

Total Packages of Work: Women Living in Atlantic Canada Compared to the Rest of Canada

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Abstract

Atlantic Canadian women report significantly longer total hours of work (paid plus unpaid) than their sisters living elsewhere in Canada. We examine a variety of potential explanations, including demographic, economic, social/cultural and policy factors, highlighting the need for additional research on this issue.

Résumé

Les femmes du Canada atlantique rapportent des heures de travail considérablement plus longues (rémunérées et non rémunérées) que leurs soeurs qui résident ailleurs au Canada. Nous étudions une variété d'explications possibles y compris les facteurs démographiques, économiques, sociaux/culturels et de politiques, qui mettent en évidence le besoin de recherche additionnelle sur cette question.

As women have increased their paid work time over the past forty years, there has not been a one-for-one reduction in their unpaid work hours. Nor have men increased their share of unpaid work at the same rate as women have increased their share of paid work (GPI Atlantic 1998; Sirianni and Negrey 2000). Studies in a range of countries find men's domestic labour to be surprisingly inelastic in relation to either women's hours of paid work, or their relative wages (Daly and Rake 2003; Davies et al. 2000). While it is now the norm for both spouses to be in paid work, the long total hours of work associated with on-going unpaid work responsibilities (that is, the "double work day") can have negative consequences for women's current and future labour market outcomes (Harkness and Waldfogel 2003; Joshi et al. 1996; Phipps, Burton and Lethbridge 2001; Sirianni and Negrey 2000; Sigle-Rushton and Waldfogel 2004) as well as for women's current and future health status (Bird and Fremont 1991; MacDonald, Phipps and Lethbridge 2005; Wolfe and Haveman 1983).

We have conducted a regional comparison of women's "total packages" of work, including both paid and unpaid hours. Contrary to stereotypes of a slower pace of life in the Atlantic region, we find that women in Atlantic Canada do significantly more hours of work than their sisters elsewhere. Intriguingly, there is no regional difference in total hours of work for men. While labour market institutions regulate standard notions of a paid work week, the same is not true for an unpaid work week. There may be regional differences in "standards" of cleanliness, in attachment to

traditional gender roles or in the availability/affordability of market alternatives for unpaid work (for example, daycare and cleaning services); we know relatively little about how "malleable" hours of unpaid work may be. Some kinds of unpaid work must always be done, with no way that the hours involved can be "cut back" to accommodate paid work responsibilities (though it may be possible to pay someone else to do the hours for you). Infant care offers one example - it is not possible to reduce hours of infant care or to postpone it until next week (though paid child care is an option). Other kinds of unpaid work allow for some "corner cutting." Although a meal must be prepared, it is possible to open a tin of soup rather than to prepare something more elaborate; dusting can be delayed until the week-end.

Cross-sectional studies of work time show some reduction in unpaid work hours as paid hours increase, indicating some malleability in hours, though the trade-off is not one for one. For example, a British study found that each hour a married woman spends in market work is offset by a 25-minute reduction in housework (Davies et al. 2000, 231). Historical time-use trends paint a similar picture - women's unpaid hours have fallen significantly less than their labour market hours have increased (GPI Atlantic 1998; Sirianni and Negrey 2000). We know that women's leisure time is compromised as a result. We also know, as noted above, that husbands do not make up the lost unpaid work hours. We know less about whether the reduction in number of unpaid work hours is a reflection of increased efficiency (for example, getting the same job done with less effort because of new equipment such as a dishwasher); increased intensity of labour (getting the same job done by working harder, but at what cost to health?); a lowering of standards (not getting the same job done); or a change in life-style (eating out more often; using paid childcare). We know very little about the extent to which one woman's reduced unpaid work

becomes another's paid (employed cleaning services) or unpaid work (volunteer family babysitters).

We have compared total work hours performed in Atlantic Canada with those done in the rest of the country and in this paper investigate why total hours are longer for women (but not men) in the Atlantic region. Is the difference primarily in paid or unpaid hours? We are interested in the extent to which the longer hours reflect demographic factors (age, education, number of children), economic factors (such as differences in income levels and job options), cultural/social differences (cultural norms around gender roles; availability of paid supports; and availability of unpaid supports, such as caregiving by extended family), and policy differences (availability of childcare, for example). While, in the end, we cannot fully explain the regional difference, we move discussion forward by finding some factors which matter, eliminating others, and identifying potential directions for future research.

Data

The data used for our analysis is Cycle 12 of the 1998 Statistics Canada General Social Survey (GSS), a representative sample of 10,749 Canadians aged 15 and older (excluding residents of the Yukon, Northwest Territories or institutions). We focus on individuals aged 25 to 64 years, a sub-sample of 2,577 women (548 from Atlantic Canada) and 2,463 men (500 from Atlantic Canada).

In addition to asking about hours spent in paid work, the 1998 GSS asks about hours of housework, childcare and eldercare carried out each week. Housework includes any unpaid housework, yard work or home maintenance for members of the respondent's household, or others. Childcare hours are derived from the question: "Last week, how many hours did you spend looking after one or more of your own children or the children of others, without pay?" Childcare hours include: time when the respondent was

doing another activity while also looking after children; time when someone else was helping to look after the children; and time when the child was taking a nap. They do not include hours the child spent sleeping during the night or time when the child was at school, at a friend's or in organized activities. Elder care hours are derived from the question: "Last week, how many hours did you spend providing unpaid care or assistance to one or more seniors?" Note that we do not have an explicit measure of hours spent giving care to ill or disabled non-elderly family members (for example, caring for a spouse after surgery), though additional responsibilities for tasks such as cooking and cleaning would be captured.

In this section of the paper, we present a statistical overview of total work hours. The third section presents means and frequencies for potentially important correlates of work hours; the fourth section reports upon a multivariate analysis of the determinants of total work hours. A multivariate analysis is a statistical technique which allows us to isolate the importance of any particular correlate of women's total work hours (for example, family income) while controlling for the influence of other relevant factors (for example, number and age of children, marital status, education, et cetera).

Figure 1 illustrates our core finding. On average, women in Atlantic Canada report 83.9 total hours of work per week while women living elsewhere in Canada report 72.6 hours. Interestingly, the same regional gap is not apparent for men (who report, on average, 63 total hours of work per week regardless of the region in which they live). If we break down total work hours by category (see Figure 2), it is clear that women living in Atlantic Canada report fewer hours of paid work (23.5 versus 26.8), but many more hours of unpaid work (60.4 versus 45.8). Specifically, they report about 7 more hours of housework and about 7 more hours of childcare. There is little difference across the

regions in average number of hours of reported elder care. Clearly, differences in unpaid hours drive the overall difference in total work time.

Do Atlantic women do more total work regardless of paid work commitments? Figure 3 illustrates how total work hours vary for women with different paid work hours (see Table 2). In Atlantic Canada, women who work "full-time and full-year" in the paid labour market (that is, at least 30 hours per week and 50 weeks per year) report, on average, 87.5 total hours of work per week compared to "full-time/full-year" (FTFY) women in the rest of Canada who report 75.1 total hours. Women who have paid jobs, but work at them for less than "full-time and full-year" report, on average, 88.8 total hours of work per week in Atlantic Canada and 76.0 hours in the rest of Canada. Finally, women with no paid work report 72.9 total hours of unpaid work in Atlantic Canada and 62.6 hours in the rest of Canada. The gap in hours with the rest of Canada is remarkably consistent across these groups.

Total hours are highest for women with a "double work day" which combines both paid and unpaid responsibilities, though all averages are much higher than the standard "40 hour" work week. Women who work for pay "part-time and part-year" (PTPY), many of whom, paradoxically, may have chosen part-time paid work as a strategy for achieving "work/life balance" actually report slightly higher total hours than FTFT paid workers in both regions. However, in both regions, unpaid hours fall as paid hours increase. On average, women in Atlantic Canada who have FTFY paid jobs report only 1.2 times (not 2 times) as many total work hours as women without paid jobs (and exactly the same ratio holds for women in the rest of Canada). Finally, women in Atlantic Canada report longer total hours of work than women living elsewhere in Canada, regardless of their paid work category. As can be seen in Figure 3, hours of paid work are more

similar than hours of unpaid work, in each paid work category. Regional differences in work hours are much smaller for men, especially for full-time full-year paid workers, the norm for men in both regions.

Why Do Women in Atlantic Canada Work Longer Hours?

Regional differences in total work hours may be the result of differences in characteristics (for example, the percentage of women with a university education) and/or of differences in the number of hours worked by a woman with any given set of characteristics (for example, women with university educations may work longer hours in the Atlantic provinces). This section examines regional differences in the characteristics of women which might help to explain the long total work hours of Atlantic Canadian women.

Since women living in Atlantic Canada reported about 7 more hours of childcare per week than women living elsewhere, we might expect differences in the number of children to be part of the explanation. However, it is clear from Table 1 that there is no real difference in the percentage of women with any children present in the household (59% in the Atlantic and 57% elsewhere). The average number of children present is also very similar and the percentage of women with very young children (aged 0 to 4 years) is actually lower in Atlantic Canada (15.0% compared to 16.9%). Thus, differences in responsibilities for one's own children cannot be the key. However, there may be important differences in the amount of unpaid childcare provided for other people's children. Note that the question in our data set includes unpaid care of "your own children or the children of others."

One of the many good things about Atlantic Canada is that people have strong connections to family and community. Having a mother, sister or friend nearby to help care for an ill child who cannot go to school or daycare is a wonderful form of support for

parents with paid jobs. Paradoxically, however, this could at the same time be a factor which helps to explain the longer total work hours for Atlantic Canadian women. That is, having "social support" means that someone is there to help when you need help, but if you are the person "helping," this increases your total work hours. The GSS data suggest that this form of social support may be more common in Atlantic Canada than elsewhere. For example, in Atlantic Canada, 33.8% of women with no children currently living at home nonetheless report positive hours of childcare compared to 27.4% of women living elsewhere in the country. For those "childless" women who report doing childcare, the average weekly hours reported is 17.9 in Atlantic Canada and 14.4 in the rest of the country. This is not to suggest that women with children of their own do not also help out with a sister or neighbour's children, but it is not possible to separate care for one's own versus care for another's children. Note that Atlantic Canadian men without children are also markedly more likely to report doing childcare: 32.8% compared to 21.0%. A related point is that Atlantic Canadian women are more likely to report doing volunteer work (41.7% compared to 36.8% in the rest of the country). This is also true for Atlantic Canadian men (42.4% report volunteering compared to 34.2% in the rest of Canada).

While there is no apparent difference between regions in number and ages of children, Atlantic Canadian women are more likely to report doing some elder care than women in the rest of the country (29.9% compared to 25.9%). Also, they are more likely to be members of the "sandwich generation" who report both childcare and elder care (19.2% in Atlantic Canada and 14.6% elsewhere). More hours of eldercare responsibilities could be related to the smaller geographic areas of Atlantic provinces (for example, if driving distances are short enough to make week-end visits feasible, people may make more frequent visits to

help elderly parents and hence report higher hours). Higher hours of eldercare could also be related to a less mobile population. Men living in Atlantic Canada are also more likely to report doing some eldercare than men living elsewhere (26.2% compared to 20.9%); they are also more likely to be members of the "sandwich generation" (15.2% compared to 10.1%).

Differences in average education levels between Atlantic Canada and the rest of the country could play a role, other things being equal. For example, women with higher levels of education may expect/demand their husbands to help out more around the house. Or, women with higher levels of education may worry less about having a tidy house because they are less accepting of traditional female roles and hence do not believe that an untidy house reflects badly on a woman. Alternatively, women with more education may be particularly able and thus more efficient at all tasks, paid or unpaid. Finally, since higher education is correlated with higher income, women with more education may have greater access to labour-saving devices and/or more paid help.

Note, however, that higher education is also associated with higher labour force participation, so any reduction in unpaid work associated with higher education may be offset by increases in paid work. There are significant differences in levels of education between the regions: for both women and men, having less than a high-school level of education is more common in the Atlantic region, while having a university level of education is more common elsewhere in Canada (see Table I).

Owning a home is a "good thing," but one which may increase total hours of work, both because there are more rooms to clean in a typical house than a typical apartment and because home ownership brings with it the responsibility to fix problems one's self rather than leave them for one's landlord. Rates of

home ownership are somewhat higher in Atlantic Canada (78.6) than in the rest of Canada (72.9).

Another potentially important factor could be that women in Atlantic Canada do not have to travel so far to their paid jobs and hence have more time to spend on their unpaid work. Using information in the time diary component of the GSS, we find that average daily commuting time for women who do some paid work is 23.2 minutes per day in Atlantic Canada compared to 27.5 minutes per day in the rest of Canada. (Daily commutes are longer for men, although, as with total hours, there is again no regional difference: 34.1 minutes per day in Atlantic Canada compared to 34.6 minutes per day in the rest of the country.)

If having a chronic health problem means that it takes longer to do any given work task, then more chronic health problems in the Atlantic region could help to explain differences in total work hours. Health limitations would also be expected to curtail paid work hours. (Note that the direction of causality is far from obvious here. Longer work hours - paid or unpaid - also mean a higher probability of developing chronic health problems.) Table I shows that 18.6% percent of Atlantic Canadian women report a chronic health problem compared to 14.4 percent of women elsewhere. Even larger regional differences are apparent for men (19.2% compared to 10.4%).

The seasonal nature of work in Atlantic Canada is often noted as a distinguishing feature of the region. However, it does not seem to be the case that a coincidence of conducting interviews in Atlantic Canada in a month when seasonal work was particularly high can explain the regional difference apparent in women's total work hours. Interviews were conducted every month from February 1998 to January 1999, inclusive, with roughly equal numbers in each month in each region. Although this does not seem to be an important

factor, we do control for the month during which the interview occurred in all multivariate analyses.

Consider, finally, differences in socioeconomic status across the regions. As indicated in Table 1, poverty rates are much higher in Atlantic Canada than in the rest of the country. In our sample, 23.3% of women have low incomes compared to 13.3% in the rest of Canada. If having a low income means you have to do everything the hard way (for example, bring groceries home on the bus), then more poverty in the Atlantic region could help to explain regional differences in women's total work hours. Conversely, if you are particularly affluent, you may be able to pay a cleaner to do some of your chores and hence reduce your total work hours. In Atlantic Canada, only 3.4% of women live in households with more than \$100,000 of income compared to 12.0% in the rest of the country (6.6% of men in Atlantic Canada report income over \$100,000 compared to 15.7% elsewhere).

A number of other factors are likely to play a role, but, unfortunately, cannot be examined in this paper due to lack of information in the 1998 GSS. Perhaps the most important of these is that residence in a rural area may be associated with longer total hours of work if, for example, women have gardens to tend as well as paid work to do, children and elders to care for, and so on. Since the GSS does not identify rural residence, all we can do is distinguish women who live in Canada's largest urban centres (Montreal, Toronto, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver). These urban women do report somewhat lower hours than their less urban counterparts in the rest of Canada (67.8 versus 71.8). However, "non-urban" women in the rest of Canada still report many fewer hours than Atlantic Canadian women (71.8 compared to 79.1).

In this section we have focused on possible differences in characteristics of women in Atlantic Canada compared to the rest of Canada. We are also interested in factors which might account for differences

in hours worked by Atlantic women compared to their sisters with similar characteristics elsewhere in the country. These include the policy environment, social factors, and gender role norms, as noted earlier. For example, there may be higher standards of housework in Atlantic Canada, or more traditional attitudes about appropriate gender roles. We do not have direct measures of attitudes toward gender roles in the 1998 GSS; rather they will be inferred from the size and significance of the coefficients on the set of Atlantic categorical variables in the multivariate analysis.

Multivariate Analysis

Table 2 presents ordinary least squares regressions¹ in which total reported work is the dependent variable and explanatory variables include most of those discussed in the previous section. We also carried out regressions, but do not report results, separately for workers by paid work status, since the basic story is essentially the same. Note that we have also tested and find that it is appropriate to use the same model of the determinants of total work in both regions. That is, characteristics have the same relationship with total work hours in each region.

What, then, are the key associations between respondent characteristics and total reported hours of work? First, it is clear that having care-giving responsibilities either for one's own children, the children of others or for elders is associated with a much larger "total package of work," controlling for paid work status. It is also clear that there are important gender differences in the correlates of total hours of work, particularly with respect to the association between total work hours and having children of one's own.

The presence of children, particularly younger children, has the largest association with total work hours, controlling for paid work status. To work out the implications of different combinations of number and

age of children, we have to refer to coefficients estimated for both the set of "age of child categorical variables" and the "number of children" variable. Thus, for example, having one child aged 0 to 4 years is associated with women reporting $36.1 + 1 \times 10.7 = 46.8$ more total hours, all else equal. Having one child aged 5 to 12 years is associated with $19.2 + 10.7 = 29.9$ additional hours; having two children aged 5 to 12 is associated with $19.2 + 2(10.7) = 40.6$ additional hours. Having one child aged 19 to 24 years in the household has effectively no impact on total hours ($-10.5 + 10.7$). For men, having a young child is also associated with more total work hours, but the magnitude of the association is smaller. For example, having one child aged 0 to 4 years is associated with an additional $11.8 + 5.9 = 17.7$ hours; having one child aged 5 to 12 is associated with an additional $8.2 + 5.9 = 14.1$ hours.

Women without children of their own currently living with them but who nonetheless report some hours of childcare report, other things being equal, 12.5 more hours of total work; men in the equivalent situation report 13.5 more hours of work than otherwise similar men. Women who report any eldercare report, other things being equal, 9.9 more hours; men reporting any eldercare report 7.2 more total hours of work. Clear lifecycle patterns in total hours of work are apparent. While there is no discernible difference in total hours of work for women and men aged 25 to 34 compared to women and men aged 35 to 44, total hours are lower for women aged 45 to 54 than for those aged 35 to 44 (by 4.9 hours per week). For both men and women, total hours of work are much lower for those aged 55 to 64 than for those aged 35 to 44 (12 hours lower for women; 8.5 hours lower for men). This is presumably picking up early retirements; for women, it may additionally be picking up a reduction in their own child-related caregiving responsibilities.

In addition to caregiving responsibilities, the other most important factor is the composition of the total work package (that is, does it include a full-time, full-year paid job). Women who work full-time/full year report 19 more hours of work, in total, than women not in the labour force; women who work part-time or part-year report 10.8 more hours than those not in the labour force.

Understanding associations between income and total work hours is a tricky business, since low paid hours are likely to mean low income; yet, low income, by potentially limiting ways of buying time through convenience, can increase total unpaid work time. In the results for "all women" presented in Table 2, low-income status is not statistically significant. However, in a regression (not shown here) which holds total paid work time fixed by looking only at full-time/full-year paid workers, low-income status is associated with 8.5 additional total hours for women (there is no association for male full-time/full-year paid workers).

Some other variables hypothesized to have a relationship with total hours of work are also statistically significant, though the magnitude of each of these relationships is smaller than those discussed above. First, owning your own home is associated with 3.8 more hours for women, 2.6 more hours for men. While men traditionally do more home maintenance/repairs, these occur at irregular intervals and do not boost average hours as much as the traditional female tasks (for example, cleaning) associated with larger houses. Having to commute further to paid work is associated with less total reported work time, but the size of the association is very small. For women, an additional 10 minutes per day of commuting is associated with about 1/2 hour less total work per week though one could argue that commuting should be considered part of work time. For men, there is no association. Women with higher levels of education do, other things being equal, somewhat fewer hours of work (for example, 2.8

hours per week for those with a university degree); there is no relationship with education for men. Marital status, immigrant status, residence in a census metropolitan area, volunteer hours and activity limitations were all insignificant. Seasonal variables were relatively unimportant.

In the end, however, what is particularly relevant for this paper is that we cannot reject the hypothesis that, for women, the Atlantic region categorical variable is statistically significant; even after controlling for a large number of potentially relevant factors, women in Atlantic Canada report 11.7 more hours of work than women living elsewhere in Canada. There is no statistically significant difference in total hours of work for men living in Atlantic Canada compared to men living elsewhere in Canada.

Discussion/Conclusions

Our goals have been to point out the importance of "total packages of work," to demonstrate that women living in Atlantic Canada work particularly long hours and to begin to look for an explanation for this finding. We have not entirely solved the mystery, although we have ruled out some possible explanations and identified others worthy of future research. For example, using the 1998 public use GSS, we cannot adequately control for urban/rural status though we know that Atlantic Canada is a particularly rural region and there are reasons to believe that unpaid work hours could be particularly high for those living in rural areas. Future research could investigate this possible explanation.

We were also unable to analyse fully the importance of differences in gender-role attitudes across the regions. A preliminary look at an earlier cycle of the GSS suggests some plausibility for the hypothesis that attitudes about gender roles differ across the regions. The 1995 GSS asked respondents whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement: "Keeping house

is just as fulfilling as working" (but did not ask about their hours of unpaid work). Figure 4 illustrates that 67.2% of Atlantic women (aged 25 to 64) agreed or strongly agreed with this statement compared to 61.5% in the rest of Canada. Men in Atlantic Canada are also more likely to agree that "keeping house is just as fulfilling as working" (66.2% compared to 61.5% of men living elsewhere in the country). On the other hand, there is no difference across the regions in the percentage of women who agree or strongly agree that "raising children is not a man's responsibility" (about 5% in both cases) and there are more men outside the region who believe raising children is not a man's responsibility (8.0% compared to 5.9%). Attitudes about gender roles are multi-dimensional; sorting out links with the sharing of paid and unpaid work seems an important but complicated direction for future research on this question, one which might be particularly amenable to qualitative techniques.

Finally, the limited evidence which we have been able to provide suggests that Atlantic Canadian women (and men) may do more hours of work as part of extended systems of social support. Notice, however, that if providing social support is an important factor in explaining higher reported total work packages in Atlantic Canada, but social support is reciprocally extended/received, then we cannot conclude that women in Atlantic Canada are "worse off" than those living elsewhere. Similarly, the higher "work" associated with shorter commuting times in Atlantic Canada may also not be all bad if, for example, women spend extra time with their kids rather than in their cars.

Since many of the same arguments made to explain why Atlantic Canadian women have longer work hours should also pertain to men, it is curious that there is absolutely no regional difference for men. What does this tell us about the process of gender allocation of work time? While this paper has focused particularly on explaining regional differences in total packages of

work, we hope that the discussion helps to illuminate the more general question of how total packages of work are allocated. We have commented earlier on the general finding across a range of countries that men's domestic labour time is highly inelastic. It is conceivable that male norms are more constant across regions compared to female norms. This may reflect the different nature of traditional male and female areas of responsibility - for example, the time it takes to mow a lawn seems to be quite predictable compared to the time it takes to clean a house, as standards of cleanliness are highly variable (in rural Nova Scotia many women "run the vacuum" at least once a day). The ability of women to reduce their unpaid work hours may depend more on available market substitutes (daycare, cleaning service providers) and supportive public policies, than on men's willingness to pitch in - and these may be in short supply in Atlantic Canada compared to the rest of the country. Family supports may offset this to some extent, but the work does not go away - it just shifts from one woman to another.

Endnote

1. An ordinary least squares regression chooses intercept and slope coefficients by minimizing the sum of squared deviations between actual and fitted values. Intuitively, if we are trying to estimate the relationship between two variables, x and y , ordinary least squares regression chooses the slope and intercept of the line which "goes through the middle" of the plotted data.

Table I
Mean Values of Control Variables in Atlantic Canada and the Rest of Canada

| | Females | | Males | |
|--|------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| | Atlantic Canada | Rest of Canada | Atlantic Canada | Rest of Canada |
| 25-34 Years | 28.4 | 29.1 | 27.4 | 27.8 |
| 35-44 Years | 33.0 | 33.2 | 33.4 | 33.5 |
| 45-54 Years | 24.5 | 24.0 | 24.1 | 25.7 |
| 55-64 Years | 14.1 | 13.7 | 15.1 | 13.1 |
| Any Children | 59.1 | 57 | 54.8 | 50.2 |
| Children 0-4 Years | 15.0 | 16.9 | 14.3 | 17.8 |
| Children 5-12 Years | 29.8 | 29.2 | 27.3 | 24.8 |
| Children 13-18 Years | 23.7 | 21.8 | 24.3 | 17.5 |
| Children 19-24Years | 10.9 | 11.7 | 12.8 | 8.9 |
| Number of Children < 25 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1 |
| No Children/Performs Childcare | 33.8 (N= 250) | 27.4 (N= 975) | 32.8 (N=247) | 21.0 (N= 1126) |
| Hrs of Childcare Per Week if no Children (>0) | 17.9 (N=72) | 14.4 (N=264) | 11.0 (N=79) | 14.1 (N=241) |
| Any Volunteer Work | 41.7 | 36.8 | 42.4 | 34.2 |
| Volunteer Hrs Per Month (>0) | 13.1 (N= 223) | 14.2 (N=764) | 13.8 (N=213) | 12.9 (N= 701) |
| Any Elder Care | 29.9 | 25.9 | 26.2 | 20.9 |
| Elder Care Hrs Per Week (>0) | 7.8 (N=159) | 8.2 (N=512) | 6.4 (N=126) | 6.2 (N=401) |
| Single | 26.1 | 24.4 | 15.5 | 24.1 |
| Sandwich (Child and Elder Care) | 19.2 | 14.6 | 15.2 | 10.1 |
| Less Than High School Certificate/Diploma | 20.4 | 15.8 | 21.4 | 16.5 |
| University Degree | 31.8 | 26.1 | 29.8 | 23.2 |
| Own Home | 17.4 | 22.1 | 20.9 | 27.7 |
| Minutes of Commuting Per Day (Some Paid Work) | 78.6 | 72.9 | 82.7 | 73.6 |
| Activity Limitation | 23.2 (N=356) | 27.5 (N=1479) | 34.1 (N=394) | 34.6 (N=1740) |
| Not Born in Canada | 18.6 | 14.4 | 19.2 | 10.4 |
| Low Income | 2.6 | 18.4 | 5.2 | 21.9 |
| High Income (>\$100,000 per year) | 23.3 | 13.3 | 14.6 | 8.8 |
| Observations | 3.4 | 12 | 6.6 | 15.7 |
| | 548 | 2029 | 500 | 1963 |

Table 2
Ordinary Least Square Regression Results

| | Females | Males |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|
| Lives In Atlantic Canada | 11.693* (2.162) | 1.615 (1.649) |
| 25-34 Years | -1.942 (1.728) | 0.124 (1.273) |
| 45-54 Years | -4.957* (1.814) | -1.979 (1.310) |
| 55-64 Years | -12.122* (2.353) | -8.506* (1.775) |
| Single | -1.955 (1.562) | -1.780 (1.270) |
| Children 0-4 Years | 36.113* (2.366) | 11.820* (1.828) |
| Children 5-12 Years | 19.208* (2.339) | 8.151* (1.880) |
| Children 13-18 Years | -4.614** (2.258) | -2.655 (1.730) |
| Children 19-24Years | -10.541* (2.497) | -4.487** (2.018) |
| Number of Children < 25 | 10.733* (1.350) | 5.932* (1.017) |
| No Children/Performs Childcare | 12.472* (2.056) | 13.545* (1.559) |
| Any Volunteer Work | -0.020 (0.049) | 0.030 (0.044) |
| Any Elder Care | 9.933* (1.404) | 7.150* (1.134) |
| Less Than High School | -0.381 (1.903) | 1.905 (1.408) |
| Certificate/Diploma | -3.165** (1.568) | 1.518 (1.245) |
| University Degree | -2.846*** (1.693) | -1.408 (1.216) |
| Own Home | 3.839** (1.554) | 2.597** (1.136) |
| Minutes of Commuting Per Day | -0.056* (0.019) | -0.005 (0.010) |
| Activity Limitation | -0.760 (1.777) | 0.010 (1.559) |
| Not Born in Canada | -1.161 (1.658) | -2.145*** (1.171) |
| Low Income | 2.392 (1.991) | -3.198*** (1.789) |
| Works Full Time/Full Year | 19.020* (1.879) | 34.152* (2.226) |
| Works Part Time | 10.808* (1.876) | 21.775* (2.271) |
| Intercept | 39.200* (3.381) | 23.484* (3.094) |
| Observations | 2577 | 2463 |
| Adjusted R-Squared | 0.4631 | 0.3699 |
| Note: Standard Errors in Parenthesis | | |
| *Statistically Significant with 99% confidence | | |
| **Statistically Significant with 95% confidence | | |
| ***Statistically Significant with 90% confidence | | |

Figure 1
Average Hours - Atlantic vs Rest of Canada
Women and Men Ages 25-64

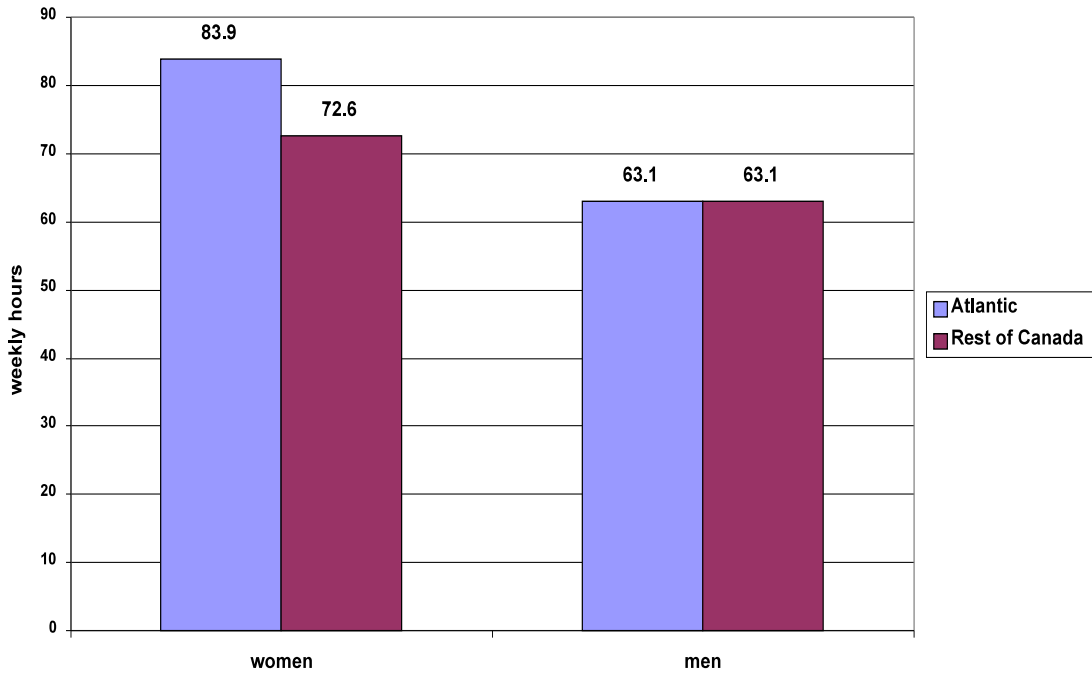


Figure 2
Average Paid and Unpaid Hours - Atlantic vs Rest of Canada
Women Ages 25-64

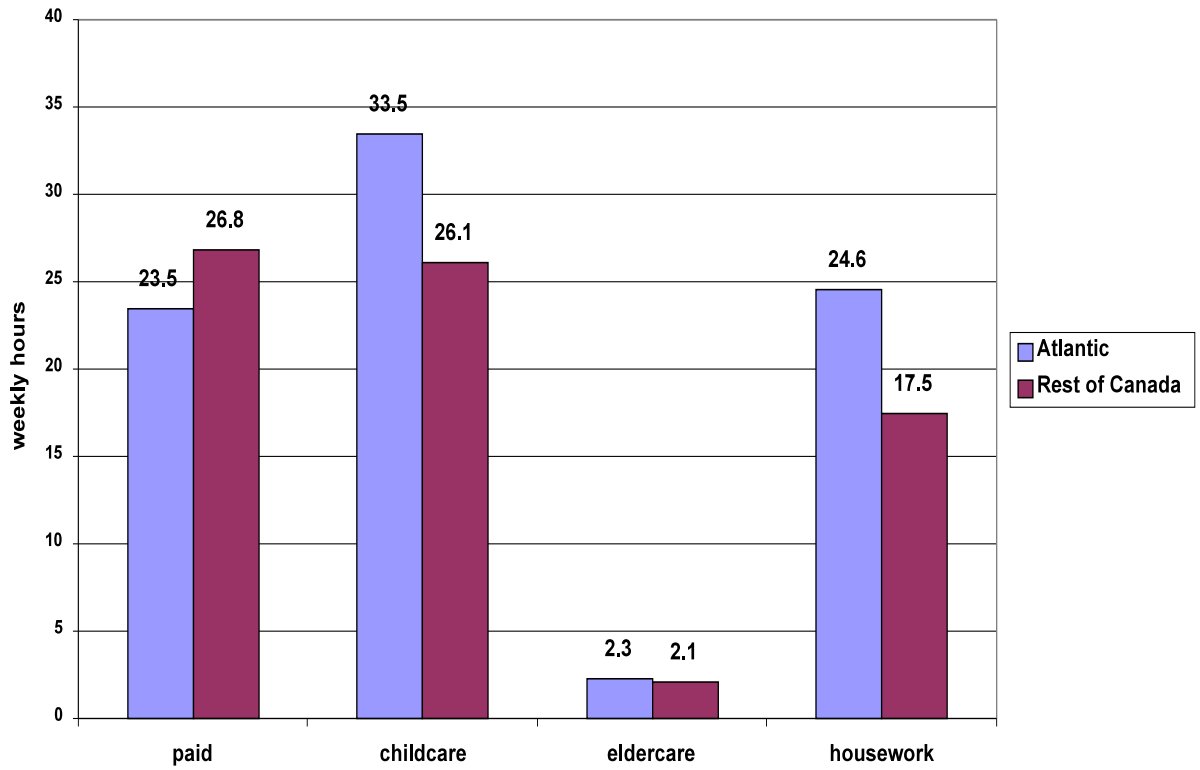


Figure 3
Average Total Hours - Atlantic vs. Rest of Canada by Labour Force Status
Women Ages 25-64

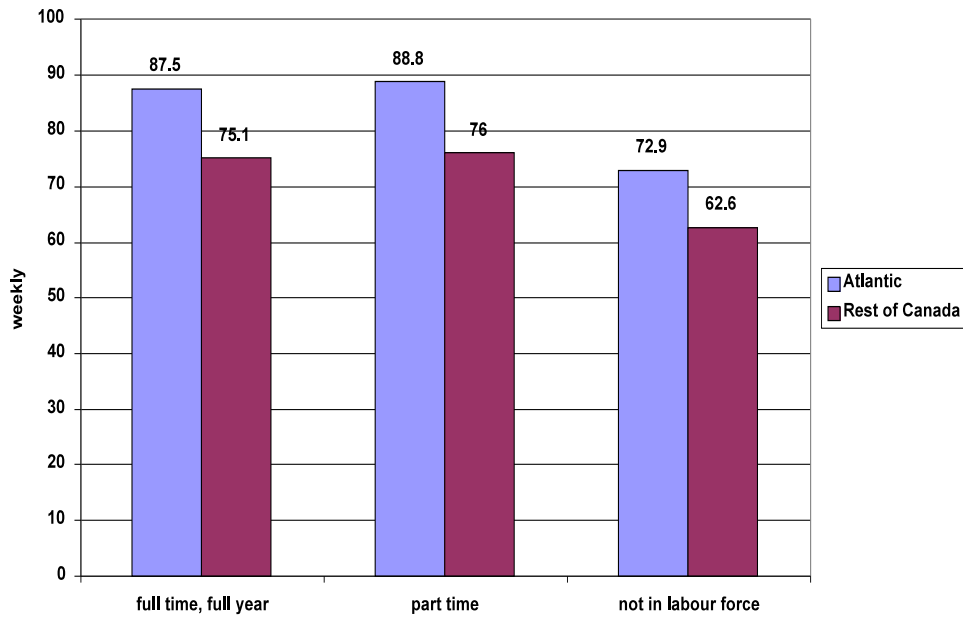


Figure 4a
Response to the question "Keeping house is just as fulfilling as working"
Atlantic vs Rest of Canada
Women 25-64

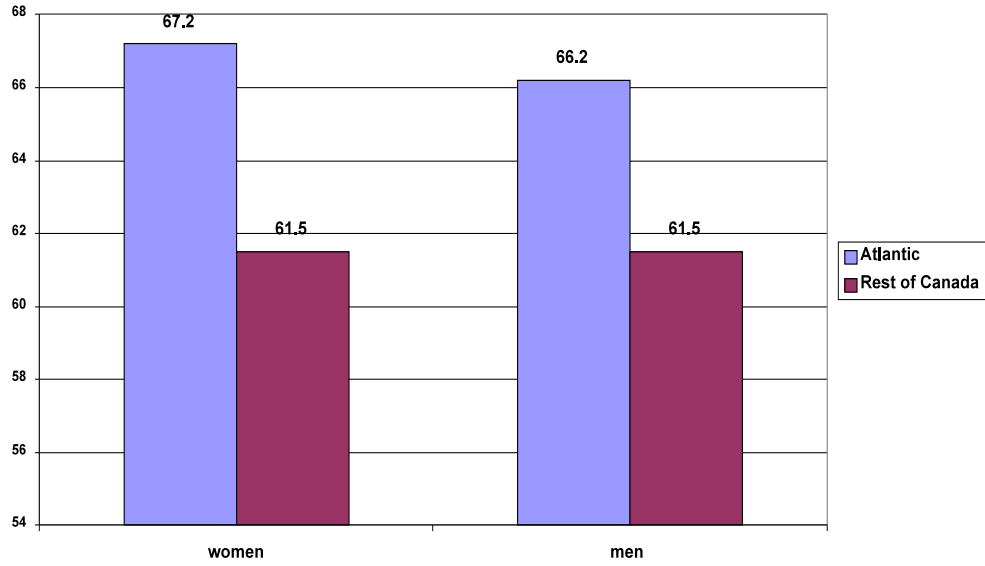
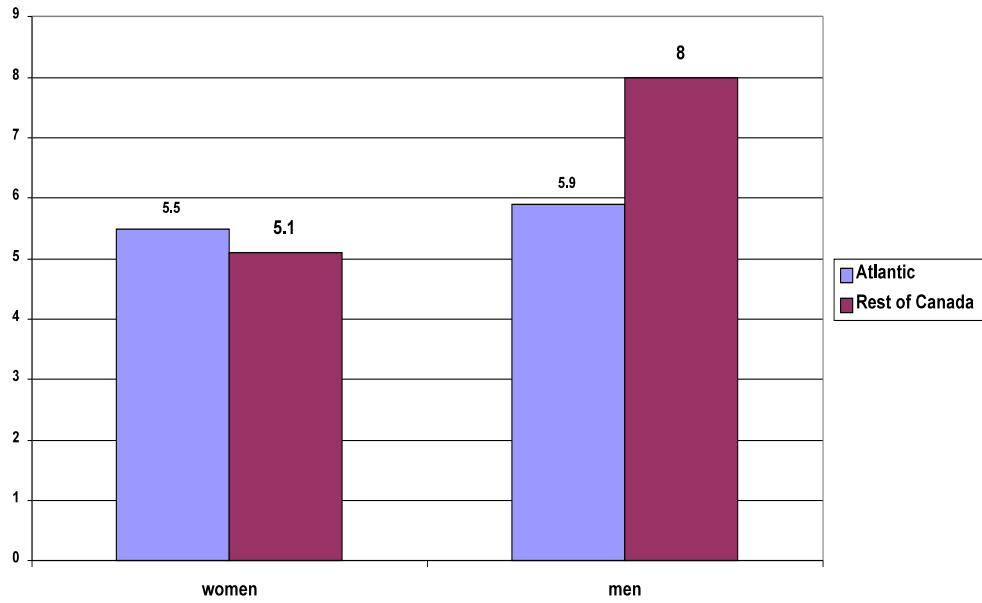


Figure 4b
Response to "Raising Children is not a Man's Responsibility"
Atlantic vs. Rest of Canada
Men 25-64



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