of state welfare regimes, lower social classes are more likely to consider it the role of the state to provide support. Thus the results in Table 3.4 could reflect the idea that those in the lower classes are more likely to agree that the state should step in rather than the family.

However, many have questioned the usefulness of analysing responses to subjective questions of this type as they are rarely generated in a social vacuum and it is not easy to tell whether they reflect 'true' opinions or whether they are a product of the

Table 3.5: Attitudes towards division of filial caring by class

Statement B:				
Adult children should care for their parents				
	Agree (%)	Neither agree nor disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	N
Professional	43.1	24.6	32.4	369
Intermediate	36.5	28.7	34.7	298
Routine	34.1	34.3	31.6	393
All	37.8	29.5	32.8	1060

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 8.8766$ P-value = 0.1568

Notes: Row percentages weighted using cross-sectional weights. Observations are unweighted

normative context in which they are produced (see Crompton & Harris, 1999; McRae, 2003). Changes in attitudes to the role of women in the workplace over the last few decades have arguably contributed to a culture that regards female paid working outside the home as morally acceptable and thus an affirmation of a non-traditional division of household labour is not necessarily out of step with public opinion. Yet, the social cues as to whether adult children should care for their parents are vague and paradoxical. It widely accepted that the UK welfare regime relies heavily on the exchanges of support within the family to avoid unsustainable demands on the public social care system (Harper and Levin, 2005); but despite this there exists no legal obligation placed on children to care for parents and it remains subject to negotiations within the family, which as Finch and Mason (1993) point out can be highly circumstantial. As part of the family bond, individuals might agree that adult children should care for their parents without acknowledging that they should personally deliver this care.

Furthermore, the question of whether children should care for their parents is an entirely different proposition for those at the sharp end who actually provide the care and will likely have a more realistic understanding of what is entailed²². This is all the more interesting when one notes that Tables 3.4 and 3.5 also appear to suggest that those in the routine class are more likely to hold ambivalent opinions. A possible explanation for this is those in lower social classes identify more strongly with the dissonance between the notion and the reality of caring. That is to say, those women in the 'neither agree nor disagree' category might be drawn to the idea of a nurturing family role but recognise the demands that this would likely place upon them. The evidence shown below in Table 3.6 suggests that those in those in lower social classes are more likely to provide support to their parents in a number of areas, so for these women the disjoint between the rosy notion and the stark reality of caring is potentially quite strong.

Overall, these results appear to suggest that attitudes towards family caring are patterned by class. Those in higher social classes are more likely to agree that adult children should care for their parents, whereas those in lower classes are more likely to hold ambivalent views in respect of filial caring. This is somewhat at odds with the finding that those in lower social classes also tend to identify more firmly with the role of family-carer in the division of household labour. However, it might be that those in lower classes recognise a stronger role for state provision or that, as likely carers, their real experiences of eldercaring moderates their willingness to care for parents.

²² Re-analysing the responses of only those women who provide some form of support to their parents (not shown here) yields broadly similar results.

From this and the previous section, it would appear that both attitudes and opportunities to care do vary by social class. However, it is the central proposition of this investigation is that the type of care or 'what' is being provided also matters in assessing class-based patterns in caring behaviours. To explore this aspect the next section considers separate types of support.

Class patterns in particular types of intergenerational support

Focussing on variant forms of intergenerational support to identify whether indeed there is a social pattern in particular types of support; Table 3.6 presents the percentage within each class grouping who report that they provide a particular type of support. I argued above that class-based factors would matter differently in different types of support. The overall message arising out of these results is that the type of support does matter as the patterning appears to be quite marked in some areas and non-existent in others. Considering 'lifts in car', roughly one third of the routine class provide help with transport compared to roughly half of either the professional and intermediate classes. Doubtless this is due in no small part to the specific class differences in car access highlighted earlier; however, it is also interesting to note that the intermediate class are more likely to provide this form of support than their professional counterparts despite the latter's comparatively better chances of having a car at their disposal (see Table 3.2).

Social class also seems to matter quite considerably in the provision of help with cleaning and laundry. At 20.3 percent, the proportion of the routine class who supply help in this area is more than double that of either the professional or intermediate

Table 3.6: Proportion of women with a parent aged over 65 providing help to parents by occupational class

	Professional (%)	Intermediate (%)	Routine (%)	All (%)
Lifts in car***	44.6	54.4	36.3	44.2
shopping *	35.3	39.1	46.5	40.7
cooking	17.1	21.8	19.5	19.4
Personal care	4.4	3.3	7.1	5.1
Cleaning, laundering***	10.0	7.7	20.3	13.3
Personal affairs –paying bills/writing letters	23.8	22.9	26.6	24.6
DIY	22.0	23.1	27.6	24.5
Financial help	8.2	4.1	5.0	5.8
N	369	298	393	1060

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: Percentages weighted using cross-sectional weights. Observations are unweighted
Pearson χ^2 significance tests: * $p < 0.1$, *** $p < 0.01$

classes. This chimes in with the strong emphasis on being 'neat and clean' in traditional class values discussed above. However, these value systems might also lead one to expect an emphasis on domesticity in general but the evidence from Table 3.6 provides little support for this. Whilst differences are observed in support with 'shopping' these are only significant at the $p < 0.1$ level and in relation to help with

'cooking' there appears to be little or no demonstrable difference by social class. This may be because there really is no difference and that the each class category is as likely as any other to help with either cooking or shopping. Yet it also may be that the results are confounded by a lack of clarity as to exactly what kind of shopping and what kind of cooking we are talking about, i.e. the hedonistic or utilitarian kind.

Looking at the overall proportions providing each type of help it is interesting to note that some types of support are much more popular than others. The least popular is the provision of personal care. This is consistent with the idea that it is an undesirable task that both elders and daughters would rather avoid. However, I hypothesised that those with the funds to buy-in such support would be likely to do so and have a lower likelihood of delivering personal care than those less advantaged. The lack of any class difference in personal care provision in Table 3.6 fails to support this premise, but it should be remembered that for elders without the basic individual means to secure assistance with this most fundamental type of support will receive some sort of state-sponsored help.

Furthermore, this analysis refers to women who have at least one parent alive aged over 65 years. Nowadays, 65 years old is quite young to be needing help with washing, bathing and eating; and these results might simply reflect the situation where the 'young-old' do not actually need the help. To investigate whether class difference emerges in the care of the 'old-old' it is necessary to focus on those with older parents. Table 3.7 shows the proportions of the intermediate and routine classes providing personal care steadily increase when that restricting the sample to those

Table 3.7: Proportion of women providing personal care to parents by occupational class and age of parent

	Professional (%)	Intermediate (%)	Routine (%)	All (%)	N
If has a parent aged 70+	5.5	4.3	7.5	5.9	811
If has a parent aged 75+	5.5	6.3	8.9	7.0	578
If has a parent aged 80+	5.2	10.3	10.5	8.7	341

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Pearson χ^2 significance tests: all non-significant (P-values > 0.01)

Notes: Percentages weighted using cross-sectional weights. Observations are unweighted

with increasingly aged parents, while the percentage of the professional class remains fairly static; although these are not statistically significant differences.

In essence, looking at the simple relationships between class and different types of caring, a social patterning appears to operate in the provision of lifts by car, personal care and help with cleaning/laundry. The next section explores whether these relationships remain when some account is taken of the residential distance between adult daughter and parents.

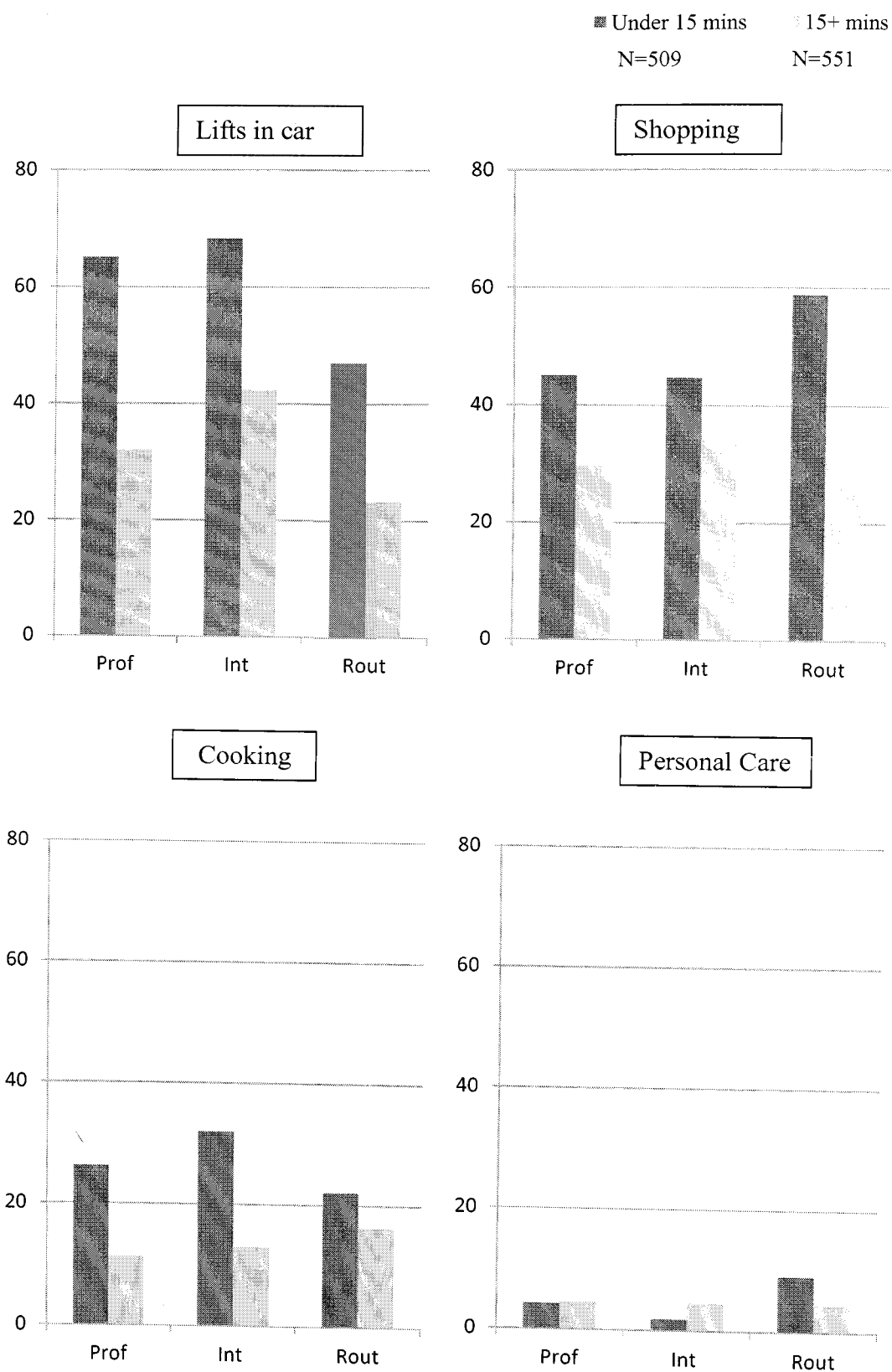
Provision of support types and travelling time to parents' residence

Providing support to parents who live nearby as opposed to some distance away is likely to be a less onerous activity given the logistical advantages of proximity.

Residential propinquity has often been found to be highly influential in the provision of intergenerational support (see Lee et al, 1994; Sarkisian and Gerstel, 2004;

Grundy, 2005; Brandt et al, 2009) and is commonly viewed as part of the opportunity structure in caring. As those in lower class groups tend to live nearer their parents,

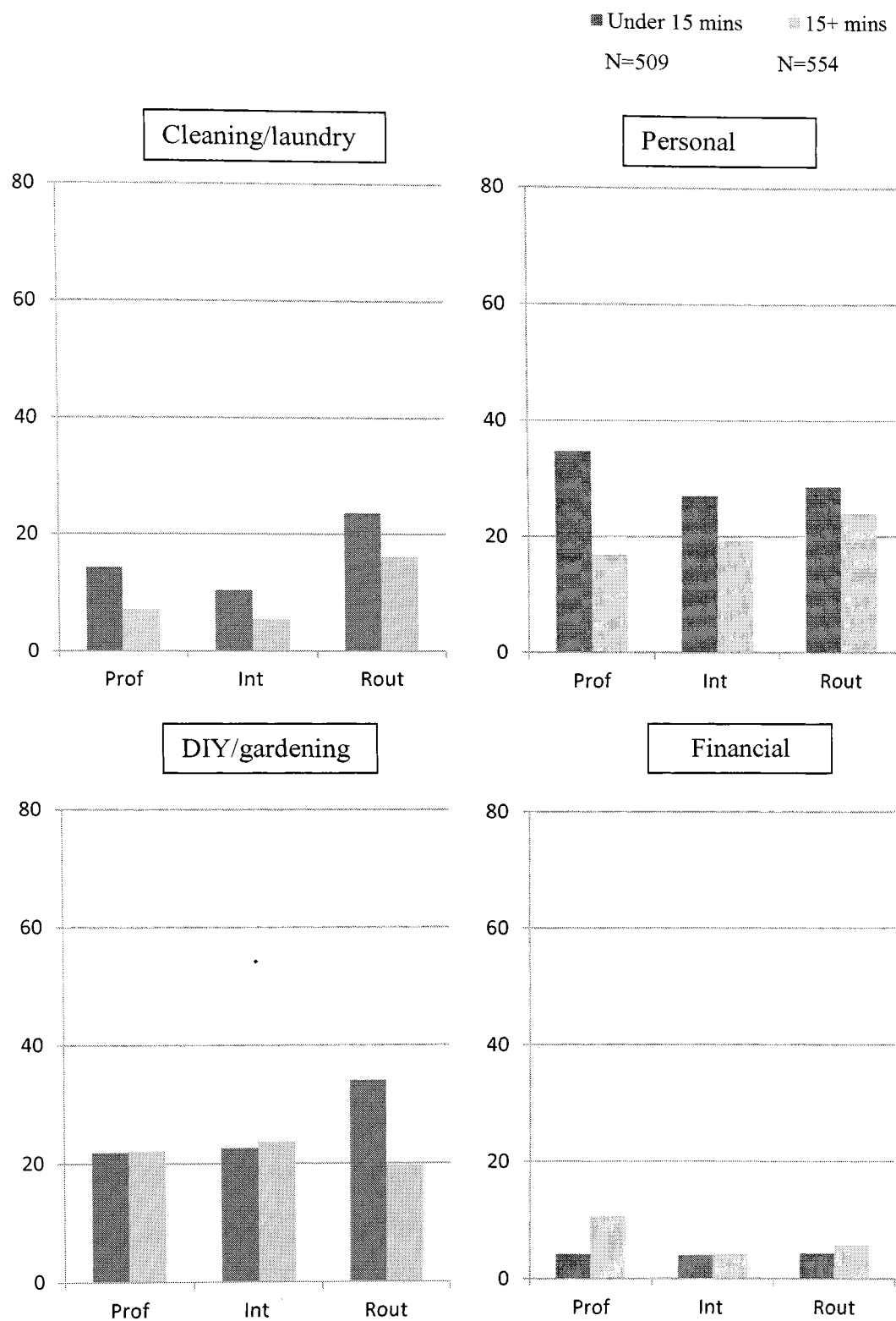
Figure 3.1: Proportion (%) of women providing support to parents by occupational class and travelling distance to parents' residence



Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: Percentages weighted using cross-sectional weights

Figure 3.1 (cont.): Proportion (%) of women providing support to parents by occupational class and travelling distance to parents' residence



Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: Percentages weighted using cross-sectional weights

Pearson χ^2 tests $P < 0.01$ for Lifts in car - under 15 mins and Lifts in car - 15+ mins: $P < 0.05$ for Shopping - under 15 mins), Personal care – under 15 mins, Cleaning/Laundry – under 15 mins, and Financial – 15+mins

this might have some bearing on the types of help provided. To examine whether residential distance is associated with class differences in the provision of different types of intergenerational support, Figure 3.1 illustrates the proportion of women within each class group providing each type of care broken down across those who live under 15 minutes from their parents and those who live further away.

In general, these results rather predictably suggest that the percentage of women providing almost any type of support tends to be less for those living 15 minutes or more away. However, comparing the class patterns of those who live nearest and furthest away reveals interesting distance-related variations in the class patterning associated with each type of support. For some types of support the patterning is quite marked for those living closest but more or less disappears for those living furthest away. In the case of those living within 15 minutes of their parents, higher percentages of the routine class provide support with shopping, cleaning/laundry and personal care than either the intermediate or professional class.

Yet considering those living further away, in the case of financial help there appears to be a patterning by occupational class for those who live furthest away but not for those who live nearest. Remarkably similar proportions of the professional, intermediate and routine groups who live less than 15 minutes from their parents report assisting their parents financially and these differences are not statistically significant. By contrast, of those who live 15 minutes or more away from their

parents, 5.7 percent of the routine class and 4.2 percent of the intermediate class provide financial support whereas 0.6 percent of the professional class do so, that is to say more or less double by comparison. This implies that relative to the intermediate and routine group, professionals tend use their economic advantage to financially support parents who live at a distance but not for those who live close by.

In summary, these results add weight to the contention that distance matters in the provision of intergenerational support by different occupational classes but, more importantly, that the way in which it matters depends on the type of support in question. Of those with parents live nearby, the routine class are more likely to help with shopping, personal care, cleaning/laundry and lifts by car; of those with parents who live further away, the professional class are more likely to help with financial assistance; and the routine class are less likely to give lifts by car whether their parents live nearby or further away. This gives a comparative picture of 'who does what' in respect of social class and one of the key facets of opportunity, i.e., residential distance.

Class and caring: basic relationships

All of the above bivariate results serve to chart the landscape of filial caring by social class. In illustrating the broad context of caring, they have given accounts of the extent of class variation across the opportunity structures of caring (who could care?) and orientations to caring (who would/should care?). They also depict the degree of class-differentiation in the specific types of care (who actually does care and what do they do?). Looking at the multi-faceted nature of filial caring from each of these

separate angles is useful as each describes a basic relationship between class and caring. However, this strength is also a limitation. These accounts necessarily offer a partial view as they consider class in relation to one or two factors, whereas in reality the relationship between class and caring is likely to be multi-layered. Other characteristics may intervene to alter the associations found at the bivariate level and thus a multivariate analytical approach is required to disentangle these layers by controlling for confounding factors.

Part two: Multivariate results

This section presents the results from a series of eight separate logistic regressions as shown in Table 3.8, each analysing the likelihood of adult daughters providing a particular type of care. Having controlled for all the factors usually associated with intergenerational support provision, this serves to evaluate the appropriateness of considering support types separately and to analyse the extent of any social patterning in particular types of support.

Looking across columns (1) to (8) in Table 3.8, some factors appear important with reassuring regularity. For all support activities, an increase in the mean age of parents is associated with an increase in the likelihood of providing help to parents. As parents age and their faculties decline they are more likely to require care and this evidence suggests they are more likely to get it. A further potent correlate of all types of care provision is how far away parents live. The provision of almost all care types exhibits a strong relationship indicating that as the distance between daughter and parents' place of residence increases the likelihood of care exchanges decreases. There are two exceptions to this; financial support and personal care. The first is of

Table 3.8: Propensity to provide particular types of support to parents

Logistic regression - odds ratios	Lifts in car	Shopping	Cooking	Personal Care	Clean/laundry	Personal affairs	DIY/Gardening	Financial
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
NS-SEC occupational class								
Professional	1.04	0.76	1.51	0.74	0.72	0.91	1.08	1.12
Intermediate	1.51**	0.83	1.47	0.64	0.51**	0.79	1.15	0.68
Routine	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Age of parents	1.04**	1.07***	1.04**	1.11***	1.08***	1.08***	1.09***	1.08***
Distance lives from parent								
Under 15 mins	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
15 to 30 mins	0.52***	0.64**	0.48***	0.66	0.70	0.60***	0.70	1.28
30 to 60 mins	0.44***	0.56**	0.55*	1.02	0.51*	0.52**	0.61*	0.82
60+ mins	0.09***	0.18***	0.27***	0.55	0.34***	0.26***	0.58**	1.46
Parents live together (1=Yes 0=No)	0.85	0.78	0.42***	0.52*	0.63**	0.46***	0.54***	1.22
Parents' job prestige	1.00	0.99	1.00	1.00	0.99	1.00	0.98***	1.01
Parents have further/higher ed. qualification (1=Yes	0.84	0.89	1.21	0.69	0.96	0.81	0.97	1.04

0=No)								
Number of siblings	1.01	1.02	0.97	1.08	1.05	0.74***	0.86**	1.04
Youngest of siblings (1=Yes 0=No)	1.32	1.15	1.09	1.40	1.05	1.37	0.78	1.23
Number of children	0.97	0.98	1.14	0.48**	0.71	1.19	0.88	1.46
Age of children								
No dependent children	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Youngest child aged under 12	1.20	0.97	0.89	2.69	2.00	0.79	1.04	0.48
Youngest child aged 12-15	1.05	1.30	1.08	2.73**	2.54**	0.77	1.60	0.72
Has use of a car (1=Yes 0=No)	8.34***	1.37	0.87	1.23	0.91	1.12	0.94	1.40
Labour force participation								
Not in work	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Works part-time	1.27	1.06	0.70	0.65	0.71	1.27	1.38	1.72
Works full-time	1.44	1.40	0.75	0.64	0.86	1.39	1.15	2.25*

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N= 1060)

Notes: (i) All models (1-8) estimated by maximum likelihood logistic regression with robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. (ii) Controls are age, age squared, partnered, subjective wellbeing, ethnicity, homeownership, geographical region of the UK and 2001/2006 year dummy.

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

little surprise as geographical distance is not much of a barrier to money transfers. Personal care, on the other hand, necessarily requires being physically together and at first glance this might appear counterintuitive. However, this supports the idea providing personal care is a rather unique form of support that tends to be highly undesirable from the perspective of the provider and of the recipient (Ungerson 1987; Finch 1989; Finch and Mason 1993). In short, the issue here is that adult children and their parents often find it to be an overwhelmingly unpalatable activity; an issue that is generally not affected by residential distance.

Whilst parental age and residential distance appear important for almost all support types, other factors seem to be related only to certain types of support thereby highlighting the advantage of considering each support type separately. Having young teenage children appears to be important in relation to help with personal care and cleaning/laundry, going some way to confirm Paull's notion of the 'long shadow' of family caring (see Paull, 2008). Additionally, but unsurprisingly given the respective care intensities, having more children is associated with a reduction in the odds of providing personal care. Having more brothers/sisters with whom to potentially share the care burden with appears to be important only in the case of help with personal affairs and DIY/decorating and, once applying all the reasonable controls, financial support appears to be connected only to parental age.

Considering each type of support separately also reveals differences in the likely existence of a social patterning as class appears to matter only for help with cleaning /laundry and giving lifts by car. The results in Table 3.8 also indicate that the intermediate class are more likely to provide lifts by car when compared to their

counterparts in the routine class. This is perhaps linked to the kinds of jobs that those in the intermediate class have. These types of jobs involve intermediate clerical, sales, service and technical work or refer to small employers working for themselves. Such individuals can be regarded as having more autonomy in their work than those in the routine class. This ability to exercise greater control over their job is likely provide greater opportunities to fit providing lifts by car around work commitments.

These results offer some tentative indications of why there is a social patterning in intergenerational support but primarily they address the more fundamental question as to whether there indeed is one. Returning to the main research question "is intergenerational support socially patterned by class?" the answer appears to be yes, but only in certain areas; namely lifts by car and help with cleaning/laundry.

Class and Residential Distance

The results in Table 3 control for the time it takes to reach the parent(s)' place of residence and the respondent's occupational class. Yet it may be the case that the relationship between class and the provision of intergenerational support is a different relationship at different distances. Separate analyses (Table 3.9) comparing those in the routine class who live of those who live within 15 minutes of their parents to other class groupings and distances reveals that geography matters for class-based differences in support with cleaning/laundry, shopping, personal care, personal affairs and lifts by car.. These results indicate that those in the routine class who live near to their parents are more likely to provide help in these five areas than those in the routine class who live further away from their parents. The 'nearby' routine class are

also more likely than the 'nearby' professional class to provide help with shopping and more likely than the 'nearby' intermediate class to provide help with personal care and cleaning/laundry. Given the widely acknowledged tendency for those in lower social classes to live nearer to their parents (supported by the evidence in Table 3.3), these results imply that the routine class are either drawn into the care of their parents by their geographical and class position, or simply that those who experience fewer opportunity costs in caring and live nearby are more willing to provide it. Either way the real point here is that this is only the case for particular types of support; namely cleaning/laundry, shopping, personal care, personal affairs and lifts by car.

Robustness checks

Multi-collinearity

By its very nature, socio-economic status is a multi-dimensional concept comprising many different aspects of economic, cultural and social capital. Thus, it is not always clear whether operational measures such as income, education, social class, and so on are not simply different measures of the same concept. To test whether the explanatory variables in the models reflected in Table 3.8 are subject to this problem of multi-collinearity, I re-analyse the propensity to provide each type of support controlling for (a) income and (b) education (See Appendix III) Overall, the results from these models are broadly similar to those shown in Table 3.8.

Table 3.9 Propensity to provide types of support to parents (interacting occupational class and residential distance)

Logistic regression models (Odds Ratios)								
Logistic regression - odds ratios	Lifts in car	Shopping	Cooking	Personal Care	Clean/laundry	Personal affairs	DIY/Gardening	Financial
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
NS-SEC occupational class* Distance lives from parent								
Routine* Under 15 mins	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Routine* 15 to 30 mins	0.38***	0.58*	0.69	0.50	0.70	0.73	0.60	0.87
Routine* 30 to 60 mins	0.39*	0.37**	0.60	1.13	0.37*	0.41**	0.73	0.92
Routine* 60+ mins	0.14***	0.11***	0.36*	0.12*	0.27**	0.38*	0.43*	1.24
Intermediate* Under 15 mins	1.32	0.74	1.77*	0.35**	0.46**	0.84	0.97	0.94
Intermediate * 15 to 30 mins	2.04	1.47	0.69	3.23	1.37	0.95	1.30	0.53
Intermediate * 30 to 60 mins	0.84	1.55	0.78	1.61	2.39	1.40	1.50	0.50
Intermediate * 60+ mins	0.74	0.97	0.34	13.38*	0.42	0.34	1.67	0.52
Professional* Under 15 mins	0.99	0.61**	1.79*	0.73	0.67	1.03	1.08	0.57
Professional* 15 to 30 mins	1.30	0.97	0.43	0.88	0.79	0.54	1.27	4.16*
Professional* 30 to 60 mins	1.59	2.48	0.91	0.50	1.43	1.41	0.30*	1.35
Professional* 60+ mins	0.58	2.70*	0.80	5.03	1.80	0.69	1.34	2.32
Age of parents	1.05***	1.07***	1.04**	1.11***	1.08***	1.08***	1.08***	1.08***
Parents live together (1=Yes 0=No)	0.84	0.76*	0.42***	0.49**	0.61**	0.45***	0.54***	1.31
Parents' job prestige	1.00	0.99	1.00	1.00	0.99	1.00	0.98***	1.00

Parents have further/higher ed. qualification (1=Yes 0=No)	0.84	0.88	1.22	0.67	0.96	0.81	0.96	1.06
Number of siblings	1.01	1.02	0.98	1.09	1.06	0.74***	0.85**	1.04
Youngest of siblings (1=Yes 0=No)	1.30	1.20	1.10	1.53	1.09	1.37	0.79	1.19
Number of children	0.99	0.98	1.15	0.46**	0.70	1.19	0.88	1.46
Age of children								
No dependent children	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Youngest child aged under 12	1.17	0.98	0.87	2.76	2.10	0.79	1.04	0.48
Youngest child aged 12-15	1.04	1.35	1.09	2.85**	2.66**	0.78	1.60	0.73
Has use of a car (1=Yes 0=No)	8.21***	1.33	0.88	1.27	0.90	1.12	0.96	1.34
Labour force participation								
Not in work	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Works part-time	1.25	1.07	0.70	0.68	0.72	1.27	1.40	1.70
Works full-time	1.40	1.40	0.75	0.66	0.88	1.40	1.17	2.35*

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N= 1060)

Notes: (i) All models (1-8) estimated by maximum likelihood logistic regression with robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. (ii) Controls are age, age squared, partnered, subjective wellbeing, ethnicity, homeownership, geographical region of the UK and 2001/2006 year dummy. (ii) . * p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Conclusion

The main aim of this investigation is to reveal the prevalence of class difference in different types of care provided to parents by their adult daughters. Whilst there may be potent theoretical arguments to suggest that differences by class position in caring attitudes and resources are likely to engender diverse caring behaviours, much of the previous empirical evidence had not found this to be the case. However, this earlier work was predominantly based on aggregate measures of support that overlooked the diverse nature of distinct types of care.

By contrast, this analysis of separate types of support has revealed clear class differences in some areas but not others. Looking at simple breakdowns reveals that those in the low occupational classes are more likely to help with cleaning and laundry but less likely to help with lifts by car than those in higher classes. Interestingly these patterns remain even when adopting a multivariate approach to unpack the various layers of intergenerational caring. In considering the wider circumstances of caring provided by adult daughters to their parents, the multivariate approach reveals that these types of support are socially patterned even when the resources to care such as car access, time, distance and so on are taken into account. Those in the intermediate class are less likely to provide help with cleaning/laundry or lifts by car than those in the routine class. It is also clear from these results that some factors appear to be important for all or most support types, i.e., parental age and geographical distance. However, factors such as the number of and age of children one has, the number of brothers and sisters one has and whether parents live together only appear to be important for some types of support provision. Additionally, the class patterns for some types of support alter depending on whether

the focus is on those who live closest to their parents or further away. Once all the usual controls are applied in the multivariate model this applies to the provision of help with cleaning/laundry, shopping, personal care, personal affairs and lifts by car.

Overall, these findings imply a series of relative incentives and disincentives in providing support to parents according to the type of support and social position. I argued that the level of incentive (or disincentive) to provide support is tied up in the 'would', 'should' and 'could' of caring. The multivariate results signify that this is not always just a question of available resources such as access to a car, home-ownership, income, and so on, or of other commitments such as dependent children and labour market activity. This complicated picture throws up the question as to why some types of support but not others appear to be patterned by occupational class which is not explained by resources. Explanations for this centre around differences in cultural attachments to different types of support coupled with differential levels of job autonomy. An important point to note from these results is that each type of support is influenced by a dissimilar array of statistically significant factors, suggesting that analytical strategies which combine variant types of assistance together are not necessarily desirable.

This social diversity within filial caring is important because it tells of the idiomatic elephant in the room. Much public discussion and debate expresses the need to tackle the problems of population ageing. Warnings that people are not saving enough for decent pensions in their old age are commonplace and concerns regarding the provision of adult social care in the UK abound but the bearing this is likely to have

on informal family carers has received much less attention. However, the care provided by families is likely to become even more vital if, as seems likely, less generous pensions translate into more limited opportunities to 'buy in' care and the retrenchment in state provision of services continues. Understanding how the care of the elderly is shared across society is necessarily a serious issue, both to promote social justice and to inform those managing the vexed challenge of how to meet the care needs of an ageing society.

APPENDIX I: Description of all variables

Table 3.10: Description of all variables

Variable	Definition	Derived from BHPs variable(s)
Performs care for parents	<p>A series of eight separate dummy variables equal to 1 if performs the particular care task for parents and 0 otherwise corresponding individually to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. lifts in car 2. shopping 3. cooking 4. personal care 5. cleaning/laundry 6. personal affairs 7. DIY/gardening 8. financial 	<p>wPAAIDA, wPAAIDB, wPAAIDC, wPAAIDD, wPAAIDE, wPAAIDF, wPAAIDG, wPAAIDH</p>
Social Class	<p>Categorical variable corresponding to NS SEC three-class version. 1 = Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations, 2 = Intermediate occupations, 3 = Routine and manual occupations²³</p>	<p>wJBSEC, wMRJSEC</p>
Attitudes to filial caring	<p>Categorical variable corresponding to response to statement 'adult children should care for their parents' as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Agree 2. Neither agree nor disagree 3. Disagree 	<p>wOPFAMK</p>
Attitudes to family caring	<p>Categorical variable corresponding to response to statement 'a wife's job is to look after the home and family and husband's is to earn' as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Agree 2. Neither agree nor disagree 3. Disagree 	<p>wOPFAMF</p>
Age of parents	<p>Mothers age if father deceased, fathers age if mother deceased, mean age of both parents if both alive</p>	<p>wMAAGYB, wMABY, wLVMA, wPAAGYB, wPABY, wLVPA</p>

²³ All respondents had had a job at some time rendering a 'never worked' category unnecessary.

Distance lived from parents	Categorical variable denoting the time it takes to travel to parents residence ²⁴ : 1. Less than 15 minutes 2. 15 to 30 minutes 3. 30 to 60 minutes 4. More than 60 minutes	wMAFAR, wPAFAR
Parents live together	Dummy variable equal to 1 if parents live together and 0 if they live apart or are widowed	wMALONE, wPARMAR, wLVMA, wPALONE, wLVPA
Parents' job prestige	Hope-Goldthorpe prestige score of parents job when respondent was age 14, either mother's or father's whichever the highest	wMAHGS, wPAHGS.
Parents have further/higher ed. qualifications	Dummy variable equal to 1 if either parent achieved higher or further education qualifications and 0 otherwise	wMAEDHI, wPAEDHI
Highest academic qualification	Categorical variable grouped as follows: 1. Degree 2. A level/HND or equivalent 3. 'O' level or equivalent 4. Below 'O' level or equivalent	wQFACHI
Car- user	Dummy variable equal to 1 if has access to the use of a car and 0 otherwise	wCARUSE
Home-owner	Dummy variable equal to 1 if owns home (either on a mortgage or outright) and 0 otherwise	wTENURE
Respondent's monthly income	Respondents total income last month	wFIMN
Partner's monthly income	Partner's total income last month	wPID (indresp and egoalt files), wFIMN
Number of siblings	Number of brothers and sisters lived with as a child (1,2, 3, 4 or more)	wMANYSIBS
Youngest Child	Dummy variable equal to 1 if lived as a youngest child in the household and 0 otherwise	wFAMPOS, wNSIBS
Number of children aged	Number of dependent children ²⁵ in the	wNKIDS,

²⁴ Where parents live apart the distance measured is to the mother's residence

under 16	household	
Age of youngest child	Categorical variable denoting age of youngest of child in the household: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No children 2. Youngest child is aged 0 - 11 years 3. Youngest child is aged 12-15 	wNKIDS, wNCH02, wNCH34, wNCH511, wNCH1215
Labour force participation	Categorical variable grouped as follows: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Not in paid work 2. In part-time work 3. In full-time work (30 hrs or more per week) 	wJBFT
Region of the UK	Categorical variable grouped as follows: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. London/South East/East Anglia 2. South West 3. East and West Midlands 4. North West 5. Yorkshire 6. North East 7. Scotland 8. Wales 9. Northern Ireland 	wREGION
Age	Age at date of interview (Years)	wAGE
Age squared	Squared values of age variable to indicate non-linear function	wAGE
Partnered	Dummy variable equal to 1 if married or living as a couple and 0 if divorced, separated, widowed or never married	wMASTAT
Subjective Wellbeing	Likert scale variable equal to 0 if least distressed and 36 if most distressed	wHLGHQ1
Non-white	Dummy variable equal to 1 if ethnic group is other than white and 0 otherwise	wRACE, wRACEL

²⁵ Aged under 16

APPENDIX II: Summary Statistics

Table 3.11: Summary Statistics of variables

	Professional	Intermediate	Routine	All
Performs care for parents				
- Lifts in car	44.6%	54.4%	36.3%	44.2%
- Shopping	35.3%	39.1%	46.5%	40.7%
- Cooking	17.1%	21.8%	19.5%	19.4%
- Personal care	4.4%	3.3%	7.1%	5.1%
- Cleaning/Laundry	10.0%	7.7%	20.3%	13.3%
- Personal affairs	23.8%	22.9%	26.6%	24.6%
- DIY	22.0%	23.1%	27.6%	24.5%
- Financial	8.2%	4.1%	5.0%	5.8%
Attitudes to filial caring				
- Agree	43.1%	36.5%	34.1%	37.8%
- Neither agree nor disagree.	24.6%	28.7%	34.3%	29.5%
- Disagree	32.4%	34.7%	31.6%	32.8%
Attitudes to family caring				
- Agree	4.5%	4.6%	12.6%	7.6%
- Neither agree nor disagree.	23.0%	24.4%	33.7%	27.6%
- Disagree	72.6%	71.0%	53.6%	64.9%
Parent(s)' mean age (yrs)	76.1	75.4	75.5	75.7
Distance lived from parents				
- Under 15 mins	38.1%	46.5%	55.5%	47.1%
- 15 to 30 mins	18.1%	25.9%	21.9%	21.8%
- 30 to 60 mins	9.6%	11.5%	7.2%	9.2%
- 60+ mins	34.2%	16.1%	15.4%	21.9%
Parents live together	45.5%	41.6%	33.0%	39.6%
Mean parents' job prestige	47.3%	48.8%	47.3%	47.7%
Parents have further/higher ed. qualifications	59.6%	43.8%	30.1%	43.8%
Highest academic qualification				
- Degree	34.5%	19.2%	1.2%	14.6%

- A level/HND or equivalent	28.6%	26.4%	16.7%	23.4%
- GCSE or equivalent	26.6%	43.9%	37.2%	35.5%
- Below GCSE or equivalent	10.3%	20.6%	45.0%	26.5%
Has use of a car	93.0%	88.1%	59.8%	78.9%
Home-owner	94.8%	89.6%	75.7%	86.0%
Monthly ncome (£1,000)	1.8	1.0	0.8	1.2
Partner's monthly income (£1,000)	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.7
Number of siblings (mean)	1.8	2.0	1.9	1.9
Respondent is youngest child of parents	48.6%	52.6%	48.4%	49.7%
Number of children aged under 16				
- No dependent children	55.7%	49.9%	52.3%	52.8%
- One	21.1%	19.9%	23.7%	21.7%
- Two	18.5%	22.1%	17.1%	19.0%
- Three or more	4.7%	8.1%	7.0%	6.5%
Age of youngest child				
- No dependent children	55.5%	50.0%	52.2%	52.7%
- Youngest child aged under 12	33.4%	35.6%	27.7%	31.9%
- Youngest child aged 12-15	11.1%	14.5%	20.1%	15.4%
Labour force participation				
- Not in work	11.3%	19.2%	19.3%	16.7%
- Works part-time	20.1%	36.6%	46.7%	35.0%
- Works full-time	68.5%	44.2%	34.0%	48.4%
Respondent's mean age (yrs)	46.3	45.1	45.8	45.8
Partnered	86.4%	86.3%	80.3%	84.0%
Mean subjective wellbeing (0=least distressed, 36=most distressed)	11.8	12.5	12.2	12.1
Non-white ethnicity	3.4%	8.6%	5.4%	5.6%
N	369	298	393	1060

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16

Notes: All statistics weighted using cross-sectional weights. Column percentages.

Observations are unweighted

APPENDIX III: Robustness checks: Multi-collinearity

Table 3.12: Propensity to provide particular types of support to parents (controlling for income)

Logistic regression - odds ratios	Lifts in car	Shopping	Cooking	Personal Care	Clean/laundry	Personal affairs	DIY/Gardening	Financial
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
NS-SEC occupational class								
Professional	1.03	0.81	1.40	0.63	0.79	0.80	1.15	0.91
Intermediate	1.51**	0.83	1.45	0.63	0.51**	0.77	1.16	0.67
Routine	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Monthly income (£1,000)	0.97	0.89	1.13	1.20	0.85	1.16	0.93	1.23
Partner's monthly income (£1,000)	1.15*	1.08	0.96	1.07	1.13	1.14	0.97	1.45**
Age of parents	1.04**	1.07***	1.04**	1.11***	1.08***	1.08***	1.09***	1.08***
Distance lives from parent								
Under 15 mins	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
15 to 30 mins	0.52***	0.65**	0.48***	0.66	0.70	0.60**	0.70	1.32
30 to 60 mins	0.43***	0.55**	0.54*	0.97	0.51*	0.50**	0.62	0.73
60+ mins	0.09***	0.18***	0.26***	0.51	0.34***	0.24***	0.59**	1.24
Parents live together (1=Yes 0=No)	0.84	0.77	0.43***	0.53*	0.62**	0.46***	0.54***	1.24

Parents' job prestige	1.00	0.99	1.00	1.00	0.99	1.00	0.98***	1.00
Parents have further/higher ed. qualification (1=Yes 0=No)	0.84	0.89	1.21	0.70	0.96	0.82	0.96	1.08
Number of siblings	1.02	1.02	0.97	1.10	1.06	0.75***	0.85**	1.08
Youngest of siblings (1=Yes 0=No)	1.32	1.15	1.10	1.43	1.03	1.40*	0.78	1.30
Number of children	0.96	0.98	1.13	0.46**	0.72	1.16	0.88	1.37
Age of children								
No dependent children	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Youngest child aged under 12	1.23	0.97	0.89	2.73	1.97	0.80	1.03	0.51
Youngest child aged 12-15	1.07	1.30	1.09	2.78**	2.51**	0.78	1.58	0.75
Has use of a car (1=Yes 0=No)	8.32***	1.38	0.86	1.20	0.93	1.07	0.96	1.31
Labour force participation								
Not in work	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Works part-time	1.26	1.11	0.67	0.59	0.74	1.17	1.43	1.43
Works full-time	1.48	1.59*	0.66	0.52	1.01	1.18	1.25	1.70

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N = 1060)

Notes: (i) All models (1-8) estimated by maximum likelihood logistic regression with robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. (ii) Controls are age, age squared, partnered, subjective wellbeing, ethnicity, homeownership, geographical region of the UK and 2001/2006 year dummy. (ii) . * p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Table 3.13: Propensity to provide particular types of support to parents (controlling for education)

Logistic regression - odds ratios	Lifts in car	Shopping	Cooking	Personal Care	Clean/laundry	Personal affairs	DIY/Gardening	Financial
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
NS-SEC occupational class	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Professional	1.21	0.81	1.40	0.75	0.72	0.93	1.04	0.78
Intermediate	1.55**	0.86	1.47	0.71	0.53**	0.80	1.14	0.62
Routine	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Highest ed. qualifications								
Degree	0.59*	0.79	1.26	1.00	1.03	0.91	1.12	3.10*
A level/HND or equivalent	0.95	0.88	1.05	0.66	0.81	0.85	1.26	1.21
GCSE or equivalent	1.05	0.85	0.85	0.49*	0.74	0.95	0.92	1.60
Below GCSE or equivalent	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Age of parents	1.05***	1.07***	1.04**	1.11***	1.08***	1.08***	1.08***	1.08***
Distance lives from parent								
Under 15 mins	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
15 to 30 mins	0.52***	0.65**	0.49***	0.68	0.71	0.59***	0.72	1.22
30 to 60 mins	0.46***	0.57**	0.56*	1.12	0.52*	0.51**	0.63	0.74
60+ mins	0.10***	0.18***	0.26***	0.60	0.35***	0.26***	0.57**	1.22
Parents live together	0.83	0.78	0.42***	0.52*	0.63*	0.46***	0.53***	1.24

(1=Yes 0=No)								
Parents' job prestige	1.00	0.99	1.00	1.00	0.99	1.00	0.98***	1.01
Parents have further/higher ed. qualification (1=Yes 0=No)	0.89	0.90	1.18	0.65	0.94	0.81	0.96	0.96
Number of siblings	1.00	1.01	0.97	1.07	1.05	0.73***	0.86**	1.09
Youngest of siblings (1=Yes 0=No)	1.26	1.14	1.11	1.45	1.06	1.35	0.79	1.33
Number of children	0.99	0.99	1.14	0.48**	0.72	1.19	0.88	1.37
Age of children								
No dependent children	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Youngest child aged under 12	1.18	0.96	0.90	2.74	1.98	0.79	1.04	0.50
Youngest child aged 12-15	1.02	1.29	1.09	2.78**	2.53**	0.77	1.60	0.77
Has use of a car (1=Yes 0=No)	8.53***	1.40	0.85	1.29	0.94	1.15	0.91	1.36
Labour force participation								
Not in work	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Works part-time	1.27	1.06	0.70	0.64	0.70	1.26	1.39	1.60
Works full-time	1.44	1.40	0.75	0.62	0.84	1.38	1.16	2.12

Source: BHPS waves 11 and 16, (N = 1060)

Notes: (i) All models (1-8) estimated by maximum likelihood logistic regression with robust standard errors clustered at the individual level. (ii) Controls are age, age squared, partnered, subjective wellbeing, ethnicity, homeownership, geographical region of the UK and 2001/2006 year dummy. (ii) . * p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Chapter 4 Just had a baby! When are you going back to work? A duration analysis of mothers' post-childbirth re-engagement with the labour market, childcare usage and family-friendly employers.

Introduction

More so than in previous generations women are returning to paid work whilst still in active motherhood and their contribution to the UK economy is well documented (Gregory & O'Reilly, 1996; Jenkins, S. 2004; Dex, Ward & Joshi. 2008; McRae, 2008). Yet, these mothers remain more disadvantaged in terms of labour market opportunities than their childless female counterparts (Berthoud & Blekesaune, 2006). In seeking a deeper understanding of the issues relating to this disadvantage, much prior work has focussed on the kinds of jobs that mothers return to and the sets of circumstances that such returns might be associated with. However, in this investigation I aim to reveal the particular role that time plays in this dilemma. Unlike most other studies on UK mothers and their attachment to the labour market, I argue that the time dimension is a pivotal element in the 'work decision' as the dilemma is imbued with time dependent issues, e.g. time-tied maternity leave and pay entitlements; the age of the child, the extent to which gendered job cultures exert a differential influence upon the speed of re-entry into the workplace, etc. I further argue that this notion of time is only meaningful when considered in conjunction with the particular characteristics of different childcare options.

Using data from the UK Millennium Cohort Survey, I investigate the likelihood over time that a mother will re-enter the labour market following the birth of a child, separately focusing on (i) childcare use (see Results: Part One) and (ii) the

availability of family-friendly employer support (see Results: Part Two). The results of the former suggest that the use of informal care, namely grandparents and husbands/partners, is an important source of childcare for all women returning to work whilst their child is very young but especially so for those who make earlier returns. Those who make later returns tend to be more heterogeneous in their childcare use but all women returning to work before their child is about 9 months old tend to use only one provider at a time, regardless of how quickly they return. The results of the latter suggest that higher occupational classes tend to have greater access to most types of employer family-friendly support; an important issue as these results also suggest that the timing of a return to work is associated with certain types of flexible working practices and family-friendly assistance.

Background

Time matters.

Women returning to work after the birth of a child can experience one of three scenarios; firstly, they could leave the labour market altogether and provide care for the child themselves; secondly, they could return to a job that allows them to care for their child whilst working; and thirdly, they could find someone else to care for their child whilst they are working. Of course, the simplicity of this typology belies the complex reality of time dependence. That is, these three snapshot scenarios do not take account of the scheduling processes involved. For example, the point at which any entitlement to maternity leave ceases represents a turning point, as the mother is compelled to either give up their job and continue providing care themselves or seek childcare alternatives which facilitate labour market work. Equally, the point at which

suitable childcare becomes available might propel a mother to re-evaluate the utility of staying out of the labour market against her potential earning power. Any decision regarding a return to work is not necessarily a once and for all decision, and can be continually revisited as circumstances change over time. Nonetheless, the fundamental principle that underpins a mother's time in the labour market is that unless she cares for her children directly, either by staying out of the workplace or finding a job where she can take her child along, she has to find someone else to look after the child.

The gendered process of selecting and securing childcare means that it is almost always mothers who take the lead involvement in any decisions, negotiations and compromises when putting a childcare package together (Dex, 1999; Skinner, 2003; Rutter and Evans, 2011). The fact that this has remained the case for generations forms part of the critique levelled at the feminist movement (see Lanning et al, 2013). The gender bias in childcare decision-making and procurement aside, it is clear that women who want to work whilst their children are very young need to consider their options and these considerations are imbued with the question of time: "How long can I take out of the labour market? How old should my baby be before I leave them with someone else? If and when I go back to work, who will I find to look after my baby?" Naturally, the strategies that mothers employ are highly time-dependent firstly because maternity pay and leave entitlements are time-related, secondly because the age of the child shapes the availability and desirability of childcare options and thirdly because the readiness of the workplace to assist mothers in balancing work and family can influence the speed of any return to work.

Public policy: maternity leave, maternity pay and childcare support

Prior to the mid-1990s the UK had no 'identifiable model for "reconciling" or "balancing" work and family' (Lewis and Campbell, 2007). Since then this position has shifted dramatically with clear policies designed to support mothers in work. Changes in statutory maternity provisions and childcare interventions have altered the landscape dramatically although, as Lewis and Campbell (2007) point out, by focussing on the connections between the care of children and working women, the extent to which these changes have promoted gender equity is debateable.

As recently as twenty years ago not all employed mothers were afforded the right to exercise a return to work as this was conditional on length of service and hours worked per week. Following EU legislation, the rights of pregnant workers in the UK were strengthened by extending the right to 14 weeks maternity leave to all employed women with a baby due on or after 16th October 1994. Those qualifying for statutory maternity pay at this time were entitled to 18 weeks maternity pay paid at a rate of 90 percent of earnings for the first 6 weeks and a flat rate for the following 12 weeks (Dept of Social Security, 1997). In April 2000 basic or 'Ordinary Maternity Leave' was further extended to 18 weeks to harmonise leave and pay entitlements. Both before and after these extensions to maternity entitlements, women with longer job tenures were additionally entitled to longer maternity absence, up to 29 weeks after the birth²⁶. On several occasions these statutory entitlements have been extended

²⁶ For the women in the MCS this applied to those who had been continuously employed for one year or more by the beginning of the eleventh week before her expected week of childbirth

whereby women expecting a baby in 2013 can take up to 52 weeks maternity leave and receive maternity pay for the first 39 weeks²⁷.

Comparing two different policy contexts, Crosby and Hawkes (2007) find noteworthy differences in the timing of early maternal employment between US and UK mothers. No statutory right to paid maternity leave exists in the US and the 12 weeks unpaid, job-protected leave stipulated by the Family Leave and Medical Act (1993) is limited to 'eligible' employees and covers less than half the US workforce. Whilst 40 percent of US mothers return to work within 3 months of birth compared to 13 percent of UK mothers who returned in the same time period, as UK mothers were more likely to return to work during the period between 4 and 9 months (Crosby and Hawkes, 2007). At least part of the explanation for the differential speeds of return to work exhibited by British and American mothers could be attributed to the dissimilar maternity pay and leave policies adopted in the UK and the US.

In investigating the relationship between job behaviour of Canadian mothers with newborns and statutory maternity leave entitlements, Baker and Milligan find that the longer women spend at home with their babies, the more likely they are to return to their pre-birth employer and thereby retain job continuity (Baker & Milligan, 2008). Similarly a study of European paid maternity leaves find that lengthy leave periods are associated with higher return to work propensity (Prozanto, 2009). The inherent benefits associated with longer job-protected maternity leave promote better outcomes in mother and baby's physical and mental health but are also likely to improve long term labour market outcomes (McRae, 1993; Waldfogel, 1995; Galtry

²⁷ The first 6 weeks are paid at 90% of usual earnings and the following 33 weeks is paid a flat rate (£136.78 in 2013/14)

and Callister, 2005). Thus, where a mother has longer to acclimatise to the arrival of a new baby and the challenges that these circumstances present, her long term job prospects are enhanced where she can return to the same employer through the retention of job-specific human capital, higher projected salaries associated with a good job/skills match, etc. (Waldfogel, 1998). Thus it would appear that the rewards are greater where a mother can postpone the timing of the return to work until the childcare support allows that transition to be into full-time work.

In the last decade or so much policy attention has been directed at the relationship between childcare and maternal employment, e.g., the National Childcare Strategy, the Ten Year Childcare Strategy, etc; and initiatives have been introduced to facilitate mothers into work, e.g., childcare tax credits, Sure-Start programmes, Extended Services providing wrap-around care, Early Years Development and Childcare Partnerships, improvement in the number and hours of free part-time nursery places and early years education, etc. (Grover & Stewart, 2000; Campbell et al, 2003, Lewis and Campbell, 2007). Since the Childcare Act 2006, childcare provision has proliferated and the numbers of places have increased across public, private and voluntary providers (Roberts et al, 2010) However, despite this drive to provide affordable and good quality childcare, the well-documented difficulties in accessing childcare in the UK remain (Randall, 2002; McRae, 2003; Cohen et al, 2004; Leon, 2005; Kazimirski et al, 2008; Lewis, 2008; Pronzato, 2009). Disparities in regional coverage exist, much of the assistance has been primarily directed towards those in the 'at risk' categories and the level of state funding has remained low relative to many EU countries (Lewis, 2003; Jenkins, 2004; Roberts, 2011). Public childcare assistance is delivered entirely through a system of claimed tax credits until the

reaches the age of three (or two for some of the least advantaged children) when an entitlement to free, part-time nursery provision lasts until the child starts school. However, childcare tax credits are only available to those in work, not those seeking work and this presents difficulties where childcare costs need to be covered before claims are processed, especially for those on low incomes (Wincott, 2006). Additionally, the promised national roll-out of the 'core-offer' of wrap-around childcare support between the hours of 8am till 6pm, particularly for primary school-aged children, has yet to materialise. Thus, despite the governmental promise of childcare support, a survey examining childcare usage and experiences in 2007 shows that parents are still largely required to make their own arrangements through private and informal care (Kazimirski et al, 2008). In the Childcare and Early Years Survey of Parents 2011 found that over half of non-working mothers (53 percent) said that they would prefer to work if they could arrange "reliable, convenient, affordable, and good quality childcare" and 31 percent of all parents said that there were not enough childcare places in their local area (Huskinson et al, 2013) . So, for many mothers the message remains: 'you can work if you want to and it could improve things if you do, but your children are still primarily your responsibility'. For mothers this presents a dilemma. A dilemma that changes over time as the usefulness of particular childcare options waxes and wanes as the child gets older.

Childcare options and child age

Much of the literature regarding maternal employment treats childcare either as a homogenous entity or establishes a dichotomous comparison between formal and informal childcare. Whilst these approaches provide a useful account of the relationship between childcare and maternal employment they overlook the unique

attributes that particular forms of childcare offer along each of the dimensions of flexibility, transparency, control, availability, trust and affordability. As children's needs change as they age what is required from any childcare package will also change as a child ages and this means the relative importance of each of these dimensions changes over time.

Control, transparency and flexibility

Perhaps the clearest distinction between formal and informal providers emanates from the nature of contractual relationships. Where the terms of a formal contract stipulate the quality of care to be provided, i.e., the level of child-adult interaction, the nutritional quality of meals and snacks, the times that care will begin and end; all parties have a relatively clear understanding of where the boundaries between parent and carer lie. However, the existence of a contract also places limits on what the mother can expect from her care package. If on occasions she needs to work a little longer than usual she can only expect her provider to temporarily extend care times by renegotiating the contract.

In the absence of a formal contract, it may not be clear exactly what is expected from each party in the exchange. Where the arrangement is initially set up on an ad hoc basis but over time becomes a convention; neither party is sure how long the arrangement should or will last. Additionally, where the caring duties are carried out as a favour, it induces the mother to maintain an amicable relationship with the carer. This may constitute an additional strain on the mother where tensions arise in the relationship. Furthermore, this type of assistance can be either temporarily or permanently withdrawn at a moment's notice which contributes to the general

instability involved in the use of unpaid, informal care. Whilst elements of control and transparency are relinquished in informal care, the lack of a regimented care plan opens up greater flexibility. The blurred boundaries bring about a more pliable and elastic set of arrangements. However, due to the lack of formality there are no guarantees that help with childcare will be forthcoming.

Availability

Childcare opportunities typically diversify as the child ages, given increasing levels of independence linked to maturity and age thresholds. Some nurseries, crèches and playgroups only accept children once they have reached a certain age, and so securing a place can be directly related to how old they are. Some of these providers operate on the timings of the standard school day and therefore are also incompatible with standard working hours (Penn, 2000; Randall, 2000). Mothers who worked atypical hours were asked in the 2011 Childcare and Early Years Survey of Parents the extent to which finding childcare had been a problem. Sunday-working presented difficulties for 20 percent of those mothers and 26 percent of mothers working on Saturdays experienced difficulties but mothers working before 8am or after 6pm were more likely to encounter problems finding childcare; 33 and 28 percent respectively (Huskinson et al, 2013). Those who are unable to access formal childcare either because their children are too young or it is not available at the right time of day or week must look to alternatives.

Having family on hand to provide childcare can provide such an alternative. The presence of a resident natural father increases the opportunity of shared childcare responsibilities between mother and father. Whilst the existence of any other adult

household member creates the space for the mother to go out to work whilst someone else is at home to fulfil childcare duties, on the basis that the father is likely to be more motivated to embrace the duties of caring for their own progeny, having a natural father in the household optimises this space creation (Hattery, 2001). Furthermore, the mother enjoys a stronger bargaining position in discussions over childcare options: 'the child is yours too!' Equally, the inter-dependency of any such partnership promotes reliability within these arrangements; i.e., by definition, a partner is someone who works in collaboration and thus is more likely to be dependable (The Working Family Project, 1978). Moreover, in contrast to either childcare sourced outside the home or from any other adult in the home, a resident father is liable to be more accommodating in their provision of childcare due to their fundamental attachment and obligation to the child (Cronin & Curry, 2000). Where the natural father is not around, the mother shoulders the moral and practical obligation to either provide the care on her own or enter into negotiations with extended family or other adults in her social sphere. Of course, the former option harms performance in the job and the latter option offers no guarantees that help will be forthcoming.

Grandparents provide a substantial amount of childcare in the UK, raising concerns about the future sustainability of informal childcare as working lives are extended and the army of grandparents (mainly grandmothers) who not in the labour force and thus able to provide childcare dwindles [Dench et al, 1999; Smith Koslowski, 2009]. From the Families and Children Study (2007) 43 percent of children aged under 5 with a working mother are cared for by grandparents (ONS, 2010). Yet, having family on hand to provide free childcare may not have the same influence on

mothers' labour market participation across all cultural backgrounds. Where the family setting represents a stronger attachment to the traditional gender division of labour one might expect the period of time before the mother re-engages in the labour market to lengthen, perhaps indefinitely, as any family support enabling her to return to work is either not forthcoming or may be conditional on her non-participation in the labour market. Studies on Pakistani and Bangladeshi mothers suggest that conventional attitudes asserting that women should attach priority to family and home renders today's Pakistani and Bangladeshi new mothers with an additional constraint. The proximity of family with strongly traditional attitudes towards mothers and paid work may create an additional hurdle in the route back to work rather than facilitating it (Dale, 2005).

Trust

Parents often report the issue of trust as a key element in their selection of childcare provider (Jenkins, S. 2004; Kazimirski et al, 2008). As children develop communication skills and are able to communicate the childcare practices they are exposed to, the competency of the care provider becomes increasingly transparent. Thus, a mother of a 6-month old baby is compelled to exercise a higher measure of faith in her childcare provider than a mother of a 4-year-old, as 4-year-olds have typically acquired a greater degree of language and communication skills (Burns, 1986). There is also the concern that in formal provision the parent/provider relationship has its foundation in financial exchange and the quality of care involved in an exchange based on profit motives is subject to question (Ball and Vincent, 2005; West, 2006; Roberts, 2011). The most obvious recent example of this the political furore regarding adult-child staff-ratios in formal provision. In a move to reduce

childcare costs and make it more affordable, reforms to reduce the increase the number of children and babies that childminders and nursery staff can legitimately care for were announced. However, these plans are in disarray following a very public governmental U-turn centred on questions of child safety (see BBC, 2013). Questions also remain regarding the standards in childcare qualifications leading to a 'considerable climate of mistrust' articulated in an independent review of skills in the Early Years workforce (Nutbrown, 2012).

Uttal (2002) notes that parents of very young and pre-school aged children often indicate a strong preference for relative care due to shared parenting values and the tendency for it to be unpaid. In terms of child development, compared to formal care settings, grandparental care has been linked to positive outcomes in terms of vocabulary development, and negative outcomes with regard to behavioural problems arising out of less social competence with peer groups. (Hansen and Hawkes, 2009). Nonetheless, Wheelock and Jones (2002) find that grandparents are often providing large volumes of childcare and that mothers of very small children are likely to view these arrangements as the 'next best thing' to providing the care themselves.

As children acquire the ability to rationalise logically, their account of the childcarer's calibre will generally become more coherent and the care of older children tends to be characterised by greater clarity. Thus, where a child is too young to comment or report on the quality of the care, this tends to create an additional level of anxiety for the mother in arranging her childcare provision. Employing a nanny or an au pair, where the care provision tends to take place within the home can also add to greater transparency, given the additional monitoring opportunities of the

childcaring activity. However, the financial costs associated with this form of care often render it prohibitively expensive to all except those in high-income brackets.

Affordability

Finding appropriate childcare is not simply a case of identifying providers; it is also substantially based on what costs are involved and whether they can be met.

Childcare is a labour-intensive activity and therefore the financial expense associated with entering formal arrangements are often cited as a key barrier to mothers re-employment (see Daycare Trust, 2009). Those who lack the wherewithal to fund such measures must either leave the workplace or find notionally cheaper/free forms of childcare.

In considering grandparental care, Uttal (2002), finds that such arrangements often do not involve financial recompense, i.e., the grandparents give their caring time as part of the family relationship. However Land (2002) points out that gifts of childcare time are rarely 'free' even where no money changes hands as family and friends operate on a system of balanced reciprocity where support given is provided on a give and take basis. Similarly, Finch and Mason (1993) find that contributions to the family collective by relatives often form part of a system of 'generalised reciprocity'; that is to say, parents help their adult children with childcare under the expectation that such favours will be reciprocated when the need arises. Nonetheless, in light of all the difficulties associated with finding childcare and the acknowledged barriers that they present, we might expect that those mothers with existing and close by supportive family structures to return to work quicker given that they represent a cheap, trusted and flexible form of care.

The costs of reciprocity are more immediate when sourcing childcare from friends/neighbours. That these tend to be characterised by weaker social ties than those of kinship networks has implications for the mother's capacity to delegate childcaring tasks. Firstly, friendship relationships tend to operate at a more exacting level of reciprocity and this limits the mother to soliciting help only to the extent that she is prepared and able to return. A second and related issue is that the more onerous the childcare task the more restricted the mother is in soliciting the assistance of friends. Brown and Dench (2004) find that friends and neighbours typically provide childcare on an occasional basis or as emergency cover. Similar findings appear in the 2009 Childcare and Early Years Survey of Parents indicating that only 9 percent of families used friends and neighbours regularly (Brind et al, 2010). Caring for very young children requires a lot of input and thus the call for help is bigger for these children. This will likely deter mothers from seeking help on a friendship basis where the task burden overshadows the strength of the social bond: that is, where the friendship is not strong enough to withstand the demand, or where there will likely be an unattainable expectation to reciprocate correspondingly. However, as the child matures and requires less looking after, the weight of the request diminishes. Thus the attractiveness of the friendship option increases relative to decreasing levels of burden and indebtedness.

In summary, different types of childcare embody different sets of advantages and disadvantages in terms of how achievable and sustainable they are. The ability to find a suitable childcare package and then supply the resources to maintain it depends on the stock of places available, how much one knows about the feasibility and quality

of certain options, and the ability and appetite to bear the costs, financial or otherwise. Such an assessment can only be carried out in relation to the type of job the mother wishes to return to and therefore it is necessary to consider how aspects of the job play a role in the return to work decision.

Does the type of job matter?

Preference theory suggests that women with a high attachment to their job will spend less of their time on maternity leave and return to their jobs more quickly, in line with primary orientation to work rather than to family (Hakim, 1996). Women who have made a strong investment in education and skill acquisition might be expected to fall into this category. Those who have spent a long time studying to work their way up the occupational ladder are likely to not wish to relinquish their hard fought position by spending longer lengths out of the labour market. Using NCDS & NSHD cohort data, Macran et al. identified this trend to be a particular feature of older mothers.

‘Mothers, who have delayed their childbearing, are more likely to be better educated and to be working in higher level occupations.....they are also more likely to have adequate incomes to pay for childcare, more flexible working arrangements and be highly motivated into employment’ (Macran, Dex & Joshi, 1996). Using MCS data, Dex and Ward (2010) find differential usage of flexible working arrangements by occupational class, suggesting that virtuous (or vicious) circles exist. That is to say, mothers in better jobs have greater access to family friendly working conditions whereas those in poorer quality jobs and perhaps those who are most in need of support are less likely to receive it. Where a mother can exercise real choice in the job she pursues and finds childcare to match, one might see the fullest expression of women’s preferences in the labour market. Yet for women with dependent children,

real choice is constrained by the limitations of their childcare package which in turn constrains access to jobs.

Where employers offer flexible and family-friendly job opportunities the mother might be able to make a quicker return as the demands on her childcare package are relatively lighter. In a study of the employment intentions of women who worked during pregnancy, McRae (1993) finds that where employers offer access to arrangements that facilitates the employment of parents of young children, mothers are much more likely to act on an intention to return to work after birth. In 2003 legislation was introduced which entitled parents to request part-time/flexible-working. However, this right only extends to the ability to 'request' and the employer is merely bound to 'seriously consider' such requests without any obligation to grant the request (Lewis & Campbell: 2007); and it is likely to be those more progressive employers that will accommodate these requests.

The deregulation of the UK labour market over the last few decades has led to greater opportunities for employees to work flexibly. In the 2007 survey of 2,081 employees as part of the Work-Life Balance series, 69 percent said that their employer operated arrangements for working part-time. The percentage of employees able to utilise other, less common, forms of flexible working ranged from 54 percent of employees reporting that they could work reduced hours for a limited period to 23 percent reporting that they could regularly work from home, with the proportions of employees able to job-share, work term-time only, use flexi-time, and so on falling somewhere within this range (Hooker et al, 2007) Whilst some quarters of government champion such policy moves as responding to the needs of hard pressed

families, working 'flexibly' has formed a major part of drive to comply with the needs of employers and specific sectors of the labour market (Crompton, 2006) The availability and take up of flexible working opportunities are much greater in employees with a predominately female workforce (Hegewisch, 2009). Therefore, where a woman works in a male-dominated industry which is insensitive to aspects of childrearing, the mother might need to return sooner in order to maintain her career status.

Full-time jobs tend to place relatively high demands on their worker; most obviously in terms of the amount of time spent in the workplace, but also in relation to commitment levels, reduced flexibility, etc. (Fogarty, 1971; Harkness, 2003). Exposure to expensive childcare threatens the long term financial independence of women through forgone wages and pension rights of those who withdraw from full-time work either partially or fully; or of women whose financial contribution to the household is limited by the price of childcare (Davies and Joshi, 19993; Joshi and Davis, 1994; Dale et al.1996). Yet, part-time work offers the potential for the mother to structure her job around her children or that of friends/family who are available to supply free/cheap childcare for some of the time. Whilst this means that childcare can be affordable, it has been found that part-time jobs tend to be concentrated in low status, low paid occupations (Connolly & Gregory, 2008; Manning & Petrongolo, 2008). These differential rewards for full- and part-time work are important for those whom the need/desire to bring money into the household is particularly relevant (Hattery, 2001). The rise of the dual-earner family has increased the likelihood for women's wages to be used to support fundamental household costs, e.g., housing, utility bills, food, etc. (Brannen & Moss, 1991; Houston and Marks, 2005). Thus the

length of time a mother takes before she returns to work is likely to reflect her vulnerability to and interpretation of economic hardship. Where income needs are pressing, it is likely that mothers will return to work sooner, as the advantages of long leave entitlements are offset by the difficulties presented by diminishing income resources. Nevertheless, even if income constraints make a mother keen to return sooner, her ability to do so will still depend on her ability to find suitable childcare and how family-friendly her job is.

Speed of return – “When are you going back to work?”

The above discussion articulates the issues that affect the timing of mothers return to work, that is to say the nexus between maternity employment rights, the usefulness of different childcare options and what the return job offers in terms of costs and rewards. The point at which the mother returns to work is, at the very least, an indication that a workable solution to the work/family balance has been achieved²⁸. Yet whether the timing of this return is causally influenced by the type of job rather than the type of childcare used (or vice versa) is not clear. The two are so inextricably linked and interdependent it is generally not possible to tell whether this point of return is motivated by the type of job or facilitated by the type of childcare: each influences the other. However, this analysis seeks to address a more basic set of questions. Using the data from the first sweep of MCS to identify women who return within 3 months of birth, between 4 and 7 months, and between 8 and approximately

²⁸ This is not to say that the particular arrangements in place at this juncture will endure over the long term; merely that these arrangements are noteworthy as the first in the lifetime of the child which allow the mother to combine work and family roles.

9 months; I investigate specific differences between mothers who return in the short, medium and longer term after childbirth. Do mothers who make earlier/later returns use particular types of childcare? Do they use combinations of childcare options in creating their childcare package? Do they return to full- or part-time work? Do they return to the same employer? Are they more likely to return to employers who offer flexible working options or have adopted family-friendly working practices?

Data and Methods

To examine the connections between forms of childcare and labour market behaviour, this investigation uses data from the UK Millennium Cohort Study (MCS) to identify rates of moving into a job following childbirth. This dataset offers particular advantages for an analysis of the relationship between childcare and returns to work. Whilst it tracks the experiences of a cohort of children and is therefore not a representative group of mothers in the 21st century, it does offer information on mothers whose babies constitute a representative group of children born at the beginning of the 21st century.

Following a large sample of 18,818 babies born between September 2000 and January 2002, the MCS holds a wealth of information on the families that are raising them. The first sweep of data collection occurred when the children were approximately 9 months old, with subsequent sweeps at 3, 5, 7 and 11 years old. This investigation uses data from sweep 1 (MCS1) so as to concentrate on the period largely covered by job protected maternity leave. When the mothers in the MCS were having their babies pregnant employees were entitled to 18 weeks paid leave (which

can start anytime from 11 weeks before the week the baby is due to be born) and women with longer job tenures could remain on maternity leave until 29 weeks after the birth. Thus to exercise the right to return to work at this time meant that all employed women would need to return to the workplace within 7 months. Furthermore, as was then and is now, childcare provision for the very young is very much a private affair between parent and childcare provider. Publically provided childcare through Early Years education only begins when the child reaches three or four (though eligibility has recently been extended to some two year olds). Tax credits provide a system to help pay the costs of childcare but do nothing to help parents 'find' childcare, albeit measures were laid out through the Childcare Act 2006 to provide information on where they might look. This all means that women have to balance the demands of home and work in a cultural environment that emphasises individual responsibility and agency in the care of young children and leaves new mothers very much on their own in the arranging of childcare. Thus the data on the first nine months after birth offers a deeper insight into the dilemma faced by mothers who decide to return to work at this time given the intensity of care required when their children are still babies, the salience of maternity pay and leave thresholds and the lack of comprehensive public childcare.

Sample

Not all mothers return to work by the time of the MCS1 interview. As the purpose here is to study the circumstances surrounding a mother's return to work, I concentrate on mothers in work which involves excluding 9,824 cases. I ignore the ten cases where the father of the cohort child was interviewed as the main respondent. Furthermore, I further ignore the 2 cases where the main respondent is not the *natural*

mother of the child, as these individuals will not have experienced childbirth and therefore will not require the necessary recovery time from the ordeals of pregnancy and labour which one might expect to affect the duration of time from childbirth until the return to work. I also do not consider the 4 cases where the mother of the cohort baby was under 16 years of age at childbirth, i.e., below working age, and therefore would constitute a particularly atypical group. Finally, I only include those cases where the natural mother has lived as a couple with the natural father over the entire observation window or the natural mother has lived as a lone parent over the entire observation window, i.e., the natural father has either always been or never been in the household since childbirth. This involves excluding 158 cases where the mother had either a partner who was not the natural father of the child or alternated between partners across the two waves. After excluding all these cases and further eliminating those cases suffering from either unit or item non-response, this leaves a main estimating sample of 7,122 unweighted cases. Summary sample statistics appear in Appendix II.

Mothers who have returned to a job by the time their child is around 9 months display the most labour market attachment given that they have made a return whilst their child is quite young. In this group of mothers, 20 respondents report working in excess of 60 hours per week. These may represent cases of measurement error, i.e., somewhere an invalid response was recorded, or there may truly be mothers working over 60 hours per week whilst they have babies. However, even where the latter scenario was to prove true, such cases are atypical and thus dropped from the sample.

Variables

To investigate the relationship between childcare and labour market participation of women with young children the following variables were identified and constructed from the MCS1 data. These include a variable relating to the amount of time between the birth of the baby and the first return into a job and other variables that are either considered to be directly relevant to the analysis or of importance due to a potential confounding effect which requires 'control' in regression techniques. Definitions and descriptions of all variables are given in Appendices I and II.

- Duration from childbirth until return to work

This variable was constructed from the date of birth of the child cohort member and the first reported (re)entry in to work up until the date of the wave 1 interview. This also represents the age of the child at the time of the mother's labour market (re)entry. The notion of 'going back to work' is used here in the broadest sense. Not all women experience continuous employment throughout their childbearing years and may 'return' after an extended break from paid work, especially if the birth is not their first. To understand this labour market behaviour most fully, I consider any post-childbirth move into paid work for those who have worked at some point in the past. I also create a series of dummy variables denoting the self-reported main reasons why respondent decided to return.

An interesting alternative specification would be to consider not only the timing of the return but also whether the return was into full-time or part-time work. The information within the MCS identifies the month when the mother (re)entered the workplace and also gives details of the type of job held at the time of the interview,

including the number of work hours. It does not, however, give account of the mother's full employment history since the birth and it is not possible to analyse the competing risks of a return into either full- or part-time work at the point of return. Nonetheless, using the information regarding the number of work hours at the time of interview, I am able to analyse the speed of return for those working full or part-time when their child is about 9 months old.

- Childcare usage

I have argued that access to childcare is the crucial factor in enabling a mother to return to work. Unfortunately the MCS data does not contain details regarding what sorts of childcare are *available* as it only records the types of childcare that mothers *use*. A perhaps more interesting study would investigate the type of childcare a mother actually uses in relation to the range of childcare options open to her, as this might reveal any element of choice within childcare and job match. Whilst this is not possible with the MCS data, future research projects might offer some illumination.

The data in MCS1 details the types of childcare used (at the time of the interview) whilst working, including the main type of childcare used at that point. From this information childcare types were grouped in 8 categories -

1. Self
2. Resident husband/partner
3. Grandparents
4. Other relatives (including non-resident partner)

5. Friends/neighbours
6. Childminder
7. Nanny/Au Pair
8. Nursery/Crèche

Furthermore, whilst the MCS1 offers no information on childcare availability and the kinds of options that a mother could use, given the importance of grandparental care I construct two dummy variables; one indicating whether the respondent's mother is alive and another whether the respondent's father is alive. Having a living parent creates, at the very least, the potential of grandparental care.

- Socio-economic status (SES)

To categorize not only occupational class, but also to account for likely differences in earnings potential, the aggregate NS-SEC 7 category measure was used. This data is based on present or previous occupation for those who were not working at the time of the interview but had once worked (Bradshaw et al, 2005).

1. High Manager / Professional
2. Low Manager / Professional
3. Intermediate
4. Small Employer / Self Employed
5. Low Supervisory and Technical
6. Semi-routine
7. Routine

- Education

A dummy variable was constructed to indicate whether the respondent has a degree qualification. Educational attainment at this higher level might be expected represent a stronger emphasis on a job career, i.e., the level of personal investment required is likely to more intense. Many good quality jobs require educational qualifications at a degree level. Thus we might anticipate someone who has devoted the time and effort to succeed at this academic level to be focussed on securing and maintaining a good job career.

Equally, good quality jobs tend to yield greater rewards in the labour market. Thus those who have spent longer in education to get a good job are likely to enjoy better pay, higher status, etc. The attractiveness of these preferential rewards might also be expected to increase labour market attachment.

- Ethnicity

In the MCS data the 2001 Census ethnicity categories were used to compile aggregate groupings of ethnic identity (Dex & Rosenberg, 2008). In this analysis I used the 8 category classification, using the white ethnic grouping as a reference category; thus all estimates regarding ethnicity report marginal effects with respect to white mothers.

- Family status/lone-parenthood

This binary variable was constructed to reflect whether either the mother had always lived without a partner OR always had the natural father living in the household. I have argued how having the natural father as a partner is likely to increase the

bargaining power of the mother in terms of the household gender division of childcare and perhaps is liable to be more attached to the child as the child is the natural child of both of them. Equally, by only considering the perpetually partnered or perpetually not-partnered removes further ambiguity as the arrival or departure of the father is likely to be accompanied by a certain period of instability which may predate/postdate his coming or leaving. Thus the dichotomy of 'always lone' or 'always with natural dad' denotes a degree of household stability without the upheaval of changing paternal residency.

- Hours per week

Additional hours in the workplace are most likely to be associated with an increase in childcare demands. However, the more hours one works the more one can generally expect to earn. Equally, entitlement to certain welfare benefits requires working for at least 16 hours per week. Furthermore, studies have shown that full-time hours tend to be associated with higher quality jobs and superior rates of pay. (Rubery, 1998; Connolly and Gregory, 2008; Manning & Petrongolo, 2008). Nonetheless, evidence points to women's partiality for part-time working measured as fewer than 30 hours per week (Booth and van Ours, 2008). To establish whether the chances of an earlier return are affected by the hours the job entails, a variable is constructed that allows for varying relationships at the under 16, over 16 hours but less than 30, and 30 or more hours per week intervals.

- Returned to the same job

Those who are able to return to the same job are likely to be best placed to recover and reuse job-specific skills acquired prior to childbirth. They have the advantages of

familiarity with working practices and the resumption of a pre-existing employer/employee relationship. Thus any prior investment in a work career is forfeited to a much lesser degree. However, the statutory right to return to the same job is accompanied by the requirement to return within set time frames.. Thus, returning to the same job offers the opportunity to maintain work career continuity but it also likely imposes stricter time limits on any return to work.

- Working mostly with men /Working with colleagues sympathetic to parental responsibilities

Apart from any other aspect of the job one returns to, it might be expected that the working environment and job culture would influence the speed of return. Where colleagues are less tolerant or aware of the difficulties associated with combining paid work and family care, any transition into work might be made all the more difficult. Equally, any traditional male emphasis on breadwinning and the censure of workplace interference from family related issues might engender a working environment ill-suited to the needs of those trying to combine motherhood and paid work. To identify the degree to which it is the male orientation of the job or merely the attitudes of co-workers that influences speed of return, two dummy variables are constructed: one to indicate whether or not the respondent feels that her colleagues understand the pressures of caring for children and another to indicate whether the profession is dominated by men.

- Flexible working

To reduce the demands on the care package and possibly aid the search for a childcarer, a mother may opt to build flexibility into her job. The less rigid the job,

the less accommodating the package need be and this likely attenuates her reliance on childcare. To establish the role that such working arrangements play in facilitating mothers back into work a series of particular dummy variables were constructed to reflect whether a respondent's employer offered each type of the following flexible working practices:-

1. Part-time
 2. Job sharing
 3. Flexi-time
 4. Work from home occasionally
 5. Work from home all the time
 6. Special shifts (evenings, school hours, etc.)
 7. 9 day fortnights/ 4 day weeks
 8. School contracts
- Employer assistance

Aside from flexible working practices, employers can support employees who have family commitments in a number of ways. A series of dummy variables were constructed to reflect whether a respondent's employer offered each type of the following assistance:-

1. Financial help with childcare/childcare vouchers
2. Workplace nursery or crèche
3. Other nurseries supported by employer
4. Help with finding childcare facilities away from the work-place
5. Care for children after school hours or during school holidays

6. Time off for family emergencies
 7. Career breaks for family reasons
 8. Paternity leave (time off work for fathers)
 9. Parental leave
 10. A telephone to use for family reasons
- Whether had a job whilst pregnant

Any mother who had a job whilst they were pregnant and is able to exercise a right to return to work after a period of maternity leave, is liable to return to work more quickly. Firstly, such mothers already have a job to return to and thus do not necessarily have to search for a job in order to participate in the labour market. Secondly, in order to exercise their 'return to work' maternity rights, under employment law mothers have to return to work with a specified period of time and are compelled to return by a certain date if they want to retain their job.²⁹ By contrast, women without a job whilst pregnant are likely to be less attached to the labour market and as they are not covered by employment rights they are also not subject to their time restrictions and deadlines. The MCS1 contains information on why the respondent returned to work and I constructed a series of dummy variables to reflect these reported reasons.

²⁹ For the mothers in this study, the length of maternity leave entitlement represented two tiers; equating to 18 weeks for all women which could commence at any time after the 11th week before the baby was due. For those women who had been continuously employed with the same employer for one year prior to the 11th week before the baby was due, the maternity leave period could be extended to 29 weeks after the birth (Income Data Services, 2003: Chp 2&3).

In addition to all the above, certain variables are included in the analysis as it is recognised that they are liable to influence the duration between childbirth and first return to work: the age of the mother at childbirth, how many other children are in the household and having a mother or father alive as this indicates the potential availability of grandparental childcare.

Methods

The aim of this investigation is to explore the relationship between the timing of the return to work, childcare and the family friendly policies adopted by employers.

Analysing childcare usage in relation to speed of return to work is subject to various endogeneity concerns as it not at all clear which impacts on which. Yet such concerns can be set aside when describing relationships without attaching causal inference.

Thus I analyse the links between childcare and the speed of return through descriptive methods to reveal the overall basic relationships.

To analyse the availability of family friendly policies offered by employers, I employ regression techniques to control for confounding factors. This requires the use of duration analysis methods as standard regression techniques are not suited to analysing issues of 'time dependency', that is, the notion that things change relative to time (Blossfeld et al, 2007). Duration analysis seeks to understand the issues surrounding the timing of change and typically expresses these in terms of survival in a particular state until the 'change' event occurs.³⁰ Measuring the elapse of time from

³⁰ Events can occur repeatedly or multilaterally, e.g., a mother can enter one job then leave it and enter another, etc; or a mother can leave full-time motherhood into full-

the start of being in a particular state until the point when this event occurs gives a duration or 'spell' length.³¹ Thus, the length of time a mother spends between childbirth and returning to work is the spell length of her time as a full-time mother. The point at which the spell ends is commonly known as the 'failure' time, given that the individual has not succeeded in remaining in the original state (Box-Steffensmeier & Jones, 2004). From this it is also possible to consider the 'hazard rate', $h(t)$, associated with making a transition from one state to another, i.e., what is the risk of experiencing this transition at a given point relative to the chances of survival up to that point (Allison, 1984).

Conceptualising survival and failure in this way allows us to express the manner in which mothers return to work, i.e., how long do they 'survive' as a full-time mother, or how quickly they 'fail' and so return to work.³² To analyse the circumstances surrounding the event, I estimate Cox proportional hazard models controlling for a range of covariates including the availability of particular types of family-friendly employer support and the characteristics of the job. (See Appendix IV for further discussion of these modelling techniques).

time work or part-time work, etc. Here attention is confined to a single spell event where no individual experiences more than one event and all events are treated equally i.e., the transition from full-time motherhood into a first post-birth job.

³¹ Events can occur under a discrete or continuous time conceptualisation. Examples of discrete time reflect a cyclical event process where transitions from one state to another only occur at disjunctive intervals, e.g., time from onset of menstruation till pregnancy measured in menses. However, as this analysis measures duration in 'clock-time' and theoretically the return to work could occur at any point, all discussions and results will assume a continuous time approach.

³² The language of duration analysis might appear unnatural, if not provocative, lexicon for the purpose here. However, its genesis lies in biostatistical rather than social science and thus the terminology derived from areas of medical research where survival and failure (death) have natural meaning. (Box-Steffensmeier & Jones, 2004)

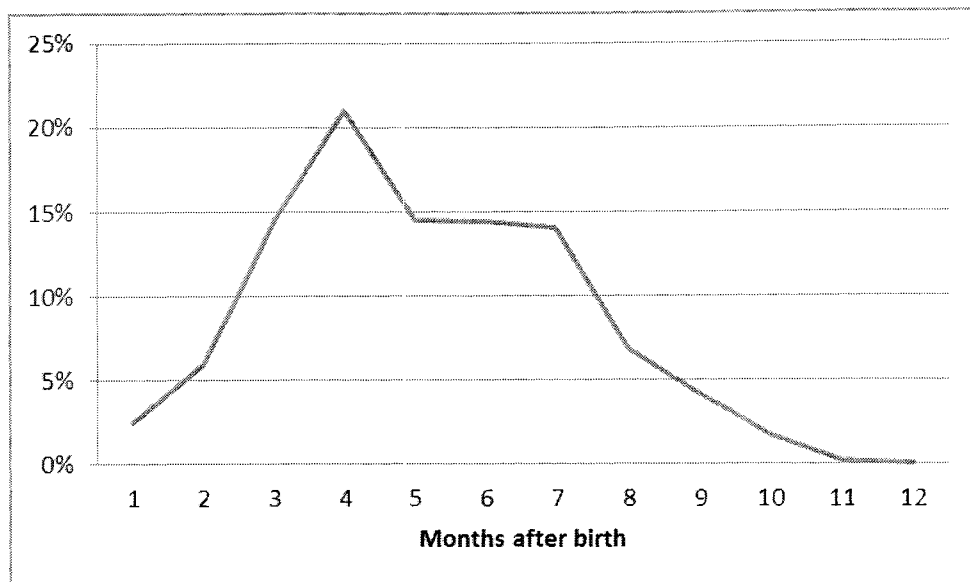
Results

The principle thrust of this investigation is to establish the connections between particular types of childcare usage, the kinds of support that employers offer and the point at which the mother re-enters the workplace after the birth of her baby. This section presents an analysis of the data in two parts. The first considers the durational patterns of returns to work, particularly in relation to childcare usage and part-time and full-time working. The second focuses on the kinds of assistance that employers offer in terms of flexible working practices and family-friendly policies. This involves both a basic descriptive analysis of how soon mothers return to employers providing these types of assistance but also a multivariate analysis to see the extent to which the speed of return is associated with other individual and job characteristics.

Part One: Durational patterns of return relating to part-time/full-time working and childcare usage.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the time taken to return to work for mothers who returned before MSC1 interview. The fieldwork period of the MCS was designed to interview respondents as close as possible to the point when the child was 9.5 months of age but due to operational limitations a small percentage of interviews were conducted slightly early/late (Joshi & Dex, 2004). The distribution shows a pattern of returns consistent with the thresholds associated with statutory maternity pay and

Figure 4.1. Distribution of the time taken to return to work for mothers returning by the MCS1 interview

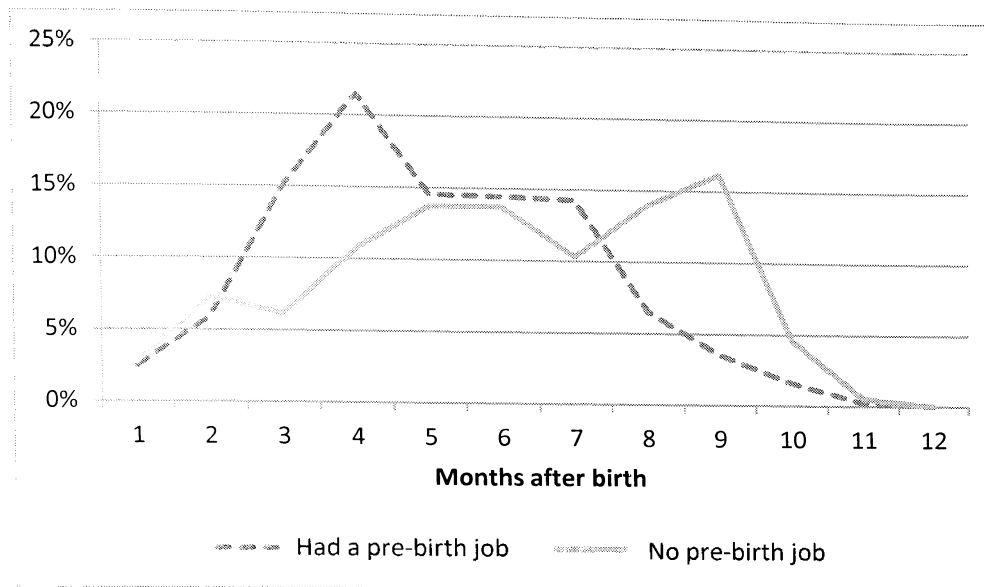


Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample. (N=7122)

Notes: All percentages weighted using MCS1 UK weights

leave entitlements. The largest peak occurs around the fourth month which coincides with the likely point at which paid maternity leave had ceased. After 7 months the number of returns tails off substantially which chimes in with fact that even the longest job-protected maternity leave for this sample of women ends by 29 weeks. MSC mothers subject to statutory provisions who want to return their job must do so by this time, and the information in Figure 4.1 indicates that the vast majority do so. Of the mothers returning to work by the time their child was about 9 months old, 95.1 percent had worked whilst pregnant. Describing the differential speeds of return for those with and without a job to go back to, Figure 4.2 highlights that the minority without the opportunity to exercise a right to return to work return on average more slowly.

Figure 4.2. Distribution of the time taken to return to work for mothers returning by the MCS1 interview by those working and not working whilst pregnant.



Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample. (N=7122)

Notes: All percentages weighted using MCS1 UK weights

To further explore why MCS1 mothers returned at the time they did Table 4.1 shows the reasons given for returning at that particular point in time for women who returned within the first 3 months of birth, those who took between 3 and 7 months, and those who took longer. Hereafter, for convenience, I shall refer to these distinct groups as short, mid and longer term returners. Perhaps the first point to notice from Table 4.1 is that by some margin the most oft cited reason for returning to work is the need of money. Over half short, mid and longer term returners expressed money as an incentive for returning to work and these results suggest that this motivation is not the preserve of any one of the three time groups. Earning money is an unsurprising reason for wanting to work as we might expect most people in work to say that they do so to earn money, at least in part. Yet looking at those who say they returned because their maternity pay ended, Table 4.1 also reveals that fewer respondents cite

Table 4.1: Main reasons for returning to work broken down by the timing of return

	Up to 3 months	4 to 7 months	8 to 12 months	All returners	P-value
I had used up all of my maternity leave	25.0	32.2	21.3	29.1	0.0000
My Statutory Maternity Pay/allowance/occupational maternity pay came to an end	15.1	19.2	8.4	16.9	0.0000
My employer wanted me to return at that time	9.4	6.4	5.5	6.9	0.0001
I needed the money	55.5	56.1	56.5	56.0	0.2520
I enjoy working and wanted to return	24.4	28.3	29.9	27.6	0.0254
It would have hurt my career to stay away longer	4.1	5.8	8.5	5.7	0.0008
I wanted to get out of the house/missed the company at work	16.1	16.7	24.7	17.5	0.0000
I had arranged childcare by then	3.3	5.4	7.4	5.2	0.0014
My job is seasonal	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.4374
Some other reason(s)	7.8	6.5	10.4	7.3	0.0017
N	1696	4526	900	7,122	

Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample

Notes: Respondents were able to cite a maximum of 6 reasons for their return.

P-values = Pearson χ^2 significance tests. Table displays percentages weighted using MCS1 UK weights and unweighted observations.

the cessation of maternity pay than the need for money as a reason. Furthermore, in relation to maternity pay there are statistically significant differences between short, mid and longer term returners whereby later returners are less likely to cite returning to work because their maternity pay finished. Of course, this is consistent with the time-related thresholds of maternity pay provisions but the point that all mothers express the need for money as an incentive for returning to work, regardless of when they return, implies that the coverage of maternity pay is not sufficient for mothers to remain out of the workplace in either the short, mid or longer term.

Other popular reasons for returning to work include have used up all maternity leave, a reason most likely to be expressed by mid-term returners (again consistent with statutory provisions), enjoying work and wanting to get out of the house. These results suggest that longer term returners are more likely to say they returned to work because they enjoy the work and miss the company at work and that other work-related preferences aside from earning money are particularly important for those who remain out of the workplace for longer periods.

As discussed earlier the rewards of working in terms of pay and status are typically preferential for full-time work rather than part-time. However, part-time work is a key strategy used by UK mothers to balance the competing demands of home and work. Table 4.2 displays the speed of return for those working less than 16 hours per week, 16 to 30 hours per week, and 30 hours per week or more³³. Of mothers who had returned by the time their child was around 9 months old, over two-thirds were working part-time. Whether looking at short, mid or longer term returners, mothers were more likely to be working 16 to 30 hours per week. Preference theory suggests that the most attached to the labour market, i.e., full-time workers, would return more quickly. However, whilst the row percentages in Table 4.2 indicate that full-time workers are less concentrated in the longer term group, over two thirds of full-time workers take between 4 and 7 months to return.

³³ Working less than 30 hours per week is the standard definition for part-time working and 16 hours is the threshold for entitlements for tax credits

Table 4.2: Proportion of part- and full-timers by timing of return

	Up to 3 months	4 to 7 months	8 to 12 months	All returners
<16 hrs per wk	5.2	12.7	3.6	21.4
	24.1	59.0	16.9	100
16 < 30 hrs per wk	10.0	29.7	6.6	46.3
	21.6	64.1	14.3	100
30 hrs per wk or more	7.9	21.7	2.7	32.3
	24.4	67.1	8.5	100
N	1696	4526	900	7,122

Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample (N=7,122)

Notes: Number of working hours reflects labour market participation at time of MCS1 interview. Table displays cell percentages (*row percentages*) weighted using MCS1 UK weights and unweighted observations. Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 14.55$ $p=0.0000$

Looking at Table 4.3 and the proportions of mothers returning to their pre-childbirth job we see that of those working less than 16 hours per week, early returners are more likely to return to the same job. Of those working 16 to 30 hours per week mid-term returners are more likely to return to the same job, whereas in the case of full-time workers short term returners are as likely to return to the same employer as mid-term returners.

Whether working part- or full-time, smaller proportions of mothers return to the same job after 7 months. Of course, employers could offer maternity leaves of longer than 29 weeks (and some of the more progressive employers of the time did so) but the evidence in Table 4.3 (and Figure 1) shows how influential statutory provisions and thresholds can be. Preference theory does not entirely discount the importance of social structures but suggests that their relevance in contemporary society is waning (Hakim, 2000). Yet these results imply that for women having babies at the beginning of the twenty-first century institutional frameworks such as maternity leaves are still highly relevant.

Table 4.3: Proportion of part- and full-timers returning to the same job by timing of return

	Up to 3 months	4 to 7 months	8 to 12 months	All returners	P- value
All	80.4	82.2	64.8	79.5	0.0000
<16 hrs per wk	74.1	67.9	49.1	66.2	0.0000
16 < 30 hrs per wk	77.5	83.8	68.7	80.3	0.0000
30 hrs per wk or more	88.2	88.4	76.1	87.3	0.0001
N	1696	4526	900	7,122	

Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample (N=7,122)

Notes: Table displays percentages weighted using MCS1 UK weights and unweighted observations. P-values = Pearson χ^2 significance tests

Mothers who go back to work need to find someone else to look after their child unless they can take the child to work with them. Table 4.4 sets out the main type of childcare used whilst working and shows that a relatively small proportion of women (3 percent) are able to directly care for their child whilst working. Not only do the vast majority have to rely on a childcare provider, Table 4.4 also shows clear distinctions in the type of childcare used by full- and part-timers. For those working less than 16 hours per week the most popular form of childcare is that of husband/partner. Women working only a few hours per week are perhaps the most able to organise their work schedules around that of a spouse or partner. For part-timers, irrespective of whether they work more or less than 16 hours per week, grandparents appear to be a particularly potent source of childcare given that about one third of part-timers use grandparents as their main form of childcare support. These ties in with numerous studies which highlight the growing popularity of grandparental care for younger children (see Roberts et al, 2010; Arpino et al, 2012;

Table 4.4: Main use of childcare for full- and part-timers

	<16 hrs	16<30 hrs	30 hrs+	All
Self	5.9	2.1	2.6	3.0
Husband/Partner	43.7	22.2	17.2	25.2
Grandparents	31.5	36.0	27.4	32.3
Other relatives (inc. non-resident father)/	4.2	5.7	5.4	5.3
Friends/neighbours	2.4	1.7	1.8	1.9
Childminder	5.6	11.9	17.4	12.3
Nanny/Au Pair	0.6	1.9	5.3	2.7
Nursery/Crèche	6.2	18.7	23.0	17.4
N	1325	3290	2507	7122

Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample (N=7,122)

Notes: Respondents were asked who looks after their baby while they are at work and invited to report the main use of childcare. (Details of full- and part-timers use of childcare incorporating all mentions of childcare types appear in Appendix III and reflects similar results to those shown here.)

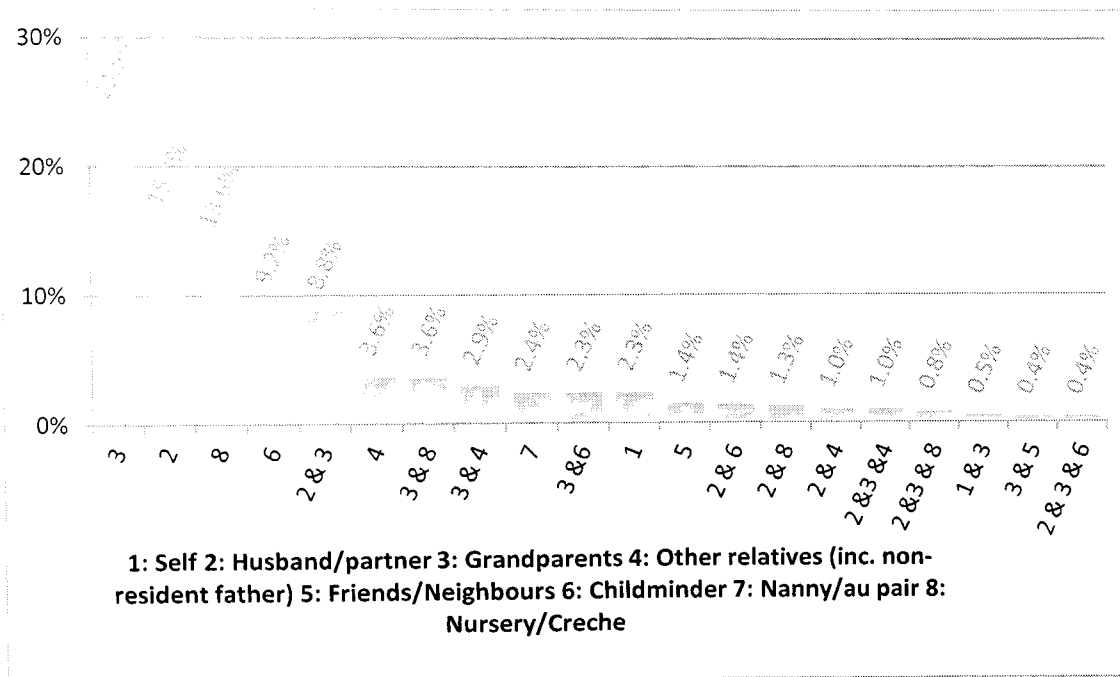
Table displays column percentages weighted using MCS1 UK weights and unweighted observations. Pearson χ^2 (14) = 35.92 p=0.0000

Hansen et al, 2006) Yet the 16 hours per week threshold appears to be pertinent for part-timers use of childcare as those working more than 16 hours per week are more likely to use formal childcare such as nurseries, crèches or child-minders. Roberts et al (2010) find that mothers using centre-based care tended to be characterised by social advantage, either through income, employment and/or education but importance of the 16 hour per week threshold may also reflect the assistance with childcare costs through the tax credits system.

Table 4.4 gives account of the main type of childcare used by respondents whilst working, but mothers could use a number of providers to put a childcare package together. Yet, the majority of mothers who return before their child is around 9 months old do not do so. By considering the combinations of childcare that respondents use, Figure 4.3 shows that the four most popular childcare packages involve only one provider. Indeed 71.4 percent of respondents use only one provider

and 24.1 percent use only two providers³⁴. Combining different types of childcare has the potential to trade off the disadvantages and advantages of within particular types of childcare in terms of flexibility, control, affordability, and so on. Skinner (2003) finds that parents can use various types of care in conjunction to shore up an overall package that meets their needs. However these results show that the most of the MCS1 mothers who return to work avoid what Léon (2005) describes as ‘jigsaws’ of

Figure 4.3: Childcare combination packages used by mothers returning to work by the MCS1 interview (1/20)



Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample (N=7,122)

Notes: Respondents were asked who looks after their baby while they are at work and prompted to mention all types of childcare used. 74 different combination types feature in the data. Shown here are the top twenty combinations which reflect 96.5 percent of respondents. All percentages weighted using MCS1 UK weights

³⁴ The differences between short, mid and longer term returners are not statistically significant.

care. This may be due to the fact that Skinner's study focuses on a wider age range of children than the babies I concentrate on. If so, this provides further evidence that the age of children in relation to childcare use is crucial. It would appear that the logistical advantages of managing one childcare provider for very young children trumps the prospect of building a more sophisticated package, meaning that mothers are generally prepared to plump for one particular childcare type and accept both the advantages and disadvantages inherent in it.

Table 4.5: All types of childcare used broken down by timing of return

	Up to 3 months	4 to 7 months	8 to 12 months	All returners	P- value
Self	6.8	2.9	2.8	3.8	0.0000
Husband/Partner	40.2	29.1	31.9	32.0	0.0000
Grandparents	45.6	47.3	40.3	46.0	0.0045
Other relatives (inc. non-resident father)/	12.5	9.4	11.1	10.3	0.0098
Friends/neighbours	4.0	3.1	3.7	3.4	0.3119
Childminder	10.4	15.9	14.9	14.5	0.0000
Nanny/Au Pair	3.4	2.4	4.4	2.9	0.0283
Nursery/Crèche	10.7	23.7	22.7	20.6	0.0000
N	1696	4526	900	7,122	

Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample (N=7,122)

Notes: Table displays column percentages weighted using MCS1 UK weights and unweighted observations. P-values = Pearson χ^2 significance tests

Looking at childcare options in relation to speed of return, Table 4.5 shows all the options that short, mid and longer term returners report using. This shows that whilst grandparents are the most popular form of childcare they are less used by those taking around 9 months to return. This is consistent with other research suggesting that with the degree 'trust' is a key element when leaving the youngest children with someone else (Uttal, 2002; Wheelock and Jones, 2002; Roberts, 2011). Indeed whilst grandparents and husband/partners are the most popular forms of childcare for all

three groups of returners, mid and longer term returners are more likely to use formal childcare in the form of nurseries/crèches and childminders.

Table 4.5 also shows that 'self', 'friends/neighbours' and 'nanny/au pair' to be forms of childcare used by few mothers. The first of these, although not an option used by many, is a type of childcare more likely to be used by those returning within 3 months. A possible explanation for this is that those able to directly care for their children whilst at work are the self-employed and arguably the most motivated to return to work as soon as possible. By contrast, with the usage of friends/neighbours and nanny/au pair there appears to be no difference between short, mid and longer term returners. Both of these types of childcare can be considered to involve relatively high costs: financial with respect to nannies and au pairs, reciprocity costs for friends and neighbours.

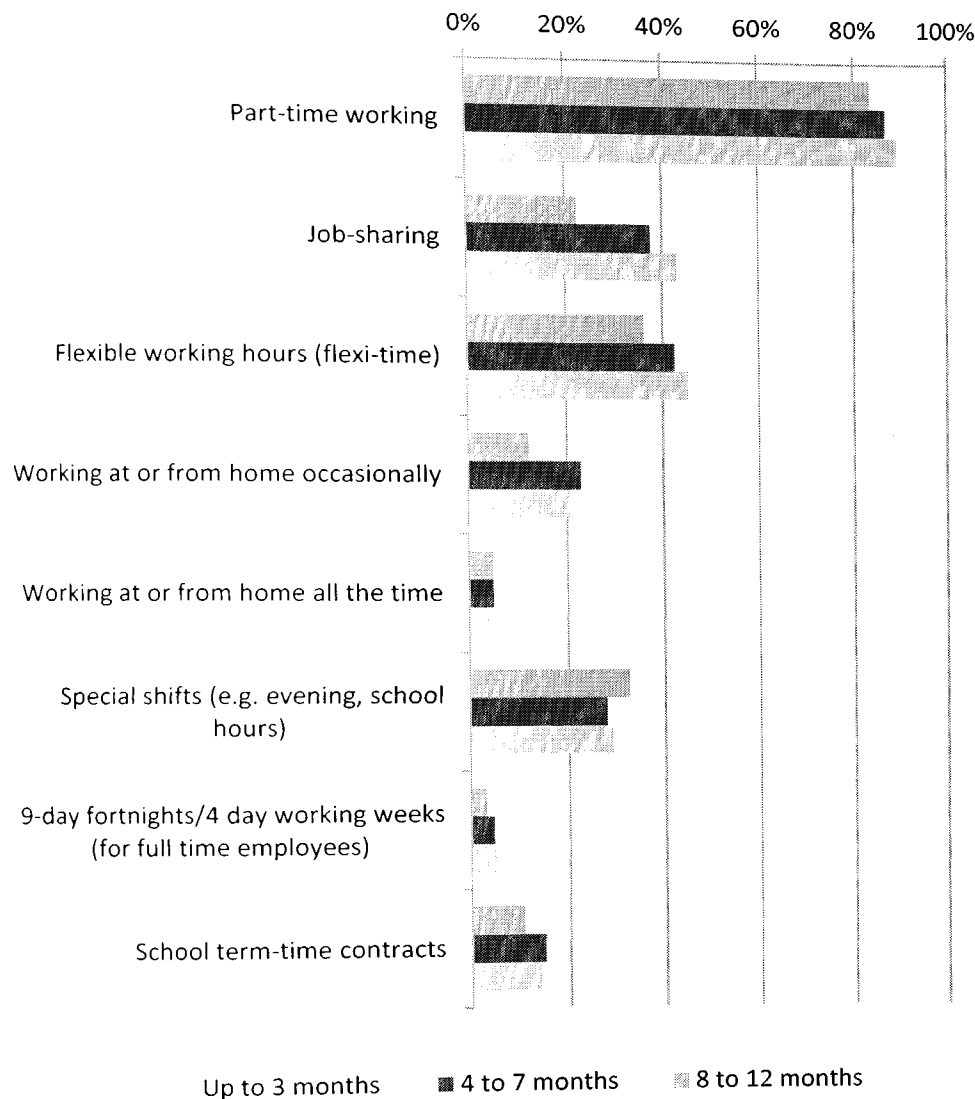
In summary, these results indicate that grandparents and husband/partner are important sources of childcare for mothers returning to work by the time their child is about 9 months old, particularly for those returning to work part-time or those returning within 3 months. Those returning to work full-time or taking longer than three months are also likely to use grandparents and husbands/partners for childcare but these mothers are more heterogeneous in their childcare use and also likely to use nurseries/crèches and childminders. However it would seem that mothers of very young children tend not to use combinations of childcare options.

Part Two: Durational patterns of return in relation to employer family-friendliness.

Whilst the above results suggest that the speed of return can be related to childcare use it may also be connected to how accommodating the workplace may be to family demands. Figures 4.4 and 4.5 present the proportions of short, mid and longer term returners with employers that allow flexible working practices or offer family friendly assistance.

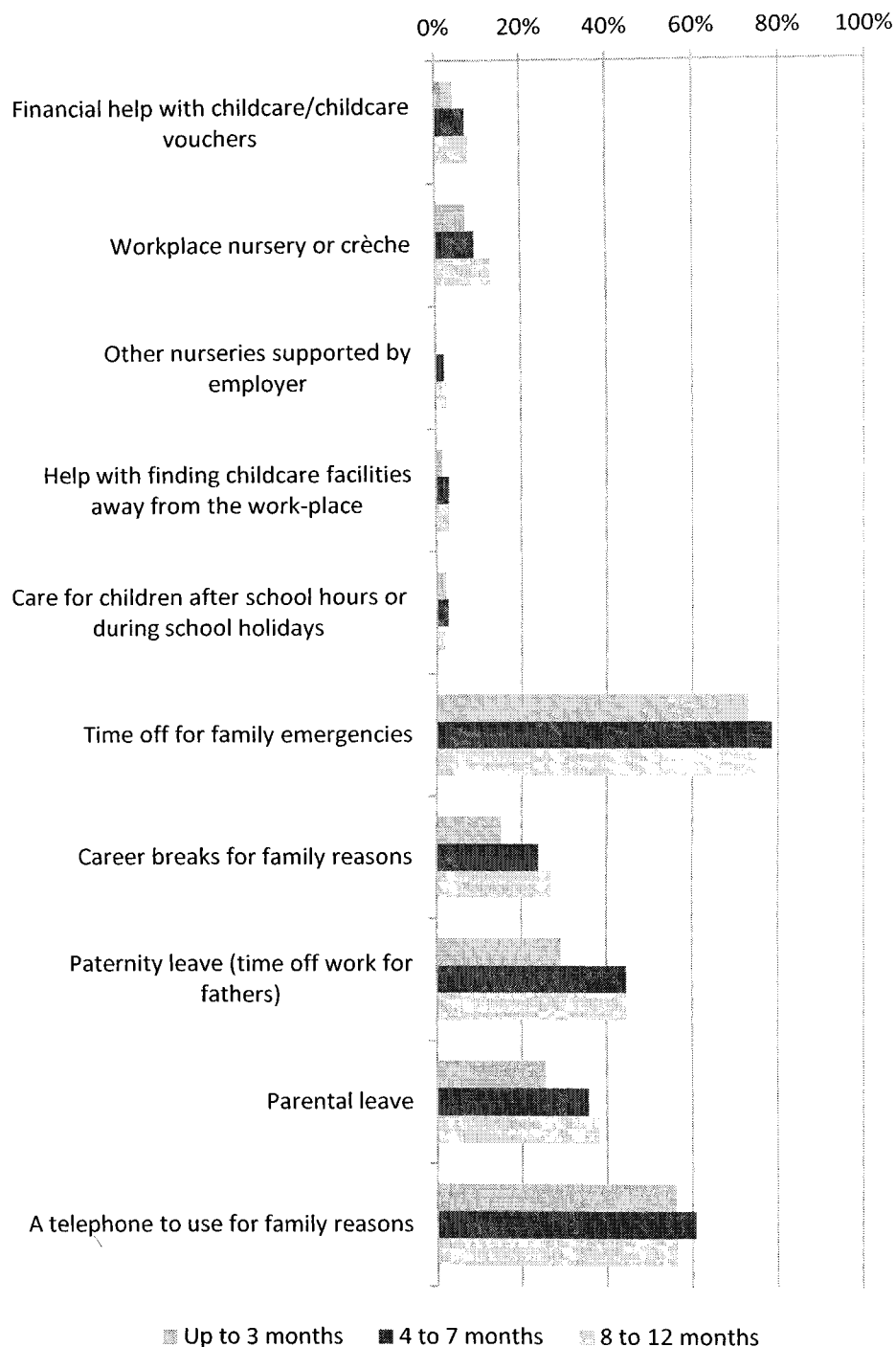
Figure 4.4 indicates that the majority of short, mid and longer term returners are able to work part-time, although short term returners are slightly less likely to report working for an employer offering this opportunity. Similarly, short term returners are less likely than later returners to be working for family friendly employers with respect to most types of flexible working practices. The notable exceptions are for '9-day fortnights/4 day working weeks' and 'Working at or from home all the time', where the durational differences between returners are not statistically significant; and 'special shifts (e.g. evening, school hours)' which returners in the short term are more likely to report. Figure 4.5 follows a similar pattern where longer term returners are more likely to report employers who offer assistance and some of these differences are quite marked. The proportion of mothers who took between 8 and 12 months to return whose employer offers career breaks for family reasons is nearly twice that of mothers who returned within 3 months. The same can be said with respect to employers offering financial assistance with childcare and childcare vouchers or workplace nurseries and crèches. However for almost the types of assistance detailed in Figure 4 fewer than half the mothers returning to work have

Figure 4.4. Proportion of short, mid and longer term returners (employees) whose employer offers flexible working practices.



Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample of employees (N=6793)
 Notes: All percentages weighted using MCS1 UK weights. Pearson χ^2 tests of differences in duration: $P < 0.01$ for Part-time working, Job-sharing, Flexible working hours, Working from home occasionally, School term-time contracts; $P < 0.05$ for Special shifts.

Figure 4.5. Proportion of short, mid and longer term returners (employees) whose employer offers family-friendly assistance.



Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample of employees (N=6793)

Notes: All percentages weighted using MCS1 UK weights. Pearson χ^2 tests of differences in duration: $P < 0.01$ Financial help with childcare/vouchers, Workplace nursery/crèche, Other nurseries supported by employer, Time off for family emergencies, Career breaks for family reasons, Paternity leave, and Parental leave;

$P < 0.05$ for Help finding childcare facilities away from the workplace and A telephone to use for family reasons.

employers who offer assistance. The only types of employer help more than half of respondent report having access to is 'time off for family emergencies' and being able to use the 'telephone for family reasons'. For both of these types of help mothers who return between 4 and 7 months are more likely to report having an employer who helps in these ways.

Overall, from the results in Figures 4.4 and 4.5 it would appear that by and large mothers return later where employers are more accommodating to the needs of women with family responsibilities. As the type of employer one works for may be related to a whole range of other individual characteristics it is useful to employ multivariate techniques to control for potentially confounding factors. Table 4.6 presents the results of three models estimating the relationship between the timing of return and (a) whether an employer offers family-friendly assistance and flexible working, (b) further considers the degree of job attachment and (c) also the assesses the effect of workplace culture.

Looking firstly at model (a) (Table 4.6), the results suggest that the kinds of policies that lengthen a return are being able to work part-time, job share and having the opportunity of employer-sponsored nurseries/crèches. By contrast, being able to work from home all the time and having an employer who will help with wraparound care, i.e., outside of school schedules, and allow for time off for family emergencies are all associated with quicker returns.

Table 4.6: Cox Proportional Hazard model estimates. Duration of time from childbirth until first return to work (Hazard ratios)

	Family friendly employer policies (a)	Job attachment (b)	Workplace colleagues (c)
Flexible working practices			
Part time working	0.90***	1.00	1.00
Job sharing	0.88***	0.84***	0.84***
Flexi-time	0.96*	0.97	0.97
Work from home occasionally	1.00	0.98	0.98
Work from home all the time	1.20***	1.18***	1.17***
Special shifts, e.g. Eves, school hrs	1.06*	1.11***	1.12***
9-day fortnights, 4-day weeks	0.95	0.95	0.95
School term contracts	1.00	1.00	1.01
Family-friendly assistance			
Financial help with childcare/childcare vouchers	0.98	0.95	0.95
Workplace nursery or crèche	0.89***	0.87***	0.88***
Other nurseries supported by employer	0.86**	0.83**	0.84**
Help with finding childcare facilities away from the work-place	0.98	0.94	0.94
Care for children after school hours or during school holidays	1.35***	1.33***	1.32***
Time off for family emergencies	1.09**	1.08**	1.07**
Career breaks for family reasons	0.96	0.95	0.95*
Paternity leave (time off work for fathers)	0.95*	0.90***	0.90***
Parental leave	0.97	0.96*	0.96*
A telephone to use for family reasons	1.04	1.03	1.03
Working hours			
<=16 hrs per wk		Ref.	Ref.
16<=30 hrs per wk		1.11***	1.11***
>30 hrs per wk		1.43***	1.43***
Had job whilst pregnant (1=yes 0=no)		1.62***	1.62***
Returned to same job (1=yes 0=no)		1.37***	1.38***

Workplace gender composition

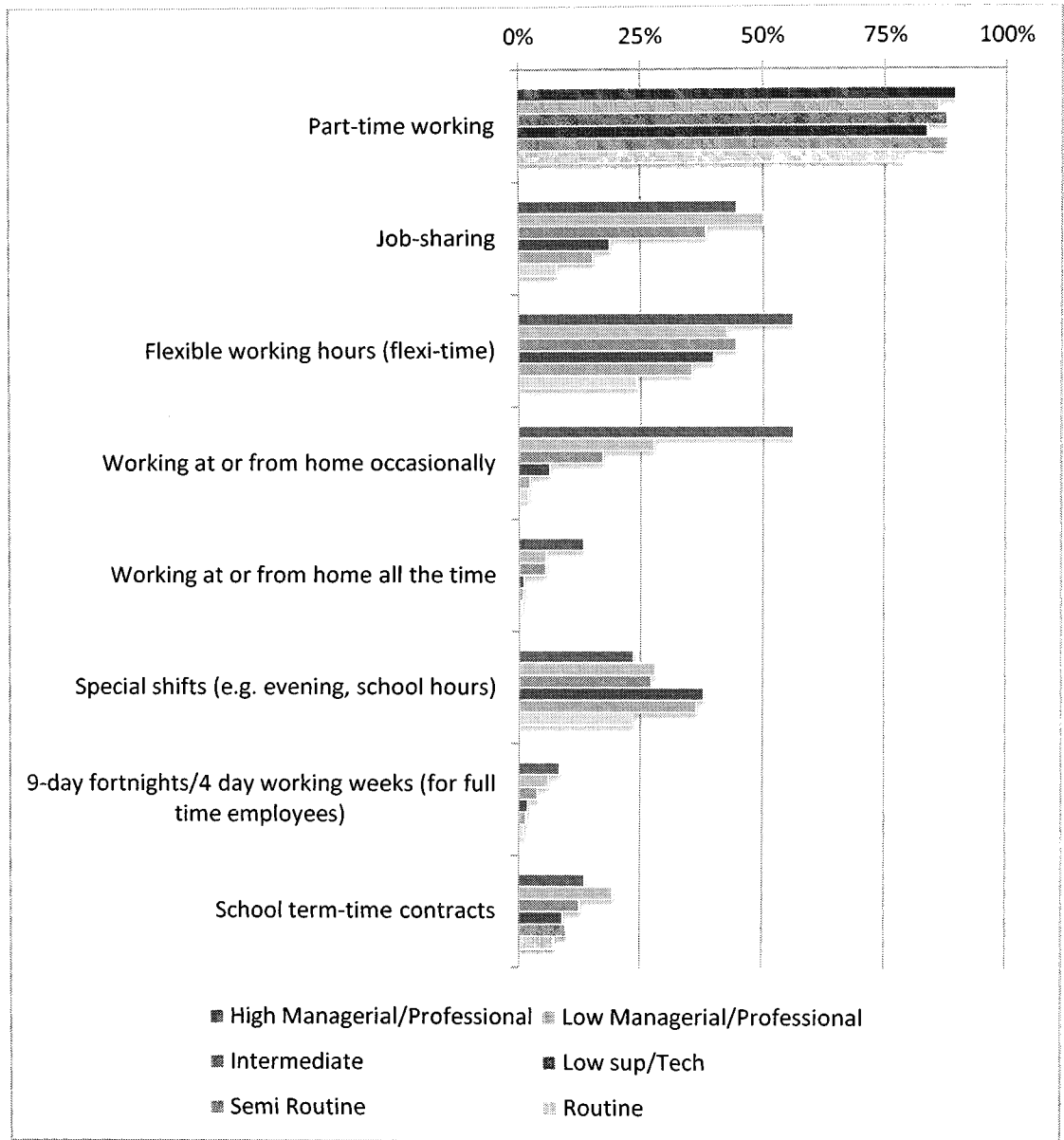
Work with mostly with women	0.89***
Works with half women/half men	0.86***
Work with mostly men	Ref.
Colleagues are sympathetic to parental responsibilities (1=yes 0=no)	1.05*

Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample of employees (N=6793)

Notes (i) All specifications are estimated by Cox proportional hazards models and take into account MCS1 UK weights (ii) Controls are age, age squared, partnered, subjective wellbeing, education, occupational class, lone parenthood, number of other children in the household, ethnicity, homeownership, occupational class, geographical region of the UK, 2001/2006 year dummy, respondent's mother is alive, respondent's father is alive. (ii) . * p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

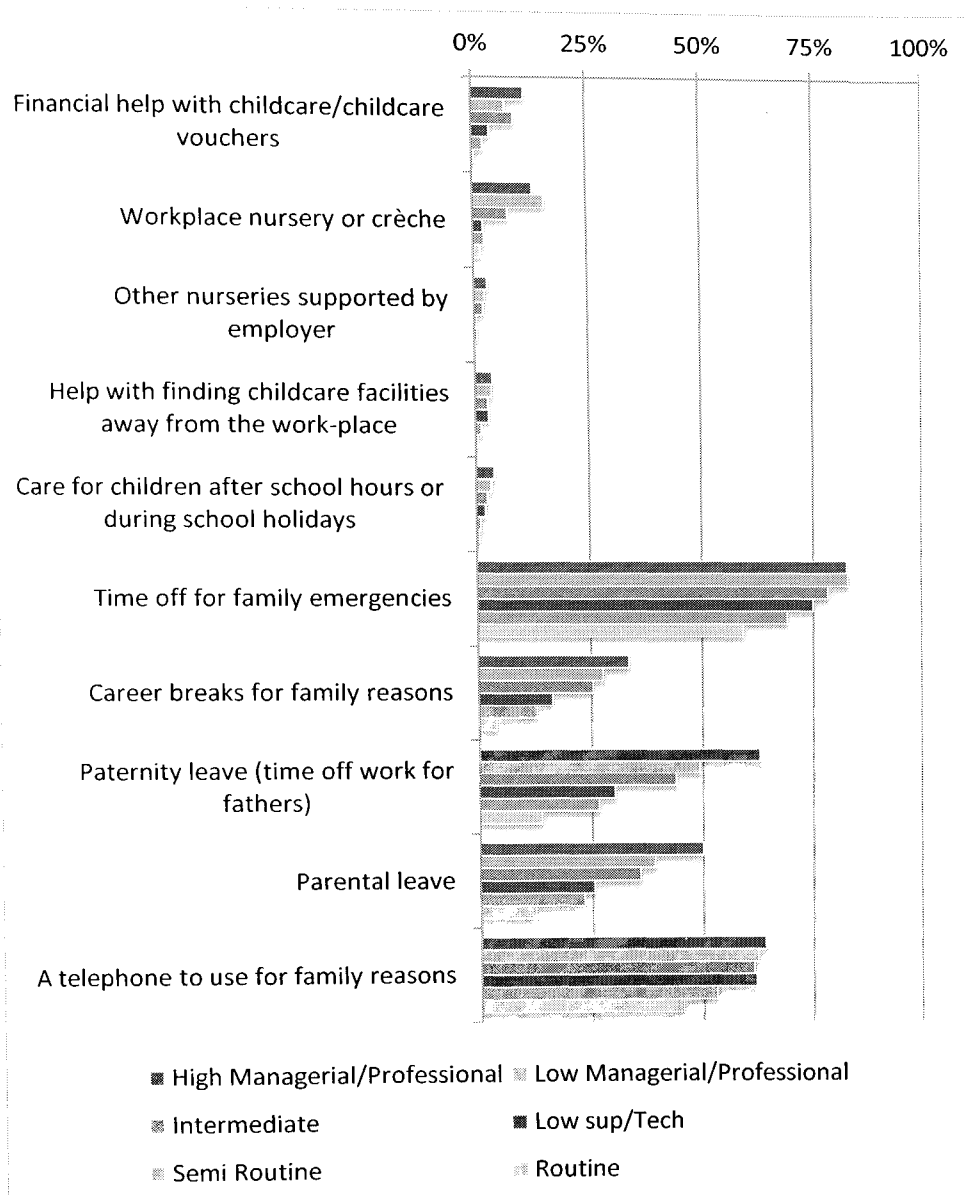
Controlling for job attachment factors such as working full- or part-time, whether had a job whilst pregnant and whether returned to the same job; model (b) (Table 4.6) indicates similar patterns of association between employer policies and speed of return. Working longer hours, returning to and having a pre-birth job are associated with quicker returns and controlling for these suggests that employers offering paternity leave take longer to return. A possible explanation for this rests in the differences in job quality between part- and full-time employment (see Manning and Petrongolo, 2008); the implication being that the speed of return is related to employers offering paternity leave but only after controlling for the calibre of the job. Of course, paternity leave is not an option open to mothers but its availability is indication of how progressive and family-friendly their employer might be.

Figure 4.6. Proportion of returners (employees) with employers who offer flexible working stratified by occupational class



Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample of employees (N=6793)
 Notes: All percentages weighted using MCS1 UK weights. Pearson χ^2 significance tests of difference by occupational class $P > 0.01$ for all types of flexible working.

Figure 4.7. Proportion of returners (employees) with employers who offer family-friendly assistance stratified by occupational class



Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample of employees (N=6793)
 Notes: All percentages weighted using MCS1 UK weights. Pearson χ^2 significance tests of difference by occupational class $P > 0.01$ for all types of employer family-friendly assistance.

Using MCS1 and MCS2³⁵ data, Dex and Ward (2010) find differential usage of flexible working arrangements by occupational class. Similarly when looking at the availability of flexible working and employer assistance I find clear social gradients in almost all types of family friendly working. Figures 4.6 and 4.7 indicate the proportion of mothers by occupational class whose employer offered them access to particular family friendly arrangements. These imply that virtuous (or vicious) circles suggested by Dex and Ward exist not only in the usage but in access too. That is to say, mothers in better jobs have greater access to family friendly working conditions whereas those in poorer quality jobs and perhaps those who are most in need of support are less likely to have the option.

Table 4.6 (model b) also shows that those who return to the same job tend to experience predictably higher chances of return than those who return to a different job suggests that those looking to maintain job continuity return more quickly. One explanation for this trend is that these mothers seek to maintain as much of the status quo as possible in terms of earnings, career status, etc., and thus fit the child around the job rather than the job around the child. This implies a certain amount of autonomous choice in electing when to return. However, an alternative explanation points to the imposition of triggers that precipitate returns back to work such as the thresholds for statutory maternity leave. That so many of the mothers who do experience a return before wave 2 make their return within 29 weeks of the birth indicates that mothers' labour market behaviour might be largely a matter of public policy than free individual choice. The potentially wide range of policy implications this might connote points to the value of further research in this area; especially as

³⁵ MCS2 only contains information on 'use' of employer family friendly policies. As my interest lies in 'availability', this is not data I could exploit.

longer maternity leaves are found to be advantageous for mother and child (Waldfogel, 1998; Baker & Milligan, 2008).

In addition job attachment factors, model (c) (Table 4.6) controls for the nature of work colleagues in terms of gender composition and how family-friendly the respondents perceive them to be. I have previously suggested that the speed of any return back into work is likely to be affected by the prevailing atmosphere of the workplace. I argued that where a mother feels that her working environment is sensitive to her needs as a working mother, she would likely return sooner as her path back into work would be made all the easier: however, the evidence shows no support for this. As these are all mothers who must have resolved their childcare issues to a satisfactory degree in order to make it back into work, it is perhaps unsurprisingly that the tone of colleagues' attitudes is inconsequential in the light of effective childcare arrangements. Consistent with the view that women in masculine careers have to behave like men in order to succeed, the results in Table 4.6 also shows that working in a male dominated environment appears to be linked to earlier returns, i.e., keeping child family related issues outside of the workplace. Mothers who work in male environments may feel pressurised into quick returns, or it may simply be that they have chosen this type of career because they identify with feminine/maternal roles to a lesser degree and find motherhood difficult.

For those mothers who make it back into work within about 9 months from birth, the chances of an earlier return are greater when returning to the same job or working in a male/dominated environment, indicating that the world of paid work is still overwhelming geared towards men and women who can sidestep family caring

responsibilities. Being able to work from home or working patterns that fit around caring responsibilities, such as evenings or school hours, appear to be associated with earlier returns; whereas, more intense working patterns that involve compressed weeks are associated with slower returns.

Overall, employees tend to return quicker to if employers enable their staff to work from home all the time, work special shifts, take time off for family emergencies and provide help with childcare outside of school schedules. Employees who can job share, have access to employer-sponsored crèches/nurseries and have an employer that offers paternity leave tends to return more slowly.

Conclusion

Whether slower or quicker returns to work are better for mothers is a point that is open for debate. It might be expected that those with the smallest interruptions in full-time working suffer the smallest penalties in terms of job continuity, wages, pension entitlements, and so on. Yet these are women with very small children for whom a swift transition back into full-time work may not be an achievable option without appropriate childcare and/or employer support. Naturally, the 'options' deemed available are shaped by individual preferences towards a work/family balance but, as this chapter has shown, the relevance of institutional frameworks is not receding, at least not for the women who had their babies at the turn of the century.

Unsurprisingly, statutory provisions for maternity pay and leave appear to be highly influential in determining the length of time a mother will take before returning to work after the birth. As the main reason for returning to work given by mothers was the need to earn money, regardless of how soon they returned, it could be concluded that the level of maternity pay is not sufficient. However, these provisions have changed since the MCS mothers were having their childcare, although still far short of a full income replacement scheme.. One area of potential research is to examine the return to work patterns of women who are pregnant now. The new birth cohort study, Life Study, is due to begin next year and should provide a rich source of data to analyse these issues.

For women who return to work whilst their children are under a year old, informal childcare appears to be important, however, only in respect of grandparents and husbands/partners, as other relatives and friends/neighbours do not feature very highly in childcare use by these women. In addition to grandparents and husbands/partners as sources of childcare, those returning to full-time work and those taking longer to return are more heterogeneous in their childcare use and more likely to use formal providers than part-timers and quick returners. Again, however, this tends to be the case for nurseries/crèches and childminders as nannies/au pairs are not options used much by anybody. Different types of childcare differ not only in their availability and affordability, but also terms of control, flexibility, trustworthiness and transparency; and it is a fair assumption that these are all considerations that contribute towards the selection of a provider. Whilst the analysis here has not been able to formally test this assumption, given the lack of information on childcare availability, i.e., the childcare options a mother avoided, it seems clear that women

with very young children tend to opt for a single childcare provider. Whilst this forgoes the utility of offsetting the advantages and disadvantages inherent in different options through a combination package of childcare, mothers of new babies tend to opt for simpler packages.

For those mothers who make it back into work, the chances of an earlier return are greater when returning to the same job or working in a male/dominated environment, indicating that the world of paid work is still overwhelming geared towards men and women who can sidestep family caring responsibilities. Being able to work from home or working patterns that fit around caring responsibilities and access to help with wraparound support appear to be associated with earlier returns; whereas, being able to job share and/or access employer-sponsored crèches/nurseries and having an employer that offers paternity leave are all associated with slower returns. Yet, it would also seem that access to employer support is not equitable and stratified by occupational class; that is to say, those in better jobs are more likely to have more supportive employers.

In respect of women who had babies at the beginning of the century, all of these results corroborate the notion that statutory maternity provisions matter, the type of childcare matters and the type of employer matters in the speed of return to work. Yet the way in which they matter is different for different women. Mothers vary in their usage of childcare and their access to employer support. This new century has since embraced a number of key policy changes in the intuitional frameworks of maternity

provisions and childcare. It has been argued that efforts to encourage employers to provide more family-friendly support have 'lacked teeth' (Himmelweit, 2008). A possible policy response could be to strengthen the duty of care that employers have for their employees with family responsibilities. As to whether the developments in childcare and maternity provisions have improved the situation of 21st century mothers, only time and further investigation will tell.

APPENDIX I: Definition of variables

Table 4.7: Definition of variables

Variable	Definition
Duration from childbirth until first return to work	Month- date of first return to work minus month-date of childbirth
Maternal age at childbirth	Month-date of childbirth minus month-date of maternal birth date
Has a degree	Dummy variable equal to 1 if highest academic qualification is a degree and 1 otherwise
Ethnicity	UK 8-category classification:- 1=White, 2= Mixed, 3= Indian, 4= Pakistani, 5=Bangladeshi, 6=Black Caribbean, 7=Black African, 8= Other (including Chinese)
SES	NS-Sec 7 category:- 1= High Manager / Professional, 2=Low Manager / Professional, 3= Intermediate, 4=Small Employer / Self Employed, 5=Low Supervisory and Technical, 6=Semi-routine, 7=Routine
No. of other children in household	Number of children in the household other than the cohort member: 0=None, 1=One child, 2=Two children,3=Three or more children
Had job whilst pregnant	Dummy variable equal to 1 if respondent has a job whilst pregnant and 0 otherwise
Lone Parent	Dummy variable equal to 1 if respondent has always been a lone parent since the birth of the cohort member and 0 if the respondent has never been a lone parent since the birth of the cohort member
Returned to same job	Dummy variable equal to 1 if respondent returned to the job they held directly prior to childbirth and 0 otherwise
Gender composition of workplace	Categorical variable constructed as follows: 1 = Work colleagues are mostly women, 2 = Half women/ half men, 3 = Mostly men
Working hours	Spline variable with knots at 16hrs and 30hrs per week
Colleagues are sympathetic to parental responsibilities	Dummy variable equal to 1 if colleagues are sympathetic to parental responsibilities and 0 otherwise
Employer flexible working policies	
Part time working	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers flexible working option 'part-time' and 0 otherwise
Job sharing	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers flexible working option 'job-sharing' and 0 otherwise
Flexi-time	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers flexible working option 'flexi-time' and 0 otherwise
Work from home occasionally	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers flexible working option 'working from home occasionally' and 0 otherwise

Work from home all the time	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers flexible working option 'work from home all the time' and 0 otherwise
Special shifts, eg. Eves, school hrs	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers flexible working option 'special shifts' and 0 otherwise
9-day fortnights, 4-day weeks	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers flexible working option '9-day fortnights, 4-day weeks' and 0 otherwise
School term contracts	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers flexible working option 'School term contracts' and 0 otherwise
Employer family friendly assistance policies	
Financial help with childcare/childcare vouchers	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers assistance with 'Financial help with childcare/childcare vouchers' and 0 otherwise
Workplace nursery or crèche	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers assistance with 'Workplace nursery or crèche' and 0 otherwise
Other nurseries supported by employer	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers assistance with 'Other nurseries supported by employer' and 0 otherwise
Help with finding childcare facilities away from the work-place	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers assistance with 'Help with finding childcare facilities away from the work-place' and 0 otherwise
Care for children after school hours or during school holidays	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers assistance with 'Care for children after school hours or during school holidays' and 0 otherwise
Time off for family emergencies	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers assistance with 'Time off for family emergencies' and 0 otherwise
Career breaks for family reasons	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers assistance with 'Career breaks for family reasons' and 0 otherwise
Paternity leave (time off work for fathers)	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers assistance with 'Paternity leave (time off work for fathers)' and 0 otherwise
Parental leave	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers assistance with 'Parental leave' and 0 otherwise
A telephone to use for family reasons	Dummy variable equal to 1 if employer offers assistance with 'A telephone to use for family reasons' and 0 otherwise
Childcare type	
Self	Dummy variable equal to 1 if childcare type 'Self' is used and 0 otherwise
Husband/Partner	Dummy variable equal to 1 if childcare type 'Husband/Partner' is used and 0 otherwise
Grandparents	Dummy variable equal to 1 if childcare type 'Grandparents' is used and 0 otherwise
Other relatives (inc. non-	Dummy variable equal to 1 if childcare type 's Other

resident father)/ Nanny/Au pair	relatives (inc. non-resident father' or 'Nanny/Au pair' is used and 0 otherwise
Friends/neighbours	Dummy variable equal to 1 if childcare type 'Friends/neighbours' is used and 0 otherwise
Childminder	Dummy variable equal to 1 if childcare type 'Childminder' is used and 0 otherwise
Nursery/Crèche	Dummy variable equal to 1 if childcare type 'Nursery/Crèche' is used and 0 otherwise

APPENDIX II: Description of variables

Table 4.8: Descriptive statistics

Mean maternal age at birth	30.3 yrs
	%
Education - Has a degree	24.8
Ethnicity	
- White	93.5
- Mixed	0.6
- Indian	1.7
- Pakistani	0.8
- Bangladeshi	0.2
- Black Caribbean	1.1
- Black African	1.1
- Other ethnic group (inc. Chinese)	1.1
Occupational Class	
- High Managerial / Professional	11.0
- Low Managerial / Professional	32.8
- Intermediate	21.8
- Small employer/ Self-employed	3.5
- Low Supervisory/ Technical	4.8
- Semi-Routine	18.2
- Routine	7.8
Had a job whilst pregnant	95.2
Lone parent	6.6
Mother is alive	93.7
Father is alive	86.2
Number of other children in the household	
- None	50.1
- One	35.7
- Two	10.9
- Three or more	3.3
Returned to same job	79.5

Colleagues are sympathetic to parental responsibilities	78.9
Workplace gender composition	
Work with mostly with women	52.7
Works with half women/half men	36.2
Work with mostly men	11.1
Working hours	
<=16 hrs per wk	21.4
16<=30 hrs per wk	46.3
>30 hrs per wk	32.3

Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample. Percentages weighted using MCS weights. (N=7,122)

APPENDIX III: Use of childcare for full- and part-timers (alternative specification).

Table 4.9: Use of childcare for full- and part-timers (all mentions of childcare).

	Working hours per week			All	P-values
	<16	16-30	30+		
Self	6.6	2.6	3.6	3.8	0.0000
Husband/Partner	50.6	29.4	23.4	32.0	0.0000
Grandparents	44.7	50.4	40.6	46.0	0.0000
Other relatives (inc. non-resident father)/	8.3	11.7	9.6	10.3	0.0070
Friends/neighbours	4.1	3.6	2.6	3.4	0.0954
Childminder	6.7	13.9	20.5	14.5	0.0000
Nanny/Au Pair	0.9	2.1	5.5	2.9	0.0000
Nursery/Crèche	7.9	21.5	27.7	20.6	0.0000

Source: MCS1: Millennium Cohort Study estimation sample (N=7,122)

Respondents were asked who looks after their baby while they are at work and invited to report the all uses of childcare (Table 4.5 displays the 'main' use of childcare). Table displays percentages weighted using MCS1 UK weights and unweighted observations. P-values = Pearson χ^2 significance tests

APPENDIX IV: Estimation techniques

Duration analysis techniques can be regarded by their degree of parameterisation, i.e., the extent to which they impose a functional form on the data. Non-parametric methods such as the Kaplan Meier approach operate in a 'bottom-up' manner, identifying a data-led durational relationship. This is useful because it does not require any assumptions to be made about how this relationship should evolve over time. However, such methods are also problematic as they do not allow for the modelling of covariates and therefore are only of practical use when comparing survival experiences across qualitative groupings, e.g., white mothers vs. non-white mothers, etc. (Cleves et al, 2004). Parametric methods enable the modelling of duration and/or risk in relation to time and covariates. However, they also require that some theoretical assumptions are made about the shape of the hazard function. Different parametric methods allow for different shapes as some specify that the hazard rate always rises or always decreases or remains constant or rises then decreases, etc. However, the point is that no one parametric form allows for all of these shapes and thus a 'top down' application is required. This can be particularly problematic where there is insufficient evidence on which to base theoretical assumptions (Allison, 1984).

One way of circumventing the need to assume a particular shape of the baseline hazard rate is to use a semi-parametric method that leaves the shape of the baseline hazard unestimated and instead estimates the proportional change in the hazard rate, i.e., the Cox model (1972). It follows the standard premise of proportional hazards models, i.e.,

$$h(t, X_i) = h_0(t) e^{\beta'X_i} \quad (1)$$

where:-

$h_0(t)$ = the baseline hazard and depends on t but not on X and can take any form as it is derived from the data;

$e^{\beta'X_i}$ = a non-negative function of individual characteristics that scales the baseline hazard up and down.

However, rather than focusing on the time at which an event occurs, the Cox model considers the order in which events occur and thus models the prospect that, where an event occurs at time t_j , it will be experienced by individual i from the pool of individuals at risk at that time (2).

$$\frac{\text{Risk of Individual } i \text{ experiencing an event at } t_j}{\text{Risk that an event occurs a } t_j} \quad (2)$$

The numerator in (2) represents the hazard rate for individual i at time t_j , and the denominator represents the sum of the hazards of all individuals in the risk pool at time t_j . Thus, re-expressing (2) in terms of (1) yields:-

$$\frac{h_0(t_j) e^{\beta'X_i}}{\sum_{i \in R_j} h_0(t_j) e^{\beta'X_i}} \quad (3)$$

Where:-

$h_0(t_j) e^{\beta'X_i}$ = the hazard for individual i at time t_j

$\sum_{i \in R_j} h_0(t_j) e^{\beta' X_i}$ = summation of hazards for all individuals in the risk pool at time t_j

As the baseline hazards cancel out in (3) this be further re-expressed as

$$\frac{e^{\beta' X_i}}{\sum_{i \in R_j} e^{\beta' X_i}} \quad (4)$$

That equation (4) no longer requires any parameterisation of the baseline hazards shows how the principal advantage and disadvantage of the Cox model, i.e., it liberates us from any assumptions about the baseline hazard but also removes the capacity to comment on its profile as it remains unestimated (Jenkins, SP, 2004).

Thus, this method cannot tell us anything about expected durations. However, as this investigation seeks to understand the proportionate change in the hazard as covariates change, this problem can be set aside. That is to say, this investigation is concerned with evaluating how the *risk* of making the transition into work alters with respect to differences in age, occupational class, ethnic grouping, etc; rather than the length of time we might expect it to take before a mother returns to work relative to such characteristics.

As this estimation method is only concerned with the ordering of particular failure times, introducing variables that change over time is simply a case of splitting up the spell durations into episodes at the point where events occur. Individual characteristics across the risk set can then be assessed at each occurrence point to establish whether any changes or lack of change in characteristics have influenced the propensity for an individual to experience an event (Jenkins, SP, 2004).

An additional problem with using the Cox model is, as with all proportional hazard methods, it assumes that the hazard functions of any two individuals with different characteristics vary by a proportionality that is constant over time. That is to say that, the hazard rate can vary with time and with characteristics but the effect of a characteristic is assumed not to vary over time (Box-Steffensmeier & Zorn, 2001). For example, the effect of being a white mother relative to that of being a non-white mother is presumed to remain the same. This is not say that the influence of ethnicity is expected to remain static; only that any changes in the effect of being white will be mirrored by a proportional change in the effect of being non-white. Formal tests exist to establish whether this assumption is violated (see Box-Steffensmeier & Jones, 2004); however, due to the complexity of the dataset used here such tests are precluded due to computational limitations. Furthermore, Allison suggests that misspecification of the model, i.e., that model is deficient in some way, loads more heavily on the omission of pertinent explanatory variables, measurement error, etc. (Allison, 1984).

A further problem is associated with the ordering process that the Cox uses to produce estimates. Where individuals experience events at the same time, the order in which the events happen must be defined, i.e., did individual *a* experience the event before individual *b* at time point t_j or vice versa. If the events happen instantaneously this can be problematic but this will also be uncertain if the data is collected so that it is unclear whether *a* had an event before *b* or not. The data in the MCS shows the month in which a mother returns to work, but not the day, hour, minute, second, etc. Thus, where multiple individuals return to work in the same calendar month it is not possible to identify the true order. Several methods exist for handling these 'tied'

events with varying levels of approximation accuracy. However, again due to computational limitations, this investigation uses the simplest technique, i.e., the Breslow method. This works by overlooking the fact that the risk pool will be affected by whether a experiences the event before b , etc.³⁶

Finally, a key issue in duration analysis is the handling of censored data. Censoring occurs where the beginning or end of a spell is not observed and thus our understanding of the sequencing of events is compromised. Whilst the Cox model is not concerned with how long the spell lasts, it is concerned with the order in which events occur, i.e., which individual experiences the event *first*, which individual *second*, etc. In these calculations it is necessary to know who is at risk of facing an event at each occasion, i.e., the first individual leaves the risk pool having experienced the event, etc. Thus, when using the Cox technique, the only contribution made by censored observations is in determining the size of the risk pool as these individuals are at risk of an event occurring but nothing is known about event occurrence (Box-Steffensmeier & Jones, 2004). This highlights a particular drawback with this modelling technique, i.e., it does not utilise any of the data regarding spell duration times and is thus an inefficient estimator (Allison, 1984). Therefore, if one can be fairly certain about the true shape of the baseline hazard, using the parametric technique with the appropriate hazard function is liable to yield more informative estimates as it draws on more of the data; but crucially, if the

³⁶ As individuals experience an event, the risk pool decreases because the amount of individuals left at risk of experiencing an event decreases. If a truly experiences the event first, then they will not be in the risk set when b experiences the event and this will affect their conditional failure time probabilities. The Breslow method calculates probabilities with 'replacement' for tied events, i.e., it calculates the probability for a with a and b in the risk pool and then the probability for b also with a and b in the risk pool.

assumption about the hazard shape is incorrect then the estimates will be biased.

Consequently, although the data is not exploited to its fullest potential, this

investigation uses semi-parametric techniques in the form of the Cox model to best

insure against mis-specification of the hazard function.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

Mothers, daughters and workers have different social roles and this thesis has sought to better understand the ways in which these roles overlap and intertwine. More specifically it has examined the relationships between family caring, social class and labour market participation. These are areas of key sociological interest, not least because in combination they speak of the degree of inequity within the question of 'who cares' but also 'when' and 'where' people provide family care. Understanding these relationships provides some clues as to how we might respond to the seismic shifts happening in society, such as demographic ageing, postponed motherhood and extended working lives ('paid' working that is).

Chapter 2 focuses on sandwiched caring, a relatively unexplored topic with respect to the UK, which denotes women 'sandwiched' between the care needs of the young and the elderly. The results suggest that at the beginning of the 21st century women in prime working age who provide care to both ends of the age spectrum have similar chances of being in paid work as those care for dependent children but not non-co-resident elders. This does not mean, however, that we need not be too concerned about impact of demographic ageing on family carers as different stories emerge when focussing in on working women aged between 39 and 50 and working women with parents aged over 70. The former group tend to experience sharp reductions in their working hours if they also care for their parents; up to 15.5 hours per week depending on how many children they have, how old the children are and the level of support they provide to their parents. In the case of working mothers with older parents, i.e., aged over 70, there appears to be some economies of scale occurring.

Working mothers who provide support in one area of care to elderly parents tend to experience a synergistic offsetting of the reductions in hours relating to their caring; that is to say, these women tend to experience reductions relating to (a) childcaring and (b) eldercaring but one offsets the other by about one hour per week (although this slight abatement does little to offset the overall penalty experienced by these carers). However, when considering eldercaring in multiple areas of care these relationships disappear. It should be pointed out that data limitations did not enable a full analysis of the frequency and intensity of help given to parents. Additionally, methodological limitations did not allow for the use of childcare to be incorporated into the estimation models. Nonetheless, this research does offer some preliminary indications that sandwiched caring is a practice worthy of further investigation and policy attention. As society ages and women postpone childbirth, the demands on sandwiched carers may become more intense. My results suggest that sandwiched caring is already affecting some women now and only time will tell if this turns out to be a growing trend. Policy measures and support mechanisms should take into account that caring for children and elders at the same time is a unique caring situation and not decomposable to the issues of childcaring on the one hand and eldercaring on the other. These things need to be viewed in conjunction because 'conjunction' is a sandwiched carer's reality.

Focussing on the different types of care that adult daughters provide their non-co-resident parents, Chapter 3 sheds some light on class difference in the provision of support to elders. This builds on existing literature in this field by separately analysing support provided in eight specific areas, i.e., lifts in car, shopping, cooking, personal care, cleaning/laundry, personal affairs, gardening/DIY and financial

support. The results indicate class difference in some types of support and not others. Descriptive techniques to map the basic relationships between class and caring suggest that those in the routine class are less likely to provide help with lifts in car and more likely to provide help with cleaning/laundry than those in either the intermediate or professional/managerial class. This gives an account of 'who does what' but as social class is connected to many of the elements that facilitate caring, multivariate techniques are used to account for factors such as residential propinquity, car ownership, full/part-time working, and so on. These results also show the only forms of support to be patterned by social class to be lifts in car and cleaning/laundry: the routine class less likely than the intermediate class to provide help with the former and more likely than the intermediate class to provide help with the latter. To explore whether class differences occur differently at different residential distances from parents further analyses interacting class and distance reveal that the 'nearby' routine class are more likely to provide help with cleaning/laundry, shopping, personal care, personal affairs and lifts by car than those in the routine class who live at greater distances from their parents. The 'nearby' routine class also more likely than the 'nearby' intermediate class to provide help with personal care and cleaning/laundry, and more likely than the 'nearby' professional class to provide help with shopping. These results are again based on data that gives no account as to the frequency and intensity of caring so caution should be applied but these results give some credence to the notion that social class can be an issue in the caring of non-co-resident elder parents. Providing informal care is known to be linked to exits from the labour market (either partial or complete) and this can have dire consequences for carers' well-being, both financial and otherwise. My results imply that the routine class occupy a vulnerable position in how family care is socially organised. It would appear that they

are either drawn into the care of their parents by their geographical and class position, or simply that those who experience fewer opportunity costs in caring and live nearby are more willing to provide it. As the care requirement of an ageing society burgeons, it incumbent on all of us to find a socially just means of meeting the care needs of the elderly, not only because this will lead to a more equitable society but also because we rely on carers, and they need our support to keep caring. Perhaps for these reasons, carers have appeared on the radar of policy makers for some years now. However, the benefits of legislative changes and new policy initiatives have yet to filter through to carers on the ground in any meaningful way. More attention needs to be directed toward strengthening the rights of carers in society and in the workplace. It remains to be seen whether the proposed replacement of Carers' Allowance by Universal Credit will enhance the fortunes of individual carers but any policy objective designed to improve the financial support given to carers would be a step in the right direction.

In academic, policy and public debates the notion of a 'carer' refers to those looking after the sick, the elderly and the disabled. Yet, parents are also carers as they raise and care for the next generation of citizens. In parallel to their counterparts caring for the infirm and aged, the childcaring activities of parents (mainly mothers) emerged as an important area of policy interest at the end of the last century. By this time maternity provisions had long been a feature of the welfare state but only in 1994 did the right to job-protected maternity pay and leave become a universal right to all pregnant women, regardless of working hours and job tenure. The Labour Administration that got into government in 1997 set about introducing a range of

policies designed to reduce child poverty and encourage mothers (particular lone mothers) out of welfare dependency. Various initiatives raised the profile of difficulties associated with finding available, affordable and quality childcare in the UK. Whilst these policy interventions have undoubtedly moved us forward in terms of enabling mothers to combine work and family, there is still much to do. Parents in the UK still experience some of the most expensive childcare in Europe and debates regarding the quality of childcare providers rumble on. This situation provides the backdrop to Chapter 4 where I examine the time it takes for a mother to re-enter the workplace following the birth of her child relative to childcare usage and the family-friendliness of the workplace. Using the Millennium Cohort Survey I analyse the labour market behaviour of women having babies at the turn of the century up until their child is about 9 months old, by which time all entitlements to job-protected maternity pay and leave would have ceased. Looking at mothers who returned to work in this period, the findings suggest that informal childcare in the form of grandparents and husbands/partners are important for all returning mothers but particularly so for those who make the swiftest moves back into the workplace. Grandparents and husbands/partners also are important childcare providers for those who take longer to go back to work but these mothers tend to be more varied in their childcare use than earlier returners, with wider use of formal providers in the form of childminders and nurseries/crèches. Workplace culture also seems to be highly influential with mothers employed in male-oriented jobs tending to return more quickly, and various family-friendly policies of employers associated with complex mix of either slower or quicker returns depending on the type of support on offer. However, these results also reveal that employers tend not to offer a full range of family-friendly working practice and perhaps more concerning is that they tend to be

more accommodating to those in top jobs. Those towards the bottom of the occupational hierarchy tend to experience the double whammy of poorer employment rewards and less support with which to manage a work/life balance. Finally these results also highlight the strong relevance of statutory maternity pay and leave provisions for this group of women as patterns of return into work echo the time-related thresholds as they applied in 2000/01. However things have moved on since then and the current cohort of mothers benefit from much improved statutory provisions. One area of potentially illuminating future research would be to use the upcoming birth cohort study, Life Study, to analyse whether these changes have altered women's patterns of movement back into the workplace after childbirth. This could also chart whether employers in the 21st century have followed the lead of government in easing the challenges faced by their employees in combining family and work by becoming more family-friendly. Furthermore, in my analysis I focus on childcare use, not availability, as I do not have information on the kinds of childcare options available to the mothers in my sample which they did not use. This would also provide an interesting area for future research as this would afford a greater understanding of the childcare dilemmas that mothers face.

In summary, the main focus of this thesis has been to take a fresh look at the links between women's informal caring, labour market participation and social position by evaluating the simultaneous caring of elder parents and dependent children, i.e., sandwiched caring and the role of specific forms of employer support, childcare and filial care. In responding to the practical problems and equity issues inherent the challenges of ensuring that society manages to meet its care requirement in a way that does not come at the expense of any one sector of society, this work reveals that more

needs to be done, much more. Of course, more is being done as witnessed by the fervent policy activity in the areas of childcare and eldercare but these developments are chipping away at the edges rather than addressing the root cause. Unpaid caring is costly for those involved in providing it and these costs are not shared across society. Caring is a time-consuming, labour intensive activity and this makes it expensive but the burden is shouldered mainly by those who provide unpaid caring, all £119 billion of it per year according to Buckner and Yeandle (2011). If caring is gendered, and all the evidence suggests that it is, then women are disproportionately taking the load; and some women more than others. What is needed is a new way of thinking about informal care, one that takes a more joined-up approach to the care of the young *and* the elderly, one that involves a more inclusive remit by bringing men and employers into the heart of the debate, one centred on distributive justice to avoid any one sector of society doing more than their fair share. Reframing the issues of care in a joined-up, inclusive and just approach is crucial both for the individuals and society of today and tomorrow.

Mothers, Daughters and Workers

In overall conclusion, everyone knows how difficult it is to be in more than one place at once and this does much to explain the strained relationship between women's informal caring and labour market participation. It is little wonder that women who are actively and directly involved in providing care for their families experience limitations in their ability to operate in the world of paid work. For those women who manage to combine work and family to a degree of success, life can be a complicated round of juggling different roles in an attempt to be all things to all people. This research has thrown some light on to exactly what this means. Firstly,

the purview of the work/family balance extends beyond motherhood and has relevance for those with parents and children to care for. Most studies into the way in which the demands of the home and workplace are managed tend to focus on the experiences of either those with children to care for *or* those with adults to care for, however, I have considered the work/family balance in a innovative way by looking at the conjoint caring of children and elders. Furthermore, I find that the nexus between the roles of mother, daughter and worker is highly contingent on the specificity of what is involved in caring. Finally, I provide some evidence as to precisely who is providing care and that certain types of care can be characterised by inequality. This delineates the policy challenge. Determining how valuable current and prospective support mechanisms really are in terms of enabling women to achieve an equitable work/family balance is key to promoting social equality. Equally, an enduring empowerment of women to be economically active whilst caring for their families requires greater recognition of what 'care' actually is in all its diversity. The old problem of 'who' cares is still with us but there is also the wider question of 'when' and 'where'.

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