

OLDER WOMEN VOLUNTEERS: EXPLORING INDIVIDUAL, FAMILY AND  
SOCIAL FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THEIR WORK

BY

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A Thesis submitted to  
the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Family Social Sciences  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

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## Abstract

Canadian statistics demonstrate that many older women remain productive in their later years (Statistics Canada, 1999). Links are made between their labour and the sociological conditions outlined by socialist feminist theory regarding women, family and labour.

Findings from analysis of Statistics Canada data on unpaid work illustrate that time spent in volunteer work was influenced by health status, but not by age group, marital status or income group. The reverse was found with care work: time spent doing care work was influenced by age group, marital status and income group, but not by health status. The number of women involved in care work was also influenced by the same three variables of age, marital status and income. The number of women involved in volunteer work was not significantly influenced by age group, marital status, income group or health status. Using an ANCOVA analysis, 35 % of the variability in time spent on care work was predicted by using the variables: age, marital status, income and health status ( $p=0.04$ ).

Interviews were performed with ten women currently doing volunteer and other unpaid work. Several themes emerged from the interviews: “the gendered division of labour in family and society”, “resources needed to do volunteer work (income, health and transportation autonomy)”, “family and grandchildren”, “church work”, “continuity”, “social connections”, “personal satisfaction”, “replacement”, and “keeping busy...but not too busy”. The application of a materialist feminist theory and of continuity theory to older women’s labour appears to be a unique contribution to literature in the areas of older women and volunteerism. KEY WORDS: women, aging, volunteer, unpaid work, socialist feminism, time use charts.

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As a graduate student, I worked as a Research Assistant for Dr. Jason Brown. He also extended support and valuable advice as I went through the steps of incorporating both qualitative and quantitative paradigms into this project. Thank you for helping me to gain perspective on my research ideas and reminding me to keep my sense of humour – *even* regarding the serious task of a thesis project.

Without the loving support of my wonderful partner Chris, I don't know how I would have finished my M.Sc. He never tired of hearing about socialist feminist theory and women's work and was my sounding board many nights as I thought aloud about older women and their unpaid work. I also thank my mom for her support and love.

Older Women Volunteers: Exploring Individual, Family and Social Factors that Influence  
their Unpaid Work

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

There is little doubt that volunteers often perform essential work in schools, hospitals, museums, and other non-profit organizations. Fundraising, mentorship, care giving, educating and organizing are some of the important activities conducted by volunteers in the social agencies and social institutions that serve families and communities. Many older women, upon retirement, put their time and energy into volunteering. A headline from a recent newspaper is a good example of the way in which the affective, or emotional side of their volunteer work tends to be the focus, to the exclusion of more macro-level analysis of this work and its economic role in society: "Volunteering a Labour of Love" (National Post, 2003). The article features the experience of a middle-age woman who contributes her time and energy to the Diabetes Foundation of Canada; as a volunteer at the agency, she provides support and education about diabetes. The article describes her, and other volunteers, as providing a "labour of love" and being "dedicated" to "making a difference" in the lives of others.

The writer of this thesis assumes that the emotional and psychological benefits of volunteer work are only one component of women's volunteerism and other unpaid work. Volunteer work plays an economic role in our society. It also requires certain resources from the volunteer.

This research explored the unpaid labour of women volunteers age 65 or older. Specifically, the question asked in this project was: What factors influence older women's unpaid work? Unpaid work included volunteering, baking and knitting for charity, caring for grandchildren, caring for ill husbands and visiting socially isolated friends and

relatives. From an economic perspective, these activities are termed unpaid work. They are productive activities, many can be replaced in the market place with paid labour, and they contribute to the formal (paid) economy. The activities in which older women engage that contribute to the social and economic systems can be viewed from many angles. Many people, including the women themselves, often view this work as part of “family,” “care,” “love and marriage,” “helping out” or as work done within a reciprocity framework in a family or community. This project was informed by framing these activities as economic in order to support current literature on the productive nature of many older women’s lives.

As our population continues to age, women’s experiences into their later years are timely and important topics of investigation by social researchers. Researchers cite the ways in which older women continue to be marginalized, both in society and in social research (Garner, 1999; Gibson, 1996; Olson, 1988)

In this project, quantitative data analysis was used to explore older women’s unpaid work using Statistics Canada data. Qualitative research methods imparted further understanding on the individual, familial and social contexts of older women’s unpaid work. With an awareness of societal class, age and gender relations, I address the gap in literature regarding older women on how social conditions influence unpaid work.

Unpaid work such as volunteering for organizations has not been explored in depth with qualitative research methods. Specifically, gaps exist in knowledge about the factors that influence this work. How do economic conditions play a role in shaping older women’s connections to volunteer activities?

The dominant literature on unpaid work tends to focus on the lives of women in their middle years – those raising children and doing the most paid and unpaid work of all

age groups of women. Theory and policy that responds to those women may or may not relate to older women who have different economic and social contexts. This project addressed discussion in the current literature regarding the need for more qualitative research on the diversity among lived experiences of older women, while also contributing to the body of research and policy advocacy regarding making older women's contributions to society more visible to others. I also address stereotypes of sexism, classism and ageism by employing a critical examination of the lives and contributions of older women volunteers.

### *Theoretical Positions*

#### *Feminist Theories*

Both feminist theories and feminist research methods were used to design this research project. Feminism is "an analysis of women's subordination for the purpose of figuring out how to change it" (Gordon, 1979, p.107). As a theory it is "a particular way of understanding patriarchy and the possibilities of change" (Weedon, 1997). Feminist theory takes gender as a basic category of analysis, which has contributed in important ways to other theories such as those of families (Thorne, 1982). A researcher that is at once merging feminist theories with feminist methods and methodologies can be said to be doing feminist praxis (Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

Osmond and Thorne (1993) describe the following as central themes in feminist scholarship as it relates to family studies: First, gender is a "basic organizing concept" (p.593) and gendered experiences or "relations" (p. 593) are analysed while acknowledging their place in a specific socio-cultural and historical context. Within feminism, women's and girls' experiences are taken as central, normal and valid. Gender analyses are not limited to inquiry at the level of the individual but also include awareness

of the macro-socio-cultural context (p.593). Basically, feminist theory provides a theoretical understanding of how an individual woman's life (including paid and unpaid labour) is influenced by specific systems of power relations: sexual, economic, racial and cultural. These power relations are at play within a woman's family and community as well as within the society in which she belongs.

Aspects of feminist theory important to this project include making women's experiences central in the research and working to validate women's experiences--especially women who are marginalized by ageism. The methodology used the triangulation of more than one approach to the research question. This project was critical in nature in that there are efforts not to reproduce oppressive assumptions regarding others. Feminist theory can be seen throughout this project through my awareness of my subject position. The term subject position is used to refer to the fact that experiences of the researcher are validated as part of the research, not outside of it (Ristock & Pennell, 1996). This is further discussed in the section Subject Location (p. 10).

*Socialist Feminist Theory.* Socialist feminism merged propositions and concepts of feminism (the current world is patriarchal in nature and as such, women are oppressed) with socialist theories of capitalism (capitalism organizes people so that some are advantaged, while others are disadvantaged). As discussed in the following sections, these two perspectives were merged in order to create a theory that would describe the material conditions of women's lives. The power relations within a capitalist patriarchy privilege two categories: males and upper class people. Socialist feminists contend that in a capitalist patriarchy women are oppressed by both systems. However, a socialist feminist analysis of power relations also provides insight into the ways in which some women access higher social status via the social status of their male partners or family members

(i.e. fathers, brothers). Therefore, not all women occupy the same social location within this system of power relations. This understanding provides the basic theoretical perspective from which older women's labour was analysed in the present study.

There are three writers who are historically important in the development of socialist feminist theory: Benston, (1969), Mitchell, (1971) and Hartmann (1981). These early works, along with those of other feminists, shaped what is now referred to as "the domestic labour debates" (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1985; Vogel, 2000). These were theoretical debates that highlighted the historical development of that labour which occurred outside the market (Vogel, 2000). The goal was to establish theoretical links between this labour and the formal (capitalist) economy. Women's work in the private sphere of the home was contrasted with men's work in the public spheres of politics and economy. Feminists began to look theoretically at what is now referred to as the public / private division of labour.

To do this theorizing, feminists were often referring to writings of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels; however, their work was said to be more than simply an improvement on Marx and Engels (Tong, 1, 1998). "...More than the borrowing of concepts" (Osmond & Thorne, 1993, p. 597) it was the *reworking* of socialism to address gaps left by inattention to gender. Feminists wanted to make visible and incorporate the additional labour that maintains and replaces workers in capitalist society, an aspect of society that Marx did not factor into his theory of capitalism (Vogel, 2000).

As a template, concepts borne of socialist feminist theorizing can be seen today in discussions regarding women's work and the family (i.e. domestic labour, reproductive labour) (Vogel, 2000). These theoretical concepts have been used outside of feminist / women's studies in disciplines such as family studies (Thompson & Walker, 1995) and

gerontology (Browne 1998; Calasanti & Zajicek, 1993). The focus of early socialist feminists on women's (unpaid) work in the home has progressed. The desire to have this work quantified and qualified by the formal political and economic system continues today in the work of agencies such as Status of Women Canada (see Bakker, 1998 for example). The influence on dominant institutions can be seen in the incorporation of survey and census questions on unpaid work by Statistics Canada (1995). Socialist feminist theorizing propelled the theory and practice of re-framing the work of a "housewife" as work. Socialist feminism can be used as a theory of the family because its concepts and propositions intimately link women to the family and the family to the larger political / economic structure. The socialist feminist lens highlights the importance of the unpaid labour older women contribute to families and communities. Socialist feminism created space for theory that conceptualizes women's work, most of which was done within the context of the family, as productive labour. It has linked the work done in the private household directly to the public sphere. From this perspective, theorists have asserted that the family has often been the site of women's oppression (Cheal, 1991; Holmstrom, 2003; Mitchell, 1971, p.152-155).

Socialist feminism allows us to understand that a woman's life is partially constructed by her gender and class location. A socialist feminist perspective offers concepts that can be used to understand and explain the individual differences of aging based on gender and class (Calasanti & Zajicek, 1993; Browne, 1998). Socialist feminist theory presents the interlocking systems of class and gender and it is suggested that a socialist feminist gerontology can offer greater understanding of the large societal structures that exert power over the lives of older people.

Today there is both change and continuity of historical labour roles by men and women (Allahar & Cote, 1998). Socialist feminist theory remains important in theorizing about those areas where historical divisions of labour along gender lines remain, as well as how new relations between gender, pay and labour have emerged in late capitalism. Volunteer work is an example of unpaid work that is done in the public rather than private sphere.

The historical arrangements of labourers by gender and class can be used to partly understand why many women perform volunteer work. In other words, much volunteer work is an extension of caring labour that was historically connected to women's role as nurturer and to the private sphere of the home. The Manitoba Women's Institute (WI) is an example of women's public unpaid work. In moving from private to public realm, they maintained the role of unpaid labourer and supporter of women and children through support of women's shelters and the Winnipeg Children's Hospital (Manitoba Women's Institute, 2000). Historically, one of the defining qualities of systems structured by patriarchy has been the confinement of women to specific areas of society; most often the private home. This confinement both materially and ideologically, has had many negative effects on women that are well documented by feminists. One effect is the way in which it excludes women from paid work since work in her own home has never brought a wage to woman directly.

Volunteer work, that is, unpaid work that is outside the home, represents one way (perhaps the *only* way at times) for women to belong to the public sphere. Volunteer work may not have brought women economic independence, but may represent an important historical step along the way for women's liberation ideologically. On the other hand, in

being “satisfied” with working for free, women’s volunteer work can be seen as simply a change in location for women (she’s now outside the home rather than inside), where gendered divisions of labour (between paid and unpaid) remain established.

*Socialist feminist theory and older women.* Calasanti and Zajicek (1993)

advanced an argument that a socialist feminist approach to aging would help researchers understand the intersecting effects of age and gender. They supported the proposition of feminist theory that we need to be able to explain the world from the perspectives of those in the marginalized group as well as the dominant group (1993). Browne (1998) suggests that “...society does not give much attention to what women do and the ways in which they are not compensated for their contributions” (p.182). Older women’s work in the home, especially grandmothing or babysitting children, is rarely valued and when community and institutional services decrease, the demands on women to provide unpaid care increase (Browne, 1998). Therefore it is critical to use theories such as socialist feminism to examine how women’s work (including the work of older women) changes in relation to changes in the provision of social services by the state.

Many links remain to be made between the propositions of socialist feminist theory and the empirical knowledge of people in their later years. According to Mitchell (1971) there are four key structures of women’s situation: production, reproduction, sexuality and socialization of children; these four elements are interrelated. In her discussion of the value and devaluation of grandparenting care work, Browne (1998) suggested that the four key structures outlined by Mitchell follow some women across the life course into their older years.

This theory is limited by its strong level of determinism. For both the young and old, we know that socio-economic status does not define all aspects of our life experiences. Within the confines of larger structures, people exert agency and autonomy in their lives and this theory does not incorporate that reality.

Socialist feminist theory progressed our understanding of the position of women and families in a capitalist patriarchal system. It proposed that women's (unpaid) work in the home was paramount to the functioning of capitalism. Although the theory was developed using women's experiences in their childbearing years, several contemporary researchers have looked to socialist feminism to further our understanding of women in their older years.

#### *Continuity Theory of Aging*

Continuity theory is a psychosocial theory of adults as they age. This theory strives to explain why individual people experience middle and later life in the way that they do (Atchley, 1999, p. 7). The key concept in this theory is *continuity* and it has been operationalised in a specific way. For the purposes of advancing this theory, the term continuity is defined as *the consistency of a basic structure over time within which dynamic change or variety can occur* (Atchley, 1989). The theory suggests that a thread of consistency of patterns runs through our individual lives as we develop, change and age. It is paramount to the understanding of this theory that one sees that the continuity is occurring at the level of subjective perceptions, not "objective specifics" (Atchley, 1989). In relation to the present study continuity theory is not only displayed when one who volunteers in her younger years continues to do so into her later years, it is also shown if the same woman discontinues volunteer work but regularly provides hot meals to ill

neighbours. The continuity is present in the continued role in providing care and services to others in an unpaid capacity.

Continuity theory has been used in some studies, but not directly in relation to research questions on older women's unpaid work. Continuity theory will be useful as a theory that can help to account for why older women do unpaid work when an assumption is made that their unpaid activities in their later years are a continuity of some aspect of their earlier life experiences. For example, I suggest that the type of activities in which older women engage may be an extension of earlier life activities. As well, I see continuity theory as being employed to examine the discursive way in which women have been positioned to perform much unpaid labour across the life course.

Continuity theory offers a set of propositions that suggest that people's lives are marked by both continuity and change as they age. Continuity theory proposes that people have agency and construct (through life experiences) ways of being in and thinking of the world. They are then motivated to protect the core elements of these ways, but elasticity exists within this core so that adaptation can also occur. Employing the same behaviours and thoughts one has used previously is usually the first strategy used in approaching new tasks. This theory proposes that continuity in this core way of being and thinking provides people with a sense of moving forward or progressing in a positive manner (Atchley, 1999).

#### *Subject Location*

I have made use of feminist theory and a critical perspective to inform each aspect of my thesis project: application of theory, collection of relevant literature, generation of research questions, hypotheses and data collection method. In this section I present sources that support the incorporation of a critical and/or feminist approach to research.

Specifically I address the use of the first person, active voice in my writing, as well as the inclusion of the concept of subject location.

The current edition of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA) 5<sup>th</sup> edition, directs writers to use a personal pronoun such as 'I' or 'we' for clarity (2001). In addition, the use of the first person is linked in academic literature to an awareness of shifts in the social sciences toward post-modernism or post-positivism in theory and research (Flieschman, 1998; Webb, 1992). Using the first person in a research report can "interrupt conventions of discursive authority predicated on detached distance" (Bernstein, 1992, p.124). As a device to acknowledge the role of the researcher in the research as subject rather than detached objective observer, the use of the first person is an important component in research projects that include feminist and/or qualitative methodologies (Bernstein, 1992; Fleischman, 1998; Webb, 1992). Transparency and reflexivity are important methodological concepts in feminist research (Oakley, 2000; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Use of the first person is intertwined with these methodological practices, as it maintains the awareness of the researcher as present in (as opposed to detached from) the academic endeavour they are describing (American Psychological Association, 2001; Webb,1992). Using the first person is "essential" (Webb, p.749) when reporting qualitative research and is even more integral to projects that are critical and / or feminist in nature (Webb, 1991). Allen (2000) discussed the role of these theoretical and methodological changes and supports family studies research that is conscious of shifts in social sciences towards post-modern/post-positivist concepts such as researcher reflexivity.

In the interest of employing transparency as a researcher, I share here some reasons for my exploring this specific topic of older women's unpaid work. My interest in this

topic grew out of an understanding of feminist analyses of women as labourers. I am influenced by the research of Waring (1999) and that done by Status of Women Canada (Bakker, 1998), and hope to contribute to the research area of feminist analyses of labour within the family and capitalist systems. I was also inspired to pursue this topic by the many women in my family of origin (especially my grandmothers) who have contributed much unpaid labour throughout their entire lives to nurture and maintain the family and its members. They have undoubtedly influenced my perspective on the importance of examining this type of labour.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Throughout this project, I drew from several different topic areas within the literature. These include: feminist theories of women's labour, gerontological research and theory, volunteerism, and literature on qualitative methodologies.

### *Definitions of Unpaid Work*

A diverse list of terms used to describe unpaid activities can be culled from the literature. Activities such as housework, volunteering for a charitable organization and caring for a child are captured within various definitions. In the literature, certain unpaid activities receive focus while others are excluded, for methodological and perhaps sometimes ideological reasons. Regardless of the reason, unpaid labour tends to be divided into three areas: housework, work performed for others outside the household and work done in a volunteer setting. I suggest here that because of the way our lives are actually lived, the lines between these terms are not concrete. Unpaid activity in the home is usually referred to as 'housework', 'household labour', 'domestic labour' (Vogel, 2000) or 'household's unpaid work' (Statistics Canada, 1995). Terms are also used to distinguish between work done to care for oneself and work done to care for another. Caring for another is referred to as 'caregiving' (Beaujot, 2000; Browne, 1998), 'child care', 'elder care', 'the informal help sector' (Robb et al., 1999) or 'informal volunteering' (Hall, McKeown, & Roberts, 2001). Finally there is the term volunteering, which is usually used to refer to 'formal volunteering': that work done for a formalized non-profit or charitable organization (Hall et al., 2001).

All of the above terms used to describe unpaid labours exist on a continuum of inclusivity or exclusivity depending on the goals of the person making the definition. The goal of the research, then, dictates the operational definition. The goal is grounded in a

particular theoretical perspective. Using feminist theory as a starting point, my goal was to draft an operational definition of unpaid work that includes the productive and caring labours of older women. This definition included the directives of Statistics Canada: that activities be included when they can be *replaced by* or *exchanged in* the market (Jackson, 1996; Statistics Canada, 1995), but activities were also included that *support* social and economic institutions such as the market, the family, religion and culture. Feminist theory has been instrumental in highlighting the manner in which the unpaid work performed by women (and men) essentially acts as the underpinnings to dominant institutions: the market economy, the family and so on (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1985). In using both the Statistics Canada and the feminist conceptualization of unpaid work, a more inclusive definition of the term was created. The goal of making the work of older women more visible was met by creating a more inclusive definition of unpaid work.

Further rationale for this inclusive definition involves challenging our notions of valuable or productive labour. Although it offers quite the challenge methodologically, it is useful theoretically to challenge the creation of diverse terms that categorize the unpaid activities in which people engage. What distortions occur when researchers categorize the activities of daily life in a way that is removed from the lived experience of the people they are describing? Can (false) hierarchies of the value of work be dissolved by combining the categories of work in order to create a broader understanding of “productivity”? Those activities counted as “formal volunteering” or “domestic labour” or “informal help” all contribute to the well being of our families and society. As stated in Beaujot (2000) “...work has come to mean paid work, and other activities are often considered to be non-productive.” (p.177). Conceptualizing unpaid work challenges our notions of which work is valuable and to whom it is of value. The conceptual definition

of unpaid work used in this paper is built on the idea that the labour that goes into contributing, supporting or maintaining the institutions we value is itself important and it is therefore productive labour.

Popular discourse often refers to unpaid work as the work that contributes to the health of our society by *contributing* to the family, the community, the economy, religion and culture (Beaujot, 2000; Jackson, 1996). The goal of this project flows from feminist theory that suggests that much of women's lives is made invisible by conceptualizing "work" in specific and narrow ways (Waring, 1999). Much of the unpaid labour of both men and women is not simply contributing to the formal economy and other social institutions, but is actually the work that supports and maintains the main features of these systems (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1985; Bakker, 1998; Vogel, 2000).

This notion of the role of unpaid work is easy to conceive in terms of the family, which is a system held together through the unpaid caring work of each member (Beaujot, 2000). It is most invisible in regards to the paid economy, which is a system that is sustained through the work of unpaid labourers such as housewives. This is the work of rearing future workers and tending to the needs of current workers (Vogel, 2000). Conceiving of unpaid work as the labours that contribute to or support our economic and social systems helps to make visible the productivity of people who are often considered unproductive members of society, i.e. older women.

Unpaid work is conceptualized and operationalized in the literature based on the goals of the researcher. Thus, we see that Statistics Canada supports an operational definition that limits the scope to "...those unpaid activities that produce goods and services that could be exchanged in the market" (Jackson, 1996, 28). This definition allows for analyses that create market values of unpaid work and compare the value of

unpaid work to the value of the GDP (which essentially is the national measure of paid work). Townson (1997), writing for Status of Women Canada, has a different definition of unpaid work and different goals. Her definition includes three categories: child care, care of dependant family members and caring volunteer work. From a policy perspective, these three areas of unpaid work represent the labour tasks that are and will continue to be greatly affected by changes to economic and social policy. In other words, when funding for services such as child care, health care or social services is decreased, the demands for people to do this work in an unpaid capacity increase, because the requirement for labour does not disappear--it is only shifted from the paid to the unpaid sector (Bakker, 1998).

My goal is to define unpaid work in a way that advances our understanding that much of what older women do in our society is productive activity. This goal, in contrast with those described above, is not yet linked to additional goals relating to policy or national accounting but is more concerned with summarizing and discussing current knowledge regarding older women's unpaid work. Thus, my working definition of unpaid work is as follows: Unpaid work refers to all productive activities that contribute to, can be replaced by and / or are used to maintain social and economic systems such as the family, community, market economy, religious and other cultural units in society.

*Unpaid work* is the term chosen to describe the productive activities of older women. What activities are included under this term? In conceiving of unpaid work as the productive labour that either can be replaced by the market, or supports the social systems of the family, the community, the market economy, religion and other culture, we can build a list of those activities that are included. This list can be increased over time, using these criteria to include more and more specific activities. For example, using the definition above, we can include grandparents providing childcare to their grandchildren

as unpaid work. Often, this activity is done in order for adult children to perform paid work (Vanier Institute of the Family, 2000); thus the provision of this childcare supports the family, the market economy and the state, which is alleviated from the task of providing state-run child care services. In this project, housework is included as unpaid work – regardless of family status of the worker. This means that a woman living alone is performing unpaid work when she cuts her lawn or vacuums. This work can be replaced by the market economy and therefore, using the above operational definition, this is included as unpaid work in this project.

Discussing this work for its economic value does not discount the social and emotional aspects of this activity. Using this example, we can see that the above definition also moves us away from the concept of “labour of love,” one that has in the past prevented much unpaid labour from being counted as such (see for example Luxton, 1980). The above definition also attempts to resolve the debate around the lines between leisure and work: some argue that activities that can be leisurely, such as gardening or childcare, should not be counted as unpaid work (Jackson, 1996); however, I argue here that paid work is not measured against such criteria. Enjoyment from doing childcare does not negate the fact that it also serves an economic purpose for others such as the family or the state.

The specific unpaid work activities that are discussed in the following sections include formal volunteering, informal volunteering, spousal care and housework. This list represents the areas of unpaid work that have received attention in recent literature on unpaid work among aging people. It is by no means an exhaustive list of the activities that could be discussed regarding older women.

*Statistics on Unpaid Work*

*Formal Volunteering.* Statistics Canada defines formal volunteering as volunteer contributions to charitable and non-profit organizations. This includes volunteering in such areas as cultural, religious, environmental and advocacy based groups (Hall et al., 2001). According to Statistics Canada (2000) 21.8% of women 65 and older do some form of volunteer work. Just over one in five older women volunteer in a formal setting. Unfortunately, literature could not be located that named the types of formal volunteer work in which older women participate. However, an American study that defined “volunteer” in a similar way, found that religion based volunteering was the largest category of volunteering for volunteers age 60 and older (Van Willigan, 2000). While that study did not separate results by sex, we know from Canadian statistics that 41.5% of women age 65 and older attend religious activities once a week or more (Statistics Canada, 1999a). If statistics were available regarding the areas in which older women (formally) volunteer their time, we may see religion based volunteering as one of the more popular categories, given what is known about their religious attendance compared to other age groups in Canada.

Another gap in the published literature regarding formal volunteer statistics is the lack of knowledge regarding profiles of Canadian volunteers. What are the characteristics of the 21.8% of older women who contribute to formal volunteering in Canada? A study by Van Willigan (2000) used U.S. data to compare volunteer and non-volunteer seniors. The results of the Van Willigan study were supported by the general statements made by Hall et al. (2000) regarding the profile of all Canadian volunteers. The American study reported that compared to non-volunteering seniors (age 60+), volunteers were: “younger, had fewer functional impairments, more likely to be married, more likely to be employed,

had higher levels of income, higher levels of education, more socially integrated with family and friends, attended religious service more often, and had higher perceived levels of social support and mastery” (Van Willigan, 2000, p.S312). Canadian statistics echo the finding regarding marital status: married men and women age 65 and older volunteered at higher rates than their non-married (included never married, divorced and widowed) counterparts (Selbee & Reed, 2001). The literature located for this paper did not report gendered differences in formal volunteers. In summary, it was found that very little is published regarding the characteristics specific to older women volunteers in Canada, although volunteerism is recognized as one of the ways in which older persons can avoid social isolation (de Jong, Gierfeld & Havens, 2004).

*Informal Work.* As described in the above section on the definition of unpaid work, unpaid labour consists of both formal and informal labour. In the literature, informal activities include housework and home maintenance as well as informal help and care of others. In discussing formal volunteering, Chambre (1984) observed that “The definition used greatly affects the percentage of individuals who are categorized volunteers” (p. 293). With a familiarity with the literature on unpaid work, I posit that this statement describes well the statistics on both formal and informal unpaid activities. As discussed in the previous section, defining and measuring the time and energy put into informal care of others and housework can pose methodological and ideological challenges. Despite the challenges faced when attempting to quantify unpaid work, these are important figures. They provide insight into the social and economic contributions people make outside the paid workforce. They highlight the social and economic costs to

people, communities and the state when macro-level shifts occur in demographics, culture or policy.

Both men and women in all age groups spend a considerable amount of time on unpaid housework and home maintenance. Almost all women age 65 and over (92.4%) report devoting some time each week to housework and home maintenance (1996 General Social Survey data) (Statistics Canada, 1999a). The 1998 General Social Survey, which measured time use and may be more precise (than the 1996 GSS) in its measurement of unpaid work found that 95% of all older women spent at least some time each week on housework and that the average was 3.8 hours per day (Statistics Canada, 2000). As expected in terms of the gendered division of labour, the women in this age group spent more time than did men on cooking, cleaning and laundry, while the men spent more time on maintenance and home repair (Statistics Canada, 2000).

The third category of statistics on unpaid work reports on “informal volunteering” or “unpaid help” (Robb et al., 1999). This is work done for others that is not captured in the “formal volunteer” umbrella because it is not connected to a certain social group or agency. Activities captured by the following statistics are limited to: childcare, help with another’s housework and maintenance, transportation, “checking up on” and providing emotional support to others. Labour within one’s own household is not included in the following statistics. Data on unpaid work demonstrated that women age 65 and older spend as much time in informal help (as defined by Robb et al., 1999) as they contribute to formal volunteer work. The average hours contributed (per volunteer) to each type of labour were equivalent: 93 hours per year for women age 65-69 and 38 hours per year for women age 70 and over (Robb et al., 1999). In other words, data suggest that as much

activity is performed outside the formal volunteer sector as is captured from within that category of “formal volunteer work.”

One of the experiences that comes with aging for many people is being a grandparent. “Almost three-quarters of older people are grandparents and nearly half are great-grandparents.” (Larson, Goltz & Munro, 2000, p. 280). Close to half a million men and women age 65 and older (15.4% of men and 18.2% of women) provided “temporary or ongoing” child-care to their grandchildren in 1996 (Vanier Institute of the Family, 2000). In addition to the common assumptions regarding the positive effects of grandparenthood, the child care provisions offered by many grandparents are included as another unpaid labour activity.

Various statistics exist regarding the participation rate for older women performing informal unpaid help to others. The 1996 General Social Survey found that 37.1% of older women had provided at least one type of informal help (see list in preceding paragraph) to others in the past twelve months (Statistics Canada, 1999a). Percentages for each category of work are provided in Table 1. The 1997 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating (NSGVP) found that 57% of older women had provided at least some unpaid service to others as outlined above (Statistics Canada, 1999a). Robb et al. used the 1992 GSS Time Use data to assess the participation rate of seniors in “unpaid help.” Their statistical analysis identified only 11% of women aged 65-69 and 6.7% of women aged 70 and over as providing informal care to others (1999). The discrepancies we see across different statistics that are reporting on the same activities may be partly due to the difference in the surveys. For example, the data for the General Social Surveys in 1992 and 1998 were collected through a “time use diary” that had respondents report their activities over a 24 hour period the day prior to the interview. In

contrast, the NSGVP relied on recall data over the past 12 months from respondents (Statistics Canada NSGVP codebook, n.d.). There is a notable difference between the lowest statistic (which would be between 6.7%-11%) and the highest (57%). The goal of this paper is not to investigate whether or not older women contribute productive labour to their household, family and society. The goal is to investigate those older women who do perform this productive work. As a collective phenomenon, even the low participation rates in informal care that were provided by Robb et al. (1999) sum to considerable contributions made by older women as a group. Yearly contributions were 93 hours for women aged 65-69 and 38 for women aged 70 and over. When added to their hours spent in formal volunteer activities, the sum of hours contributed by Canadian women in these two age groups was over 226 million hours of unpaid work (1992 data) (Robb et al., 1999).

Table 1

*Summary of statistics: Unpaid work of women 65 and older*

Activity	Rate of participation(%)
Formal work ("volunteering")	21.8
Informal work	37.1
Checking up on (visit or phone)	39.7
Emotional support	32.2
Shopping, transportation, financial	19.3
Housework	19.1
Child care	18.2
Personal care (includes spousal care)	4.5
Housework and home maintenance	92.4
Less than 5 hrs. / week	15.7
5-14 hrs. / week	28.1
15-29 hrs. / week	24.0
30-59 hrs. / week	17.0
60 or more hrs. / week	7.6

Source: Statistics Canada *A Portrait of Seniors* (1999a) (ed.)

Although time use surveys and surveys regarding formal volunteering have been instrumental in capturing estimates of how many older women perform specific types of unpaid labour, little is known about the role that unpaid labour plays in the lives of individual women. Married women 65 and older and women living alone spend an average of 4.8 hours per day (33.6 hours per week) and 3.9 hours per day (27.3 hours per week) on unpaid work respectively (includes formal, informal and any house work) (Statistics Canada, 1999a). The statistics on older women and unpaid work prompt a desire for further research, given that many of them are engaged in notable and valuable amounts of productive labour.

*Qualitative Research*

Where quantitative research has offered statistics regarding time spent in housework, informal help and formal volunteer work, qualitative research has focused on

specific activities or aspects of older women's activities. The following is a summary of current qualitative social science research that investigated unpaid work performed by women in their later years (which is loosely defined in this literature as age 55 and onwards). Spousal care (caring for a frail spouse) was the type of unpaid work that was most prevalent within qualitative research on older women's unpaid work.

*Spousal care.* Spousal care is a large component of what is termed by Carriere (2000) as the "informal support network" (p. 41). In her discussion of women's experiences of later life, Browne (1998) posited that older women's work in caring for themselves and their spouses without outside assistance (despite possible declines in the woman's own health and mobility) produces great savings for the state. Canadian statistics show that 17% of women ages 65 and older provide care to a senior - either a spouse or other older person (Vanier Institute of the Family, 2000). It has been noted that extensive caring for a spouse can impart considerable stress on older women caregivers (Ray, 2000) and that caring for the elderly should be relieved from women's 'duty' and taken up more as a public issue and responsibility (Rosenthal, 2000).

Providing extensive care to a spouse is often a draining experience for older women characterized by expectations from nurses to do the care without choice (Ward-Griffin, 2000, 2001), in isolation and loneliness (Tebb & Jivanjee, 2000), with fatigue and other effects (Lee, 2001; Teel & Press, 1999). Despite these effects, several researchers stated that the work is often done with altruism and love and that it exists within a continuity of reciprocity between two people in a long-term relationship (see Davidson, 2000; Gates, 2000; Lee, 2001). Like most care work, spousal care is a complex experience with both positive and negative components.

*Meaning of older women's unpaid work.* Apart from spousal care, what does qualitative research say about other aspects of older women's unpaid work? "...We know relatively little about the involvement of older people in providing informal help to family and friends, and even less about help given to others through formal volunteer efforts" (Gallagher, 1994, p. 567). "...older women's caring activities have been largely neglected as a topic of investigation" (Altschuler, 80, 2001). Aside from the increased research on spousal care and reporting of statistics on informal and formal work due to Statistics Canada surveys, these statements continue to reflect the current status of this topic, especially within Canadian research.

Altschuler (2001) explored the meaning of unpaid work to older women. She used the term "caring activities" to describe both formal volunteer work and informal caring activities within the family and community. In her sample of women ages 55-84, unpaid activities such as caregiving, volunteer work and 'helping out' were taken for granted with many women saying "Of course I do these things" (2001, p.85). However, the women also reported the ability to limit their productive activity in order to preserve their energy and maintain good health, more so than in their younger years. Altschuler described this as "setting self protective limits" (2001, p. 91). This seems to be in direct contrast to the experiences of women doing spousal care, where it seemed part of the reason for negative experiences was an inability to choose if and how much care to provide and therefore set limits. Altschuler's participants named several reasons why they did unpaid work. Some women cited that caring for others was rooted in their cultural heritage. Others discussed being cast as a caregiver their entire lives out of gendered expectations, or casting themselves as a caregiver as part of their belief in compassion or correcting social injustices such as racism and classism (2001). Unpaid work was done as

part of an integral, ongoing component of their identity over the life course (2001).

Although Altschuler echoes the research regarding spousal care in that care work is done sometimes with a sense of both duty and pleasure; her sample reported that in old age, they were able to exercise more choice about what work to pursue (2001).

#### *Variables in Older Women's Unpaid Work*

The following variables guided my exploratory study of older women and unpaid work: retirement, widowhood, poverty, life satisfaction, and identity.

*Retirement.* The concept of retirement implies that the shift out of paid work at some point in later life marks a new stage in the life course. Although a higher proportion of women seniors in 1998 had never been in the paid workforce (22.4%) compared to men (2.3%) in the same cohort (Statistics Canada, 1999a), the majority of women currently age 65 and older spent some time in the paid work force prior to age 65. However, some feminists in gerontology argue that because most of the work women do is of the unpaid type, and that this work continues across the lifespan, retirement is not a very useful term to describe the 'working' lives of many women, including the current cohort of older women (Onyx & Benton, 1999; Skucha & Bernard, 2000).

Women in the current cohort of seniors often 'worked until marriage;' their paid labour force participation was not in their middle or later years and so they never 'retired.' For those who do retire from the paid workforce, an expected effect of retirement might be that some would spend more time in unpaid work. This is supported by the activity theory of aging (Chambre, 1984). However, Chambre examined American survey data and found that retirement did not increase the overall likelihood of volunteering among people age 60 and older. Retirement from the paid work force did play a role in the finding that among volunteers, women retirees spent more time in

volunteer efforts than did the volunteers who were homemakers and not in the paid work force (1984).

*Widowhood.* Widowhood is an expected life event for married women in their later years (Rosenthal, 2000). Widowhood might be a life stage at which older women become more involved in unpaid work because it offers social connections with others. Changes over time regarding formal volunteering statistics show that between 1997 and 2000, one of the groups with increases in the number of hours were those who were widowed (Hall et al., 2000). Gaps in this area include an exploration of why widows had increased hours of formal unpaid work.

*Poverty.* Although economic policy has lifted many older women out of poverty in the past 20 years (McDonald, 2000), nearly one half of unattached older women remain in poverty (Gee, 2000). Senior women still have the highest incidence of low income of any age group (Statistics Canada, 2000). In the literature, the high rates of poverty for women in old age are linked to the lack of valuation of the unpaid work most women perform throughout their lives including their later years (Browne, 1998; Leonard, 1999). As with widowhood, although poverty is experienced by many older women in Canada there are gaps in research questions that explore how poverty is a factor in their unpaid work activities.

*Identity.* The older women who were interviewed by Altschuler (2001) named their caring activities as part of an “ongoing integral part of their identity over the life course” (p. 88). The discrete categories of paid and unpaid work that are so useful to researchers are more integrated in the comments of older women regarding their productive activities: “...life is filled with meaningful activities, for some of them we just happen to get paid” (Leonard, 1999, p.88). Unpaid activities often offer older women

social connectedness and the opportunity to make a contribution to the outside community (Leonard, 1999). Recent qualitative studies on older women (Davidson, et al., 2000; Hurd, 1999) discuss how identity is partly constructed through unpaid activities. Dominant Western society continues to value youth, especially in women. As a result many older women reject the idea that they are old (Hurd, 1999) and internalize the ageism that surrounds them. The “credo of activity” is espoused by many older women as a way of differentiating themselves from being perceived as “old” (Hurd, 1999, para 1). Thus, volunteer work is a way to perform “not being old” for others and for oneself. Hurd asserts that volunteering served the needs of the older women she interviewed to be seen as “young” as well as a way to contribute to the community.

#### *Gaps in the Literature*

“There is a need for studies that generate knowledge about the subjective experience of unpaid caring activities to older women” (Altschuler, 2001, p. 81). This quote speaks well to the goal of my project. Many other authors have noted gaps in the literature and directions for future research. Van Willigen (2000) stated that more research is needed to understand how volunteers commit their time, what kinds of activities they chose and why, and what this volunteering means to them. Much of the literature reviewed here grouped both male and female older persons together. This made it challenging to discuss the social (for example, gendered differences in life satisfaction and volunteering) and individual (for example, the role of unpaid work in the lives of individual older women) aspects of older women and their unpaid work.

#### *Purpose of the Present Study*

The main purpose of this study was to investigate why older women volunteer, using a qualitative perspective. Qualitative research allows one to see that there is no

monolithic experience of unpaid work in older age, just as there is no such thing in other age groups, although themes can and do emerge as certain identities, roles, experiences of health and larger socio-political contexts shape the experiences of older women as a group. The secondary purpose of this project was to investigate the effect (if any) of age, health status, income and marital status on older women's care work and volunteer work. This was done by performing secondary data analysis on a Statistics Canada data set.

### *Research Questions*

The following research questions guided this work:

1. What factors influence older women's volunteer and other unpaid work?
2. Can the factors of age, health status, income and marital status predict time spent in unpaid work for women 65 and older?

These research questions were answered using qualitative and quantitative methods.

### CHAPTER 3: QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

The purpose of this study was to analyze time-use data to better understand how variables influence the unpaid work of older women. National time use surveys have been identified as one of the ways in which researchers in the area of unpaid work can further investigate the qualities and quantities of unpaid work performed by a given population such as women (Waring, 1999). In this study, a Statistics Canada national survey on time use was analyzed regarding the unpaid work of older women.

#### *Hypotheses*

To address the research questions, 10 hypotheses were developed to determine if there were relationships between the independent variables of: age, health, income and marital status and unpaid work. Of the available variables in the Statistics Canada survey, these four independent variables were determined to be worthy of investigation in this project.

Hypothesis 1: There will not be a statistically significant decline in volunteer work by age. There is an assumption among many of us that activity, such as volunteerism, automatically declines with age. This is a component of another assumption / stereotype that health status also invariably declines with age. Age was chosen as a variable to address the validity of these assumptions.

Hypothesis 2: There will be a statistically significant decline in volunteer work by health status. It is logical to assume that a lower health status negatively affects activity such as unpaid work. Health is a key variable in discussing older persons, partly because health status can help explain behaviour such as volunteering or ability to perform other unpaid work. Continuity theory did not really address the role of health in allowing a

person to continue behaviours over time, however, it is important to implicate health as a factor that influences (facilitates or constricts) our behaviours.

Hypothesis 3: There will be a statistically significant difference in volunteer work by income group with the prediction being that as income rises, so does volunteer work. Volunteerism is a valued within middle class and upper middle class culture, especially for women (wives) to perform charity work. Greater income also allows for the expenses that are incurred by volunteering such as transportation and other costs.

Hypothesis 4: There will be a statistically significant difference in volunteer work by marital status. Feminist socialist theory was used to select income and marital status as relevant variables in women's unpaid work due to the way in which socio-economic status (here defined by income and marital status) influences women's lives. For example, widowhood lowers socio-economic status for many older women (Gee, 2000), which can mean a decrease in ability to perform volunteer work. As well, married women may spend more time performing care work, and therefore not have as much time for volunteering.

Hypothesis 5: There will be a statistically significant decline in care work by age group. Care work was assumed to decrease with age for several reasons. First, with age comes higher likelihood of becoming a widow and therefore not performing spousal care. As well, older women are less likely to have younger dependent grandchildren to care for. Third, if their own health is declining with age, older women will do less care work themselves and may become recipients of care.

Hypothesis 6: There will be a statistically significant decrease in care work by declining health status. As stated above with hypothesis 2, it is important to implicate the role of older women's health in their ability to perform unpaid work.

Hypothesis 7: There will be a statistically significant decrease in care work as income increases. It is hypothesized here that families who have higher incomes are more likely to pay for care services and therefore less burden is placed on older women to perform this care.

Hypothesis 8: There will be a statistically significant difference in care work by marital status: married women will perform more care work than widowed women. Spousal care is a common type of unpaid work for many older married women.

Table 2

*Hypotheses 1 – 4: relationship between volunteer work and age, health, income and marital status*

	Statistically significant difference in time spent on volunteer work by
Age	H <sub>1</sub>
Health status	H <sub>2</sub>
Income	H <sub>3</sub>
Marital status	H <sub>4</sub>

Table 3

*Hypotheses 5 – 8: relationship between volunteer work and age, health, income and marital status*

	Statistically significant difference in time spent on care work by
Age	H <sub>5</sub>
Health status	H <sub>6</sub>
Income	H <sub>7</sub>
Marital status	H <sub>8</sub>

Two hypotheses tested for interaction effects of the independent variables on each of volunteer work and care work:

Hypothesis 9: Among women volunteers, time spent on volunteer work can be predicted by using the variables of age, health, income and marital status. The effect of each of these variables are discussed above. Together these four variables will influence the amount of volunteer work older women perform.

Hypothesis 10: Among women performing care work, time spent on care work can be predicted by using the variables of age, health, income and marital status. Again, the after exploring the individual effect of each of these four variables on unpaid work, it is hypothesized that together, these variables will determine the amount of care work older women perform.

### *Method*

#### *Sample*

Of the 10,749 cases in the GSS 12, 1193 cases represented women 65 and older. All 1193 cases were included in this data analysis.

#### *Statistics Canada General Social Survey (GSS) Cycle 12 (1998)*

Quantitative data analysis was performed on a data set from Statistics Canada General Social Survey Cycle 12 Time Use: 1998 (GSS 12) (1999b). This survey (total N=10,749) was a national telephone survey done in 1997-1998 and included a time use diary. The time use diary attempted to capture the time spent on the activities of an interviewee during a designated 24 hour period. Although many daily activities are done simultaneously, this data set coded only the main activity for a given time period (Statistics Canada, 1999c). For example, if one is at home minding grandchildren, doing

laundry, and also preparing food for dinner, only one of the activities would be coded in the GSS 12.

Tests were done on weighted data from the GSS 12 Main File. Statistics Canada (1999c) asserts that data should be weighted for all analyses. Cases were weighted using the mean (M) of the sample.

### *Measures and Definitions*

Independent variables were: age (in years), health status, income and marital status. Age categories were: 65-69; 70-74; 75-79 and 80 and older. Health status was self-reported using the categories: excellent, very good, good, fair and poor. Four income categories were constructed: \$0-19,999; \$20,000-39,999; \$40,000-59,999 and \$60,000 and over. These specific intervals for income were created in order to differentiate between those who were living on limited income (\$0-19,999) from those living on middle (\$20,000-39,999), upper middle (\$40,000-59,999) and higher (\$60,000) levels of income. In addition a high refusal rate led to missing data for this variable. This necessitated a smaller rather than larger number of categories. Marital status categories included: married (or common-law) and widowed. Divorced and single women were excluded from the analysis for two reasons. First, being divorced or single (never married) is different from being married or widowed in terms of lifestyle and life circumstances (for example, financial circumstances, social and recreational activities). To group all of these women (divorced, widowed and single) into one category ignores such differences. Second, there were very few divorced ( $n = 37$ ) or single women ( $n = 60$ ) in this sample; the majority of women in the sample were either married ( $n = 511$ ) or widowed ( $n = 566$ ). Dependant variables were: volunteer work and care work in minutes per day. Specific activities included in these variables are listed in Table 4.

Table 4

*List of GSS12 unpaid work activities*


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 GSS12 Activity CodeDescription
 

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Variable label: volunteer work

Professional, union, general meetings  
 Political, civic activity  
 Child, youth, family organizations  
 Religious meetings, organizations  
 Fraternal and social organizations  
 Volunteer work (Organizations)  
 Other organizational, voluntary and religious activity  
 Travel for a civic and voluntary activity  
 Coaching  
 Travel for coaching

Variable label: care work

Care giving for household members (children and adults)  
 Housework and cooking assistance outside household  
 House maintenance and repair assistance outside household  
 Unpaid babysitting outside household  
 Transportation assistance outside household  
 Care for disabled or ill outside household  
 Correspondence assistance outside household  
 Unpaid help for a business or farm outside household  
 Other unpaid help outside household

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*Data Analysis*

Two tests, ANOVA (Analysis of Variance), and ANCOVA (Analysis of Covariance), were employed. Although the dependent variables were continuous, only one independent variable, age, was also a continuous variable. This meant that in order to perform a higher level statistical test such as logical regression analysis, income, health and marital status would require transformation in order to meet the requirements of

regression analysis. Upon consultation with a statistical advisor, it was decided that several qualities of the variables made them unfit for transformation. ANOVA and ANCOVA were advised to test the hypotheses regarding difference in time spent on unpaid activities. ANOVA can indicate if any relationship exists between the mean number of minutes performed by women in each different age group, income group, health status group or marital status group. It cannot provide the strength of relationship that regression analysis could indicate. ANCOVA was used to test whether the four variables could predict time spent in unpaid work. This test enabled the construction of a predictor model and can be used in place of regression analysis when the independent variables are categorical rather than continuous. All cases where information was missing (i.e. income or health status not reported) were not included in these tests.

## CHAPTER 4: RESULTS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Statistical analysis assessed the influence and predictive power of four variables (age, health status, income and marital status) on two types of unpaid work: volunteer work and care work. Tables 5 and 6 show the distribution of the independent variables of: age, health, income and marital status.

*Frequencies*

Table 5

*Frequencies for volunteer work: General Social Survey (GSS) Cycle 12 (1998)*

	N	n (who did volunteer work)	M (in minutes per day)
<b>Age group (in years)</b>			
65 to 69	347	47	13.88
70 to 74	314	36	9.89
75 to 79	252	30	15.76
80 and over	280	24	8.09
Total	1193	137	11.86
<b>Health status</b>			
Excellent	170	26	22.09
Very good	310	30	10.01
Good	323	44	12.65
Fair	159	12	4.84
Poor	54	3	1.27
Total	1016		11.86
<b>Household Annual Income (in \$)</b>			
0 – 19,999	198	28	20.03
20,000-39,999	193	20	7.83
40,000-59,999	67	12	22.18
60,000+	41	6	7.85
Total	499	66	14.58
<b>Marital status</b>			
Married	511	61	12.11
Widowed	566	55	10.28
Total	1077	116	11.14

Table 6

*Frequencies for care work: GSS Cycle 12 (1998)*

	N	n (who did care work)	M (in minutes per day)
<b>Age group (in years)</b>			
65 to 69	347	52	26.40
70 to 74	314	42	14.44
75 to 79	252	33	11.23
80 and over	280	9	1.70
Total	1193	136	14.24
<b>Health status</b>			
Excellent	170	24	20.57
Very good	310	45	14.44
Good	323	32	10.91
Fair	159	18	9.84
Poor	54	9	11.73
Total	1016	138	14.24
<b>Household annual income (in \$)</b>			
0 – 19,999	198	12	6.17
20,000-39,999	193	30	16.35
40,000-59,999	67	15	22.71
60,000+	41	11	47.23
Total	499	68	15.71
<b>Marital status</b>			
Married	511	91	23.77
Widowed	566	34	6.00
Total	1077	125	14.43

*Statistical Analyses*

Hypotheses 1 through 4 tested for differences in time spent volunteering by each of the four variables using an ANOVA. Results are illustrated in Table 7.

Hypothesis 1: There will not be a statistically significant difference in volunteer work by age. This hypothesis was supported, there was no difference in volunteer work by age group. This hypothesis addressed ageist assumptions around older women's

productivity. This finding confirmed that older women volunteer upon retirement age (i.e. 65 years old) but into their 70s and 80s as well.

Hypothesis 2: There will be a statistically significant decline in volunteer work by health status. Hypothesis 2 was supported ( $p = 0.006$ ).

Hypothesis 3: There will be a statistically significant difference in volunteer work by income group. Income, as one measure of socio-economic status, was hypothesized to be influential on older women's volunteer work. This hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 4: There will be a statistically significant difference in volunteer work by marital status. It was expected that married women might be spending more time on spousal care and housework and therefore have less time for volunteering. Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

Table 7

*ANOVA tests for hypotheses 1-4: Volunteer work of Older Women, GSS Cycle 12 (1998)*

ANOVA					
Variable	N	Sum of Squares	df	F-value	p-value
Age group	1193	2748333	2	1.508	.211
Health status	1016	2317944	4	3.642	.006*
Income category	498	1514865	3	2.236	.083
Marital status	1077	2377156	1	0.407	.524

\*  $p < 0.01$

A test of analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) explored whether these four variables taken together could predict time spent on volunteer work. Results indicate that volunteer work ( $R^2 = 0.02$ ,  $p = 0.45$ ) could not be predicted using the chosen independent variables. One of the possible reasons for this was a large proportion of respondents who did 0 minutes

of volunteer work. Further tests were then run, excluding these cases where 0 care minutes or volunteer minutes were present. The results of this second test (Table 8) also indicated that these four variables did not predict time spent on volunteering ( $N=66$ ,  $R^2 = 0.11$ ,  $p = 0.68$ ). Hypothesis 9 was not supported.

Table 8

*ANCOVA results for predicting time spent on volunteer work*

Variable	Sum of Squares	df	F-value	p
Marital Status	17531.886	1	1.449	0.234
Income Group	45523.132	3	1.254	0.299
Health Status	27242.317	4	0.563	0.690
Age	8.258	1	0.000	0.979

$R^2 = 0.11$ ,  $p = 0.68$

Hypotheses 5 through 8 tested for difference in time spent on care work by each of the four variables. Results of the ANOVA are included in Table 9. It was expected that all four of the variables would significantly influence care work.

Hypothesis 5: There will be a statistically significant decline in care work by age group. Hypothesis 5 was supported ( $p = 0.000$ ).

Hypothesis 6: There will be a statistically significant decrease in care work by declining health status. Hypothesis 6 was not supported.

Hypothesis 7: There will be a statistically significant decrease in care work as income increases. There was a significant difference in care work by income, but the relationship was positive, not negative as predicted: as income increased so did average number of minutes performing care work ( $p = 0.000$ ).

Hypothesis 8: There will be a statistically significant difference in care work by marital status: married women will perform more care work than widowed women. This hypothesis was supported, married women were more likely to perform higher amounts of care work than were widows.

Table 9

*ANOVA tests for hypotheses 5-8: Care work of Older Women, GSS Cycle 12 (1998)*

Variable	N	Sum of Squares	d.f.	F-value	p-value
Age group	1193	4403121	3	8.972	.000*
Health status	1016	2553524	4	1.316	.262
Income category	498	1640414	3	6.479	.000*
Marital status	1077	4145777	1	22.435	.000*

\*  $p < 0.01$

ANCOVA tests were run to assess if the independent variables could be taken together to predict time spent in care work. Results indicate care work ( $R^2 = 0.05$ ,  $p = 0.00$ ) could not be predicted using the chosen independent variables. One of the possible reasons for this was a large proportion of respondents who did 0 minutes of care work. Further tests were then run, excluding these cases where 0 care minutes were present. Results indicate that at a significance level of .05 the independent variables predict 34.5% of the variability in time spent on care work ( $N=68$ ,  $R^2 = 0.34$ ,  $p = 0.04$ ). Hypothesis 10 was supported. Table 10 demonstrates that marital status and age had significant effects on time spent in care work, while income and health status did not have significant effects on this variable.

Table 10

*ANCOVA results for predicting time spent on care work*

Variable	Sum of Squares	df	F-value	p
Marital Status	45093.50	1	4.66	0.04
Income Group	42674.51	3	1.47	0.24
Health Status	45983.06	4	1.19	0.33
Age	116899.40	1	12.09	0.00

 $R^2 = 0.34, p = 0.04$ 

Table 11 provides the effects of individual variables on time spent on care work. Being widowed meant women were less likely to be doing care work ( $p=0.03$ ). Women with an income of \$40,000-59,999 were also less likely to perform care work ( $p = 0.047$ ). Age was run as a continuous variable in this analysis, and here we see a negative relationship; as age increased, time spent on care work decreased ( $p = 0.00$ )

Table 11

*Effects of individual variables on time spent on care work*

Variable	N	Estimate	Standard Error	t ratio	p
<i>Marital Status</i>					
Widowed	34	-37.99	17.59	-2.16	0.03
Married	91				
<i>Income Group</i>					
0-19,999	12	5.56	30.40	0.18	0.86
20,000-39,999	30	-3.22	26.83	-0.12	0.90
40,000-59,999	15	-63.95	31.15	-2.05	0.047
60,000 and up	11				
<i>Health Status</i>					
Excellent	24	54.00	36.92	1.46	0.15
Very good	45	35.30	28.31	1.25	0.22
Good	32	42.28	32.73	1.29	0.20
Fair	18	-25.34	42.95	-0.59	0.56
Poor	9				
<i>Age</i>	136	-10.91	3.14	-3.48	0.00

## CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF QUANTITATIVE DATA RESULTS

Overall, the results demonstrate that the independent variables of age, health status, income and marital status are significant predictors of older women's care work but not their volunteer work.

Both volunteering and performing care work usually require a certain amount of physical and mental resources. It was hypothesized that there would be a significant decrease in time spent on volunteer work by health status, and this hypothesis was supported. Volunteer work did not significantly differ among women of different age, income and marital categories.

There were significant differences in time spent on care work by age, income and marital status. Interaction effects between the variables were tested using ANCOVA analysis. Results showed that approximately one third of the variability in time spent on care work can be predicted using age, income, marital status and health status. This points to a significant degree of predictive power in explaining time spent on care work by women 65 and older. Age, marital and health status are also somewhat correlated. Multicollinearity could not be tested due to the fact that marital and health status were categorical variables. Theoretically, we can say that for women 65 and older, as age increases, likelihood of experiencing widowhood increases, as does likelihood of health decline.

Care work minutes were a function of time spent caring for family members (including spouse, siblings, and grandchildren), and providing assistance or care to others (i.e. providing care or transportation to neighbours). It is not surprising that the four variables were able to provide some level of prediction regarding changes in time spent on these types of activities. Feminist theory was used in this project to assert that older

women perform care work based on gendered expectations: women's duty to care for others. In this study, this expectation was seen in the results regarding marital status and care work: older women who were widowed were significantly less likely to do care work than were their married counterparts. Age significantly decreased older women's likelihood of performing care work. This is likely due to decreased mobility among some older women who become frail and in turn, decreased expectations (by family and friends) that they will continue caring for others. The estimated number of minutes doing care work also decreased for women in the \$40,000-59,999 income category. This suggests a class based difference in older women's care work where having a middle class income affords women to pay for others to help with unpaid care work of family or friends.

### *Limitations*

There were several limitations concerning the GSS 12 data set from Statistics Canada. In terms of method, this survey relied on recalling information from the past week, which has a limited level of accuracy. As well, the method employed forced respondents to name only one activity. This has implications for activities such as child care, or even household duties such as laundry since many unpaid work activities are performed simultaneously throughout the day. A large percentage (88%) of women reported 0 minutes of care work and / or volunteer work in this survey. Other surveys have captured larger amounts of time spent on these activities by this population. This was considered a limitation in this project.

Only four variables were selected as possible predictor variables in this project. These four variables were hypothesized to be significant influences on the ability, expectations and choices of older women to perform unpaid work within their family and

community. It is possible that additional variables included in the data set may have served as better predictors of volunteer and care work. Finally, in doing secondary data analysis, a researcher is bound by the survey questions included originally. Some variables that might be better predictors of time spent in unpaid work (such as religious attendance, number of years since retirement, number of years widowed, past volunteer and care experiences (as per continuity theory) and identification with traditional gender roles (as per feminist theory)) were not included in the survey.

### *Future Research*

A major feature of this project is that the time use data used was from the 24 hour time use diary constructed by Statistics Canada. The data set includes additional questions regarding volunteer work and other unpaid work beyond the time use diary. For example, in another section of the survey, participants were asked to recall how often they volunteered each month for the past 12 months. An analysis using these data may yield different responses to the research questions outlined in this project. I decided not to use these data as they were perceived as less reliable than data collected from the past week.

If the goal is to build a model of variables that can help predict time spent in volunteer work, care work or similar types of unpaid labour, it appears that additional variables beyond age, income, health and marital status are required. Unpaid work is a function of many factors. The two theories cited in this project were used to suggest that factors such as social expectations of women (feminist theory) and past experiences (continuity theory) influence older women's unpaid work. Future research should assess the adequacy of time use survey methodology such as is currently employed by Statistics Canada in measuring such variables.

An individual person's volunteerism is a function of many complex factors and future research should explore additional factors beyond health status that appear to influence volunteerism among older women. Examples of such variables include: influences from their family of origin while growing up, religiosity and belief systems, as well as mobility and health issues.

## CHAPTER 6: QUALITATIVE DATA

The previous section describes the results of quantitative data analysis of older women's unpaid work. Although, as shown in Chapter 4 the variables of age, health, income and marital status succeeded in predicting 35% of the variability in time spent on care work, the results were less successful regarding volunteer work. It was concluded that additional variables must be identified as influential upon older women's volunteer and other unpaid work. From a feminist theoretical perspective it was logical to move to qualitative data, collected in in-depth interviews with older women themselves, to further understand the conditions that influence their unpaid work.

### *Definitions*

Older women are women age 65 and older, currently living in their own homes or apartments.

Unpaid work includes all productive activity for which no remuneration was received and that supports and maintains the social institutions of the family, community and the market economy. I have operationally defined the term unpaid work more selectively for this study. Two categories of types of unpaid work are used: volunteer work with a group or organization, termed 'formal volunteering' by Statistics Canada (Hall et al., 2001) and a variable that captures all caring for others – inside and outside their household (includes spousal care, child care, helping tasks to relatives, friends, 'informal work'). In the text that follows these activities will be termed: *volunteer work* and *care work*. These two categories were also used to test hypotheses using the GSS12.

### *Methodology*

Many of the qualitative studies included in the above literature review used interviews as a method for conducting the research (Altschuler, 2001; Davidson, Arber &

Ginn, 2000; Glass & Jolly, 1997; Grand'Maison, 1996; Hurd, 1999; Pickard, Shaw & Glendinning, 2000; Sidenvall, Nydahl & Fjellstrom, 2000). This method has the potential to meet what Ray (1999) describes as an important goal, that of validating personal knowledge and experience so that methodologies themselves can challenge and extend current accepted modes of knowledge production. Interviews with women are a "strategy for documenting women's own account of their lives" (Oakley, 1981, p.48). In the best scenario, the interviewer can become a tool for incorporating into research, practice and policy, the "articulated and recorded voice of women" (Oakley, 1981, p.48). Qualitative research has played an important role in advancing one of the goals of critical gerontology of "reinserting" the subjective experience of people into the research (Phillipson, 1998, p.23). Qualitative studies discuss not only the work being done, but also the experience of the worker - in this case, the woman in her later years.

A researcher makes methodological decisions in order to select and guide herself through the methods to be used to answer the research questions. Feminist methodology includes careful consideration of how the chosen methods will have an impact on the participants and the selection of acceptable methods to ensure integrity and rigour. Feminist methodology reflects feminist principles of validating women's experiences and 'talking with' rather than 'talking at' participants. The researcher should not position herself as 'the expert' and rather should position the participant as 'the knower.' In analyzing and interpreting the data, the purpose of the analysis is to take part in the experience described by Ristock and Pennell (1996) "...social scientists...[are] responsible for reconstructing social reality in a way that looked beyond people's immediate understandings to less apparent patterns of social relations" (p.78). In other words, my work here is to document the unpaid work activities in which women

participate, as well as how they feel about that work. Women will have a certain context for their work and reasons for doing it. As a researcher, my task is to use theory and “creative analyses” (Ristock & Pennell, 1996, p.79) to widen the scope of contexts and to create new knowledge about the women and their work. Analysing and interpreting the data, that is bringing in the theory so as to include the “less apparent patterns of social relations” (p.78) should be done without disregarding or discounting their contexts in order to assert my own analysis of the relationship between older women and their unpaid work.

Rigour and reliability are important concepts in qualitative research. Reliability involved checking on how well the research tools (interview questions and time use chart) answered the research questions. Tactics to achieve validity or rigour in qualitative research include reflexivity, depth of description, accuracy, intellectual honesty and searching for alternative hypotheses and interpretations (Borkan, 1993). To be valid, qualitative research must have integrity in reflecting the lived experiences of the participants (Ristock & Pennell, 1996, p.50). Both reliability and validity were considered using recommended practice (Borkan, 1999; Sankar & Gubruim, 1994; Kirby and McKenna, 1996; Patton, 1990), that is, the practice of “living with the data” (Kirby & McKenna, 1996, p.150). Such action involves examining data from the perspective of the participant (Sankar & Gubruim, 1994), and distancing oneself as a researcher from the material (Patton, 1990). Face validity was ensured by going back to the original data, to check that analysis and interpretation are accurate to the raw data.

#### *Method*

In-depth interviews were performed with 10 women volunteers age 65 and older. Participants were found using contacts within the Winnipeg community, as well as

through posters (Appendix A) sent to several social service agencies in Winnipeg that were recognized as either a location that relied regularly on volunteer help (i.e. food banks) or a location that served seniors and therefore a likely place to locate senior volunteers (i.e. seniors resource centres). I contacted the following agencies to ask for help in recruiting participants: Age and Opportunity, UNPAC (United Nations Platform for Action Committee), the Volunteer Centre of Manitoba, several Winnipeg Neighborhood Seniors Councils (such as Good Neighbours, North End, Transcona, Broadway), Winnipeg Harvest, Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata, Osborne House, Villa Rosa, Creative Retirement, North End Women's Resource Centre, North End Community Ministry, Wolseley Family Place, Agape House, Compassionate Friends, Children's Hospital Book Fair Committee, and Gwen Selter Creative Living Centre.

Women interested in an interview were asked in the poster to contact me via phone or e-mail. Upon initial contact, I told them more about the interview process, and asked if I could mail them a copy of the time-use chart and list of some time-use activities to review prior to the interview. (See letters to participants Appendix A). Interviews were then scheduled. As expected, the taped interviews lasted between 1 and 2 hours.

### *Participants*

Participants were selected based on the criteria that they were currently doing volunteer work. There were two reasons for the decision to focus on women volunteers. First, it facilitates qualitative data analysis of commonalities among participants, (emerging themes) because it provides one way in which participants share a similarity. Second, this decision addresses the gap in literature on qualitative research on older women and their volunteer work. The use of the time-use chart to collect data on

additional unpaid work beyond the volunteer work was seen as a way of incorporating other forms of unpaid work such as informal care work.

The participants were ten women age 65 or older living in the Winnipeg area. All were performing volunteer work on a regular basis at the time of the interviews. The interviews were completed between October 2003 and May 2004.

### *Instruments*

Interview questions are listed in Appendix C. An additional data collection tool during the interviews was the “Time Use Chart” (Appendix E). This chart is modeled after the time-use collection tools used by other feminist researchers such as Waring (1999).

### *Data analysis*

Interviews were transcribed and analysed with assistance from NVIVO software. Qualitative data analysis methods outlined in Borkan (1999), Kirby and McKenna (1989), Patton (1990), Ristock and Pennell (1996) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) were used to guide the analysis. These texts describe similar procedures for qualitative data analysis, and they all appear to be influenced by the “grounded theory” approach to research that was first discussed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 (as cited in Ristock & Pennell, 1996).

There are several products from the qualitative data analysis:

- A. A summary list of unpaid activities identified by older women through interviews and completing the time-use chart.
- B. A summary list of responses as to why they do the work that they do.
- C. Analysis and interpretation of the commonalities and / or differences across participants’ answers based on their differences in age, health

status, marital status and economic status. This involves identifying themes from the interviews.

- D. Praxis: Discussion of the relationship between the data and theory.  
What are the relationships between the recurring themes?
- E. Triangulation of qualitative data with the findings from quantitative data analysis of GSS 12.

The process of data analysis began by coding the data to identify concepts and categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This process is named “identifying ‘bibbits’” (sections of raw data) by Kirby and McKenna (1989). Each bibbit corresponded to one of the research questions. As well, it is noted that qualitative data analysis is a *creative thinking* as well as a *critical thinking* endeavour (Patton, 1990, p.432; Ristock & Pennell, 1996, p.79). In order to practice creative and critical analysis skills, careful attention was paid to the raw data. In addition to identifying bibbits that answer the research questions, bibbits that do not appear to directly respond to the research questions were noted (these bibbits are termed ‘satellites’ in Kirby & McKenna). The satellites play a role in identifying concepts or issues important to the research questions, but not always predicted by the researcher (Kirby & McKenna, 1989).

Next, individual pieces were organized in order to begin “developing a category for analysis” (Ristock & Pennell, 1996, p.87). Patterns, themes and concepts were identified by “cross-case analysis” (Patton, 1990), termed “cross referencing bibbits” by Kirby & McKenna (1989). Interpreting the data then involved identifying possible and probable causes, consequences and relationships among categories of data (Patton, 1990). The concepts outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1990) offer a way to inspect the data in order to identify factors that influence the participant and her unpaid work. These

concepts are causal conditions, context and intervening conditions (p.96). For example, how does economic status act as a context within which the participant helps with child care or volunteers at a center? How is it an intervening condition that “facilitates or constrains” (Strauss & Corbin, p.96) her unpaid work activities? This process of understanding the causal conditions, context and intervening conditions within the data also involves returning to the theory and exploring how the data fit with theoretical constructs identified in the literature review section.

## CHAPTER 7: RESULTS OF QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

### *Results*

#### *Demographics*

Ten women over the age of 65 (R = 66-84) were interviewed. All of the women were retired from paid work at the time of interview. Two of the women were divorced, four were married and four were widowed. This proportion of divorcees (20% of the sample) is higher than the national average where only 4% of women 65 and over are divorced (Statistics Canada, 1999a). The proportion of married and widowed women in my sample roughly corresponds with national data of women in these categories (41% and 46% respectively) (Statistics Canada, 1999a)

Their educational experiences ranged from completion of grade eight all the way through to Master's degrees. Of the ten women, two had obtained Bachelor's degrees, and two had obtained Master's degrees. These statistics are higher than the national average where only 8% of Canadian seniors had post-secondary education (1999a). When compared to national statistics, this sample also had more ties to the paid labour force. Only one woman had not been in the paid work force upon marriage and therefore never officially retired. Across Canada, two out of every ten women age 65 and over have never been in the paid workforce (1999a). The other nine women had paid work experiences after marriage; the length of time they had been retired varied from one year to 29 years.

Household income data is reported in Table 12. Four participants reported being in the lowest income category: \$0-\$19,999 (annual income); one participant reported being in the second income category: \$20,000-\$39,999; the other five participants reported incomes in the \$40,000-\$59,999 range. Self-reported income was compared with Census data on average household income (for all age groups) in each postal code. In two

cases self-reported income fit with Census data on household income for her postal code area. In seven cases self-reported income was lower than the Census data. In one case self reported income was higher than Census data.

Table 12

*Participant Household Income: Self-reported and 2001 Census figures*

Participant	Self-reported household income category	2001 Census median household income (all ages, all households)
A	40,000-59,999	37,612
B	40,000-59,999	45,434
C	0-19,999	38,223
D	40,000-59,999	70,884
E	20,000-39,999	43,156
F	40,000-59,999	43,813
G	40,000-59,999	92,052
H	0-19,999	31,771
I	0-19,999	37,612
J	0-19,999	25,235

Note. Participant's postal code used to retrieve Census figures.

There appeared to be a desire for most of the participants to rate their household income level as being in "the middle" of my scale. However in several instances, such as with Participant A, there were indicators of an upper middle class lifestyle:

...These are golden years, to be free, and we did. And I've never regretted it. I guess I've had 13 vacations in Hawaii. I've gone...to Australia, I've been 8 times to Iceland, 3 times to England, and um traveled in Europe..."

L: I'm hoping that I talk to women with different financial backgrounds; I have 4 categories here which one would you say describes you?

....[So] I have no problem saying that I'm somewhere in the middle." [Participant A]

Three other demographics were collected in order to discuss the economic status of the participants: ownership of a home, car and cottage or other second property. Eight of the women owned a home and two of the women previously owned homes but were now renting. Nine of the women owned cars and three of the married women owned two cars. Two of the women owned cottages or other property and three others had owned second properties in the past. Observational data were collected regarding the participant's homes, in order to indicate if the women were of higher, middle or lower economic status. Using this observational data, along with interview responses (including husband's occupation), it was assessed that the majority (8) of the women who participated in this study could be classified as middle class.

Participants were asked to rate their health using four categories: excellent, very good or good, fair, or poor. Two women rated their health as excellent, seven rated their health as good or very good and one woman rated her health as fair.

#### *Time Use Charts*

Time Use Charts were completed during the interview to provide a "snapshot" of each participant's volunteer and other unpaid work within a given week. Each participant described her volunteer and other unpaid work events for each day of the past week leading up to the interview day. Completed time use charts for each woman are shown in Appendix E. The women were involved in various volunteer and care work activities at the time of the interviews. These activities included volunteering for social organizations and places of worship, performing child care for family members, and providing care and

meals to family, friends and neighbours. Most of the women agreed that their time use chart provided an example of a “typical week.”

The time use charts yielded a wide range of unpaid activities from the ten participants. In all, 24 different activities were indicated in the time use charts:

1. Housework and errands
2. yard work
3. cashier duties at 2<sup>nd</sup> hand store
4. taking frail friends for dinner or preparing meals for frail neighbours (and shopping for meals for neighbours)
5. caring for friends pet
6. checking in with ill or alone persons who are shut in or in hospital / care home
7. preparing and hosting family dinners
8. volunteering at museum
9. volunteering at community group home
10. set up community even for seniors
11. provide lunch for family members in nursing home
12. prepare for and perform choir at church
13. babysit grandchildren
14. volunteer driving
15. volunteer at food bank
16. volunteer with community outreach centre
17. volunteer on hospital palliative care ward
18. making holiday gifts for family and friends or fundraisers

19. assist with home care visits for frail friend
20. meal preparation
21. maintenance of church building and grounds
22. paperwork relating to church administration
23. attending church meetings
24. assist with church service

### *Emergent Themes*

Three separate coding procedures were done in order to capture all relevant themes from the interviews. First, commonly cited responses to the interview questions were analysed thematically in order to assess the commonalities among the women and their responses. Second, themes were constructed by identifying bibbits that provided insight into the topic from the chosen theoretical perspectives (feminist and continuity theory). Finally, because this project is situated within the discipline of family social sciences, bibbits that helped to locate the role of the family as an influence on women's work were analysed thematically. The three coding procedures resulted in comprehensive and rigorous analysis of interview data. Many of the themes that emerged illustrated the intersecting of these three different foci.

*Theme 1: Type of volunteer work they do: "women's work" and the gendered division of labour in family and society.* It was observed that much of the unpaid work in which these women were engaged qualified as traditional women's labour, including food preparation, nurturing, caring for the very young (grandchildren) and the very old (parents, husbands and peers), baking for charities and crafting items for charity.

*Theme 2: Resources to do volunteer work.* Three resources were identified in the interviews as contributing to the participant's volunteering including adequate income,

good health and transportation autonomy (the ability to drive oneself around). These resources are related; health status influences the ability to keep driving, and owning and operating a car is a financial cost.

*Theme 2a: Income and volunteering.* When asked if having less income would affect their volunteer work, four women reported “yes” and four women replied “no” (the remaining two responses were unclear). The responses to this question fell into two categories. Some of the women did not link financial resources with their volunteer work, and they said that the decisions to do this work are not based on economics. Other women indicated that having less financial resources might translate into doing less volunteer work for two reasons. First, if they could not afford their vehicle, their volunteer work would be influenced. Second, if they did not have sufficient retirement income, they might need to do paid work and therefore have less time for volunteering.

For me, I don't think it's much of an influence because I'm not suffering at all financially. I don't think that if I would do more volunteer work. I think if I had less, I might do less volunteer work because I might do something I'd want to get money. Like maybe the grocery store or doing the sample stuff, you know, something retired people do, the greeter at wal-mart or something (laughs). So I think if I had less finances I would do less volunteer work.  
[Participant D]

Like if I didn't have a car for example? Oh yes!... I would change. If I had to go by bus or whatever, I would look for something more in my area. Yeah.”  
[Participant G]

L: ...Does having a certain amount of money help to be able to volunteer?  
“Oh yes!”

L: So if you had less would it influence certain things you'd be able to do?  
“Not what I'm doing. I think the important thing is to be mobile. And of course its very nice to still be able to drive - and if have your eyesight and your hearing,”  
[Participant A]

In addition, nine of the participants felt they had enough financial resources to do volunteer work (one declined the question). Some women also discussed the direct economic costs of volunteering, such as car maintenance, gas, food, and craft supplies.

“There's always a cost with volunteer work. Don't let anybody ever tell you it's not!” [Participant E]

Yes, oh yes. Oh yes, it [money] does [matter]. Yes, that is important. You need, people that don't have um, like expendable money, can't do it in the way that I've done it. Like you can do it by working in your neighbourhood, you can look after your neighbour's child or somebody who's sick or those kinds of things that don't cost. But you don't even cook for somebody else without a cost. You know, like the meat for me to make that casserole that I made last Saturday was 20 dollars. And that's not counting all that went in it. And all the dessert, you know, so if you don't have some expendable money that doesn't happen. [Participant F]

*Theme 2b: Health.* Participants were asked if their health influenced their day to day activities such as volunteering. Five women responded “yes,” two women said “no” and the other women first replied “no” but then gave examples of how their health had influenced their volunteer work in the past.

“Ah not really, not so far. Like well I didn't go to church last Sunday because my eye was bothering me, aching, so I just didn't bother going.” [Participant C]

I think it would - cause the times when I've had, sometimes have problems in my neck and back and I know those times that I will put off phoning K. to do that visit because I think. I guess I'm starting to think: no today, I'll take care of myself. Which is probably something I do more often now than maybe I would have 10 years ago. Or if I hadn't slept well and I'm really really groggy or something - I think today's a day to stay at home. So that probably doesn't get me out of coming here [hospital] or [food bank] but the more informal volunteering things I would probably put aside. [Participant G]

“Arthritis and that stops me. I do what I can.” [Participant H]

The majority agreed or provided instances that their health influenced their day to day activities including their volunteer work. In the course of the interviews the women described health ailments, such as arthritis, cataracts, restricted mobility due to stroke and

receiving physiotherapy. However, with the exception of one participant, the women reported that their health status was excellent, very good or good.

*Theme 2c: Transportation autonomy.* Nine of the ten women owned cars and drove themselves in order to volunteer and do other unpaid work. This type of transportation autonomy is a very important component in their unpaid work.

Like for me, if I didn't, if I couldn't drive my car, and I have a car, and my husband has a car, now this is a great blessing. If I didn't have a car, I wouldn't do all of these things. Like I would not take the bus down all the time. And I don't know if I would even go to [food bank] if I have to take the bus. Not because I wouldn't take the bus, but because its so time consuming. And depending on my husband. But as long as we're together, I would have to leave the house at at least 8 in the morning to get there on time. Where as it is, we always eat our meals together. So I would not leave him while I do you know, while, if I didn't have the car to do the things I do. And because we have the money for the gas. I mean keeping a second car is expensive, and my husband's forever saying 'oh well you don't need your car'.

And I say yes I do because you wouldn't share, evenly. You know, we just josh back and forth like this. [Participant F]

I drive myself. In fact we feel a little bad that we have 2 cars. We really don't need two cars. But. You know, if I want to get to [the fitness centre], he wants to go curling and golfing and if I want to do my stuff when he wants to do his stuff, or he's gone for a weekend cause he's visiting at these small congregations and I have something. We still have 2 cars. We feel a little uncomfortable about that. But. We keep saying one of these days were gonna organize down to one. But. We haven't done it yet. And that's, yes, that's a financial luxury isn't? That if I were say on my own, I'd have a car, but someone else might want to do these things but if you don't have the freedom. It's a luxury. [Participant G]

L: Does the weather change anything? Would you volunteer more in summer or less in summer, more in winter, less in winter?

“Doesn't make a difference.”

L: The driving doesn't bother you?

“No, doesn't bother me. The car is my legs - so I have to have it, and I just drive. Because I wear a brace and can't walk much” [Participant J]

The one participant who was no longer driving provided some context into the barriers that she faces regarding transportation. This participant had briefly volunteered at an agency that did not provide her with transportation, and she ended her work there. In

contrast, the location where she was currently volunteering at the time of the interview was providing transportation:

So I've stopped driving. That's the hardest thing to do by the way. If you're used to driving and having a car. All these things I've had to give up and there's been nothing back that's really interested me. So that's been crummy....

There's no public transportation that I can use. Even if it's not snowing I can't lift this thing up and down on bus steps. And they do have, they tell me they have these wonderful lower buses, but how often do they run and where do they run and where do they stop? Handi-transit [public, on-call transit service] is a blessing, but it's also a curse. First of all you call, and first to get through to them to make the reservation you have to count at least half an hour where you're put on hold and you wait your turn. Yeah. And you listen to their little commercials. It's awful. That's number 1. Number 2 is when you get through, they ask you when you want to go, where you want to go. What time you want to be there, and what is the purpose of your trip.

...they [agency she volunteers at] provide transportation. Otherwise I wouldn't do it. That's very key. And I made it clear when I went there. Because I can't afford to take cabs and I don't want to take Handi-transit. I'm tired by the time I get there. [Participant I].

*Theme 3: Family and Grandchildren.* Family and grandchildren were mentioned by all of the participants. Four of the women were performing child care for grandchildren on a regular or casual basis. The emergent theme regarding family was that most of the women mentioned hosting dinner for extended family members from time to time. None of the women reported being involved in spousal care at the time of the interviews. The only direct question regarding family in the interview was: "Have you always had family responsibilities (i.e. childcare, etc.)?" All of the interviewees had been married with children during their middle years and therefore had spent time doing the unpaid work of being a mother and a wife. The theoretical connections between their past unpaid work and their current unpaid work are examined in the Discussion section below.

Well because of my commitment, you know. My mother was the founder, and I enjoy the association with the women. And I think we have a very important goal, to go to citizenship court once a year, and serve the

coffee. And meet the people that are becoming Canadians. So that's an active citizenship - take part in citizenship. [Participant A]

L: What about the babysitting. Why do you do that?

"To help my children. Because they think that it's much nicer that I do rather than a stranger." [Participant B]

I do that [provide meals for parent in nursing home] out of love for her. Truly. Truly. But I wish she could - she can't communicate. It's very difficult. So what I do is, I bring her down and I sit with a lady who does talk. And the lady is paranoid, and she's definitely paranoid. And she repeats, and repeats. But I with her and chat with her, and it takes, it passes the time. And my brother-in-law does the same thing. [Participant E]

*Theme 4: Church work.* Five of the time use charts include church related volunteer work (see Appendix E). For those involved in church work, it was apparent this was a part of their lifestyle that was established earlier in life and has been continued into their later years.

Well I guess I'm involved in the church because I grew up in the church, you know I went to [church based girls club], all the girls groups and then when we were married. Now my husband grew up in [ ], till he was 17 and in [ ] the small town the church was their central social activity. You know. Like they went to Cubs and Scouts and Sunday school and they skated and so he grew up in the church. And when he came to Winnipeg they moved... and there was quite a group of young people on that, in that church on that street....And they had a social group there. And so when we got married, we, it was natural for us to start going to church. And as the children, when they got to be old enough to go to Sunday school and that, then I taught Sunday school, and did different things in the church and so did my husband. So you carry that on. You know, it just becomes part of your life. [Participant F]

*Theme 5: volunteering within women's religious groups.* In addition to discussing the role of volunteering for their place of worship, four of the women discussed past and present membership in women's groups within their church / synagogue. These groups performed volunteer work for the church as well as within the community. They also provided social connectivity with other women.

We have once a month, we have a [women's church group]. We meet once a month, and on Wednesday this past week towards a Christmas hamper and we made up 3 hampers. But I think what I like best is the camaraderie, the friends that I have in that church setting. I like the choir. I mean, I've been in that for - I don't know, 30 years. Something like that, yeah. But the choir has. Although we're all there to sing Christian type music, we're friends but we're not compatible with everybody. Whereas in the UCW, that I belong to. There is a unique friendship amongst each of us. And we're all women. Yeah. It's very unique. Very very special....I've only been in it for about 6 years. But it's been going longer....we have 29 ladies in that UCW group. And all of them do volunteer work. All of them. There is none who doesn't....They're my age. Some of them are younger. We vary from 47 to 70 I guess. ALL do volunteer you know. It's very interesting. [Participant E]

Each woman provided her own personal reason for getting involved in volunteer work. From the responses, five themes emerged: continuity, social connectivity (and therefore a response to potential social isolation), personal satisfaction, replacement, and keeping busy (but not too busy).

*Theme 6: Continuity*

"We've [she and her husband] been volunteering all our lives...I've been volunteering for a long time." [Participant G]

L: So you were saying before, you always volunteered. Were you always volunteering in church work? Why did you get involved?

"Well at that time I did more with the children in school. Yeah. If they went on field trips, little things. Or when they were in Cubs and Brownies, drive them, certain things. I did volunteering with the Red Cross, going door to door. Anything that I was asked. Ok fine, I'll do it. And I like meeting people. So I didn't think it was much. If you can help out a little bit somewhere it might not be much to you, but for them it is." [Participant H]

L: When you retired did your volunteer work increase?

"I don't know that it did. I think I've just always done volunteer work." [Participant A]

*Theme 7: Social connections.* Most of the volunteer work the women did was social in nature – it involved interaction with people on a regular basis. This was cited as a reason why they continued with this type of labour.

“You need to. You need to do something outside of the house or you go crazy!”  
[Participant E]

“Yeah, it’s just enjoyable. And it’s company – it’s social... and she was phoning all over trying to figure out where I was. And she was scared I got sick and didn't tell her cause I always phone if I'm going to be late and I just forgot.” [Participant J]

...and at that time my days were becoming bored, kinda bored, and I was shopping, I wanted to do volunteer work. I always wanted to do volunteer work so I said, is there anything that I can do in the way of volunteer work for the senior’s resource council? And she said ‘yes.’ She said I could do some help at the office. So I went a couple of times to help at the office. And she said I see you drive a car. I wonder if you would like to do volunteer driving. And that's how I started doing the volunteer driving.  
[Participant C]

*Theme 8: Personal Satisfaction: “The joy of volunteering” (quote from Participant G)*

As could be expected, many women cited that they volunteer in order to help others and to feel some personal satisfaction in helping others.

But I think I do a good job at it and I get a lot of satisfaction from it. You know you're teaching children. That's basically the reason. They're very good to their volunteers as well. You're appreciated and you're not really taken advantage of ever. So I just enjoy it. [Participant D]

“I would imagine that people who volunteer - that's in their hearts. And that if you didn't have the car to do it, I would do more right in my neighbourhood.”  
[Participant G]

And I enjoy thinking that it’s helping someone. I guess there has to be rewards, and it’s not the main thing, but it’s a part of it....and I think the other thing too is that when you're older, you've gone through a lot of experiences, and you think - you might be wrong - but you think you recognize in other people. Their pain and they might want to talk about it. Or when they're sad or when they're happy or something, and you sort of want to say, yeah, I think I could listen to this cause I think I know what this is about. So there's something about sharing that enters into this desire to volunteer. Not giving advice. But listening. [Participant G]

*Theme 9: Replacement*

Several statements indicate that volunteer work served to replace other work, such as family related tasks, paid work or housework. For example, one participant would have

preferred to do paid work, but due to government regulations she was prohibited from doing so without losing part of her pension payments. Other women reported finding themselves with fewer family responsibilities such as grandchild care, and volunteering served as a type of replacement activity.

See, I'm not allowed to work for a wage because I'm disabled and I get a pension. And if I could...I could work but I'm not allowed to. That's a government thing. If work for wages I get cut off my pension so I work for free! It's not fair, but it's the way it works. [Participant J]

And with [the food bank], it was in the end of June one year. And I thought you know (sigh), my family doesn't really need me in the summer time. They go here and there and they have a lake of their own or whatever. So I thought well, I'd phoned said 'What could I do'? So I went down and interviewed somebody, and they said, well you can do computer work, why don't you come in and work on the referrals? So I started one morning a week for a while.... in fact I've been there 3 years now. They got new computers and a new program, but it takes a lot to learn all the ins and outs. But you're never done learning. Like you know, every one of the jobs each is to learn about something. So I do really enjoy it. The computer I taught myself. Because there was a program and you just keep working away at it till you figure it out. [Participant F]

"You know he'd say have a good day! And I'd think doing what? You know, I've done the house[work]. So it's really true that you need a routine and that volunteering in retirement it's a wonderful way to make your week." [Participant G]

*Theme 10: Keeping busy...but not too busy*

I asked each woman if there were any activities she would like to spend less time on, and if she felt she had a choice in continuing or ending her volunteer and other unpaid work. In reference to their volunteer work, most of them stated that they were happy with their volunteer arrangements; the volunteer work was meeting their need to "keep busy", provided intrinsic rewards and socializing with others, mainly other women their age. Most felt they had a choice in doing their volunteer work, although one woman expressed dissatisfaction with the particular agency where she was volunteering because she did not

feel it was a good match with her skills or interests. One satellite bibbit included here references domestic work rather than volunteer work.

Um, sometimes at 5 o'clock I don't want to make supper! (laughs) But that's common to every woman who has to suddenly think about what they want to make for supper. And so we go out [for dinner] frequently in the summer, less frequently in winter. Because you know, making supper is not such a big deal. But it's true, there's times when I think oh I'm sick of- what do I have to do this for? But you know, anyway. That's just part of life. Everybody knows it. [Participant F]

“Oh yes, I have a choice, I don't have to go at all if I didn't want to. They know that. They keep things very pleasant for me so I'll stay - because I'm such a good worker! (laughs)” [Participant J]

“Yeah. I'm just as busy. but a busy of my own choosing.” [Participant E]

...If I didn't have the transportation problem, I would probably find more interesting places to volunteer. But I tried one they didn't offer transportation this one did. And that's what I'm doing. Thought I believe in the organization I think it does a lot of good. And I feel like I'm helping. But I'm not having fun. [Participant I]

## CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION OF QUALITATIVE DATA

### *Discussion*

The results of this project aid in further understanding the individual, familial and social contexts of older women's unpaid work. Several findings reinforce current literature on older women and volunteerism. Some of the emergent themes illuminate on aspects of older women's lives that have not been addressed in current literature. The application of a materialist feminist theory and continuity theory to older women's labour appears to be a unique contribution to literature in the areas of older women and volunteerism. In addition, the rigorous analysis of these data has led to the formation of further research questions regarding the topic of older women's unpaid work. This is seen as a primary goal of exploratory, qualitative research: to employ dialectical praxis between what is known, and what remains to be known. Following is a discussion of the results of the qualitative component of this project.

The demographic information collected from the women interviewed indicated that the majority of participants could be categorized as middle class. Literature in the area of volunteerism has provided some evidence of class differences among those people counted as "volunteers" and those doing equally valuable but differentially labelled unpaid work. In looking at grandparents who provide extensive care to grandchildren, Fuller-Thomson and Minkler (2001) found that those grandparents providing the largest amounts of child care had lower incomes, were living closer to the poverty line and had less education than those grandparents providing smaller amounts of childcare. In the current study, only one woman was providing extensive care to grandchildren, and most of the women had made clear limits around the amount of grandchild care they wanted to perform. Fuller-Thomson and Minkler (2001) found that provision of extensive

grandchild care was negatively related to income: lower income grandparents were more likely to do more child care. The fact that many of my participants were middle income and relatively educated may partially explain why most of the women were not heavily involved in child care work.

Van Willigen (2000), examined older people who volunteered in a formal (agency or religious) setting and found that volunteers had higher levels of education and income and less economic strain than those counted as “non-volunteers.” Again, the current findings may be used to support evidence that many people who are counted as “volunteers” are middle or higher income rather than low income. However, there was some degree of income diversity in my sample; the results overall demonstrate that volunteering is a function of several variables in addition to income.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) identify three conditions under which factors can influence the dependent variable: causal conditions, context and intervening conditions. Marital status did not appear to be an intervening condition; it did not aid in explaining differences among the older women volunteers in this study. The married women in this project were often performing their volunteer work independent from their husbands, and during the interviews there were many observable examples of their independence from their identity as “wife” and “mother.” Of course, as a contextual condition, being a wife influenced some of their unpaid work such as preparing meals and running errands for their husband. The widowed and divorced women were volunteering independent from any influence by a husband, but the married women were often doing volunteer work independent from their husband as well. The question now asked is: to what degree is volunteer work implicated in older women’s independence from their familial roles and identities? In this study, I did not ask specific questions about marital status or identity as

a “wife” and cannot really explore the connections between volunteerism and marital status any further than this.

Age and health status were the two other demographic variables collected.

Participants ranged in age from 66 to 84 years old and the time use charts and emergent themes indicate that age did not appear to help explain differences in type or amount of volunteer work performed. Health status appeared to be a causal condition; the majority of participants reported “excellent” or “very good” health status. Health is a resource that provides the energy and physical ability to volunteer.

#### *Time Use Chart*

In examining the 10 time use charts, we see that older women perform unpaid work for at least a portion of each day, most days of the week. Although retired from paid work, these women continue to contribute work of important social value.

Each of the activities captured within the time use charts could either be replaced by paid services or helped to maintain specific social institutions. Feminist socialist theory was used in this project to discuss the ways in which women’s unpaid labour is a feature of the patriarchal capitalist system that relies on women and unpaid work in order to function. A main assertion of feminist theory is that the cost of this work is incurred by women and benefits incurred by these two dominant social institutions. An attempt was made in this project to provide evidence that this continues to occur, despite some progressive changes that have been made to women’s material conditions. One piece of evidence important to this discussion is the way in which the women agreed that their volunteer work has some degree of direct economic cost to them (as described in Theme 2a).

The unpaid work captured in the time use charts, and listed above provides economic and social benefits to the family and the community. For example, volunteering at community resource centres, doing office work, operating the second hand clothing outlet, and providing transportation to clients of the centre, are all jobs that could be replaced with paid workers. In providing this work in a volunteer capacity, these women allow agencies to save funds for other uses and to maintain operations under limited budgets. Other unpaid work, such as providing child care for grandchildren, is work that enables the parents to do paid work, and / or to allow mothers some needed respite from their job as full time homemakers (as was the case with Participant E).

Time use charts provide a 'snapshot' view of a typical week. In this study, these ten time use charts capture and illustrate the amount of volunteer and other unpaid work performed by older women. Some of the charts illustrate that the participant performed unpaid work for significant portions of each day (i.e. Charts 1, 3 and 6). In other cases, the time use charts did not capture as much information regarding their unpaid work. There are at least two reasons for this. First, each woman differs in how much time and energy she contributes to unpaid work. Second, the time use chart method had limitations regarding the way in which informal activities (such as housework) were documented on the chart. This and other limitations are discussed in the section Limitations below.

### *Emergent Themes*

Each theme provides one component of the response to the question: why do women 65 and older volunteer? Volunteering is a function of available resources, past experiences, social location or expectations of women within families and communities, as well as the individual need for activity, socializing and personal satisfaction.

Theme 1 captures the gendered nature of much of the women's unpaid work. None of the women talked about 'being a woman' or doing 'women's work' in their responses during the interviews, but clearly the type and amount of unpaid work is informed by the gendered division of labour inside and outside the home. Specifically, expectations around femininity and the cult of true womanhood (Code, 2000) influenced their volunteer and other work. The gendered nature of their work did not surface during the interview conversation.

Themes 2a, 2b and 2c illustrate the commonalities among participants regarding resources that are needed in order to do volunteer work. Several participants were quite adamant that volunteering did have financial costs, and that without a certain amount of disposable income, they would find it more challenging to do their volunteer work. This perspective on the economic costs of volunteerism for older women has not been cited in previous literature on older women volunteers. Connected with income is the ability to own and operate a vehicle. Most of the women owned a vehicle and said that access to their own vehicle was a major component in being able to do volunteer work. The public transportation was not seen as adequate in addressing their transportation needs. A vehicle is perceived as necessary in order to stay active all year around. Transportation autonomy may be a factor that younger people take for granted; however, it is a vital component of the participant's ability to "get out and stay active." Duggleby, Bateman and Singer (2002) touched on the importance of transportation in their study of older women. Although other modes of transportation exist women seemed reluctant to switch to a different type of transportation such as taxis or transit. This could be partially explained using continuity theory of aging (Atchley, 1999). Continuity in maintaining

their ability to drive was important to the participants and enabled them to do work in the community in an autonomous fashion.

Volunteering and other unpaid work requires physical energy. It is not surprising that most of the participants reported being in good, very good or excellent health. This is not to say that they did not cope with health conditions, but that these health conditions were not preventing them from performing volunteer work on a regular basis.

Theme 2c (transportation autonomy) connects to Theme 2b (health) in that health acts as a resource that is one component in being able to maintain their status as car owner and operator. Only one woman in this study had stopped driving her car due to health reasons. All three resources; income, transportation and health, appear instrumental in influencing their volunteer, as well as their other unpaid work. Their driving status, along with health and physical energy are all aiding in their ability to pick up grandchildren from school, run errands and prepare meals for others.

Family connections played a role in most of the women's lives, and was a clear factor in much of their unpaid work. One example of this was the time and energy devoted to preparing meals for family and extended kin on an ongoing basis. Family has been cited by many as the primary location of women's unpaid work (Beaujot, 2000; Luxton, 1980; Waring, 1999), and the current findings support that women continue this labour well into their later years.

Given that 42% of Canadian older women attend church service regularly (Statistics Canada, 1999), it is not surprising that church work emerged as a theme in the present study. Churches, synagogues and other places of worship rely on volunteers for tasks such as maintenance, provision of services and fundraising. Again, continuity theory appears to apply because many interviewees had been involved in work at their church or

synagogue throughout their lives. A second theme also emerged around the fact that most of the women were connected specifically to women's groups within their religion. This may be influenced by the larger social expectations around women's legitimate spaces to occupy within society, especially during second wave feminism when these women were raised. Patriarchal cultures (and religions) are often threatened by a 'women only' space. A 'women only' church / synagogue group is more easily legitimized in this culture because it is positioned as a religious group rather than a woman or feminist group. As a religious group, their mandate often included volunteer work or service, and thus ties these experiences of women's groups to the discussion of older women's volunteerism here in this project. However, women's church groups, partly legitimized through their volunteer functions, also act as one of the few legitimized locations for women to be in a 'women only' space. Due to the limits that have been placed on women congregating throughout history, this is seen as having quite an important function. It is possible then, that volunteer work can sometimes be a means to an end for women who do not have any other 'women only' space in their lives.

Themes 6 (continuity), 7 (social connections), 8 (personal satisfaction), 9 (replacement) and 10 (keeping busy...but not too busy) are interacting factors regarding the participant's volunteerism. Prior to age 65, they had experiences of personal satisfaction through volunteer work, through socializing with others, and by keeping busy each day. These experiences appear to have extended into retirement age. Volunteerism acted as a vehicle by which to continue the feeling of personal satisfaction because it provided activity and an opportunity to socialize.

Feminist theory was employed in this project as an analysis of the way in which the material conditions of women's lives continue to be marked by unpaid work.

Although both men and women perform unpaid work for family, friends and community, it is woman's position as nurturer and care provider within the patriarchal capitalist society that allows us to link women's unpaid work with her oppression. Oppression is the limitation of choices imposed on a given group of people (Frye, 1983). These social relations (such as oppression) are often less apparent to those not familiar with feminist theory and according to Ristock and Pennell (1996) feminist researchers work at the complex task of revealing how these less apparent social relations are at work within a given research topic. Because of ideological discourses that often work to maintain oppressive conditions for certain groups in society, individual people themselves may not implicate patriarchal ideologies when describing aspects of their lives such as unpaid work. This was my experience in performing the in-depth interviews. However, it is apparent in examining both the time use charts and the emergent themes that the feminist analysis of gender roles applies to this study. The majority of unpaid activities the women were engaged in qualify as traditionally feminine type activities – caring for others, preparing meals and volunteering at hospitals and churches.

Feminist theory also analyses the way in which women exert agency within a patriarchal society. As a feminist researcher, it is important for me to include the ways in which these women illustrated examples of female agency. Many of these women held their own driving licenses, owned cars separately from their husbands, and made individual decisions regarding their unpaid work. At least three factors may be at work in providing these women with the social space in which to exert autonomy; two of the women were divorced, all but one were in the paid work force for at least some time during their marriage and four of the women had post-secondary education. From a feminist perspective we know that divorce, paid work and education have the potential to

increase women's independence. The liberalization of divorce laws, the increase in women's paid work participation and the increased acceptance of women into higher education are all cited as major influences in the increased social status of women in society over the past 100 years (Armstrong, 1997). As a cohort who was able to take advantages of some of these changes, the independence that the women exerted in retirement is partly a product of these changes. Widowhood is a fourth variable that can increase a woman's autonomy later in life. The way in which these women's lives were still marked by the roles of child care provider, nurturer and volunteer worker illustrate the way in which women's lives remain connected to patriarchal gender roles despite progress in access to paid work, education and divorce.

### *Reflexivity*

Reflexivity involves reflecting on the data collection process in order to achieve rigour. Reflexivity notes were made after each interview. These notes are one component of rigorous qualitative research (Jackson, 2003; Ristock & Pennell, 1996) in that they begin the process of analysis. Items analyzed in the reflexivity notes for this project included subject location, success of the research questions and time use chart, the setting and details given by the interviewee. For example:

“She herself identified both formal volunteer work, family work and housework and caring for husband as unpaid work, the yellow sheet I think helped, as she mentioned to me she doesn't do church work, but all 3 interviewees so far have understood my broader definition of unpaid work. And they separate leisure (going to the symphony) from those tasks” [reflexivity note #3]

Reflexivity notes allowed for documentation of observational data of the interviewee's home. These data aided in understanding the role of SES and lifestyle on unpaid work, and contributed to the above discussion of participants' demographics.

My reflexivity notes revealed how the process of divulging details about myself worked to develop rapport. Most interviewees asked several questions about my own background: where I grew up, if I attended church service, how I came to be a graduate student. Oakley (1981) suggests that this can be termed “no intimacy without reciprocity” (p.49) and that feminist interview researchers attend to this desire for reciprocity (by the interviewee) rather than ignore it.

Collecting reflexivity data from myself immediately after each interview also provided insight into future research questions, or ways in which to improve the process of interviewing older women. For example, two questions that would be helpful in future projects on this topic are: do you want or need outside help in getting volunteer or other work done? What would happen if you lost access to your car to get you around? I also reflected in the way in which I asked about their household income, and noted that during the interviews, it seemed as if the interviewee never wanted to check off the last box in the survey, so that they counted themselves as being “in the middle.” In the future, I would include one additional category of income (i.e. 80,000 +) to address this concern.

### *Limitations*

The small sample size (N = 10) in this project was one limitation. No follow up interviews were performed. Second interviews (or focus groups) with the participants would have provided an opportunity to share some of the emerging themes with the participants and receive their insight and feedback.

The study is also limited in the lack of diversity among participants. The participants are only representative of a small group within Canadian society: they were all white, the majority were middle class and either married or widowed. Women of other categories of race, class and sexuality were not represented in this study. Older women

belonging to groups that are marginalized by society (i.e. lesbian women, poor women, disabled women and Aboriginal women) were not represented in this study.

There were also limitations with the time use chart method: In this study, the time use chart was more successful in capturing the more formal unpaid activities (volunteering) than the informal activities. As stated by the invisibility of unpaid labour such as housework and care work played a role in the way data was collected in this project.

### *Future Research*

There are many aspects of older women's unpaid work that can be explored in future research. As discussed above, in documenting the unpaid activities of older women, researchers should employ specific methodologies that address the invisibility of this work – an invisibility that is sometimes shared by the women themselves.

Time use charts have many benefits in being able to gather and illustrate data on unpaid work. Future research using time use charts to discuss domestic labour should ensure that participants are asked to specifically list each activity that was performed each day (i.e. food preparation at breakfast, lunch and dinner, laundry, errands and cleaning). This type of detailed documentation of a person's activities can be seen as fairly intrusive and requires a certain level of trust between participant and interviewer. The sharing of this information requires a certain level of rapport that is difficult to establish within the confines of a single one hour interview. Future researchers using time use charts should attempt to plan at least two interviews with each participant in order to address this issue.

## CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

This study used both quantitative and qualitative methodologies and data to explore the factors which influence older women's volunteer and other unpaid work. The advantage of employing more than one method in a research project is that they can together provide a more complete understanding of the factors involved in women's unpaid labour. In this project, the inclusion of a quantitative analysis provided the researcher with insight into the value and limitations of such data in explaining women's lives (in this case their unpaid work). The inclusion of a qualitative analysis provided an opportunity to employ feminist praxis to the topic of older women's unpaid work. Specifically, the in-depth interviews with older women served as a great learning experience. I learned much about the benefits and challenges of moving from the abstract concepts and theories of academics to the lived experiences of women.

### *Conclusions Drawn from the Qualitative Data*

The qualitative project provided insight into some of the factors that influence older women's volunteer and other unpaid work. As well, this project used time use chart methodology in order to discuss women's unpaid labour. I learned about the process of documenting care and volunteer activities of older women within the interview framework; documenting volunteer work was a more straightforward process than documenting other types of unpaid labour.

Some of the themes from the interviews echoed what has been said in recent literature on the topic; overall, the way in which older women's labour has been described as both individually satisfying as well as socially influenced / necessary contributes to the ongoing academic exploration of older women's lives.

### *Conclusions Drawn from the Quantitative Data*

The main goal of performing the analysis of quantitative data was to explore how this type of data aids in furthering our understanding of older women and their unpaid work activities. The Statistics Canada General Social Survey provides researchers with data on one component of unpaid work: time spent performing it. Overall, the selected independent variables succeeded in predicting a substantial (35%) portion of the differences in time spent on care work.

#### Discussion of use of both Qualitative and Quantitative Data Within this Project

O'Connell (2000) describes some of the issues that arise from combining qualitative and quantitative research methods within one project. Quantitative researchers inhabit a different culture than qualitative researchers, and each side has a different view on what constitutes knowledge, and how to go about gaining it through research (2000). Her description is very accurate; these are two very different approaches to generating knowledge and the differences cannot be easily reduced into one another. Quantitative methods, with their characteristic focus on prediction, are a component of the positivistic paradigm within science. Qualitative methodology is built on post-positivist critiques of concepts such as prediction and objectivity (see Oakley, 2000 for detailed discussion: "Paradigm Wars"). In performing analysis on both quantitative and qualitative data, this project served as a learning experience in understanding to what degree prediction (as supported by the use of Statistics Canada data sets) and more post-structural feminist approaches (as described by Oakley (1981, 2000) and Ristock and Pennell (1996) could be used within a single project about older women and their unpaid work. The challenge in this project was to apply the appropriate methodology for the desired goal. Prediction is a different goal from description. Each methodology also has a history, and a political

location within academia. All of these factors influenced each decision in the project in order to maintain rigour and reliability with each method. A research project that includes both methods (paradigms) generates considerations (decisions) for the researcher that a project using only one method is not as likely to present.

For the most part, the qualitative and quantitative results from this study were generated through different research questions, and used very different sample sizes. Although the methodologies are very different, and these differences cannot really be reduced into one another, the end products – the knowledge that is generated by each type of research – can inform one another. For example, one area in which the results might be seen as complementary is in looking at the significant decrease in time spent on volunteer work by decrease in health status from the quantitative analysis. In the interviews, we see that this supports the theme “health” from qualitative data, that 9 of the 10 women volunteers had good, very good or excellent health status.

#### *Implications and Concluding Comments*

Unpaid work as a topic of investigation continues to have an important role in the sociological sciences. Understanding unpaid work, the majority of it still performed by women, is fundamental to understanding gender inequality and improving the status of women in Canada, and globally (Benoit, 2000). This project has addressed a small piece of the larger project of valuing women’s work and challenging the systems that maintain its devaluation. It is clear that older women should be included in analyses of unpaid work; that family care does not end for women upon retirement or attaining a certain age. Recognition of older women’s work has implications for both research and policy. The results of this study can be used to indicate some of the specific social or economic policies that could address older women’s contributions.

Although this project has focused on older women volunteers, it is important to explicitly state that my goal here was not to take part in the dominant discourse of “finding out how we can increase volunteerism” among older women. Feminist theories have revealed the ways in which women’s material and discursive conditions are often limited by social expectations around unpaid work. Although older women contribute unpaid work deserving of recognition, acknowledgement is also given here to women who challenge expectations of unpaid service throughout their lives. This captures some of the complexity in current (third wave) feminism: that researchers attempt to address the diversity within and across all categories and identities while also continuing the work of transforming the oppressive features of the gendered division of labour.

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Appendix A

Participant recruitment poster and introductory letter to participants



UNIVERSITY  
OF MANITOBA

University of Manitoba Research Study  
Faculty of Human Ecology, Department of Family Studies

# Are you a volunteer?

Lisa Bednar, a student at the University of Manitoba is doing a study on women age 65 and older who volunteer.

If you are a **woman age 65 and older**, and you are currently a volunteer at any agency or church or other group or organization, I would like to talk to you about this work. Please take my phone number tag below and contact me!

**Why am I doing this study?** I am interested in learning from women themselves about the volunteer work they do at age 65 and older.

This study involves one interview. The interview will take approximately one to two hours, and would be scheduled at your convenience.

These interviews will help me complete my Master's degree in the department of Family Studies at the University of Manitoba.

If you are interested in participating, please call me!  
(please take tag from below)

Lisa Bednar  
Phone: 261-4304  
e-mail: [umbednar@cc.umanitoba.ca](mailto:umbednar@cc.umanitoba.ca)

Study on women  
and volunteer work  
call **Lisa 261-4304**  
for interview

Study on women  
and volunteer work  
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for interview

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and volunteer work  
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for interview

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and volunteer work  
call **Lisa 261-4304**  
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Study on women  
and volunteer work  
call **Lisa 261-4304**  
for interview



UNIVERSITY  
OF MANITOBA

Faculty of Human Ecology

Faculty of Human Ecology  
Department of Family Studies

Lisa Bednar  
Department of Family Studies

Dear \_\_\_\_\_,

Thank you for agreeing to read this letter and learn more about my research project. The purpose of this letter is to tell you more about my project.

I am interested in learning more about older women volunteers through interviews. My interview questions will focus on how you spend your time doing volunteer work, as well as any other unpaid care or help to others in your family or community.

During the interview, I will want to fill out a "Time Use Chart", a copy of which is enclosed with this letter (green paper). The purpose of this chart is to look back at a week and identify some, hopefully many, of the activities that you participated in. If you consent to an interview with me, I will want to fill in this chart with you during the interview (the chart is included in this letter in order for you to see in advance what I am going to be asking, you do not need to fill out this chart before the interview). If you agree to an interview, we would look at the last 7 days leading up to the day of the interview and fill out the chart with volunteer work and any other unpaid work such as those listed on the yellow sheet.

It will be important for my project for you to share as much as you would like about the activities in which you participate. The yellow sheet is a list of examples of "unpaid work" activities that I would like to talk about during the interview.

I will be contacting you by phone in the next few days in order to ask if you are interested in participating in a conversation with me. If you have questions you can call me at [phone number]. Thank you again for your time, I look forward to talking with you!

Sincerely,

Lisa Bednar

Appendix B

Consent form



UNIVERSITY  
OF MANITOBA

Faculty of Human Ecology  
Department of Family Studies

Winnipeg, Manitoba  
Canada R3T 2N2  
Phone: (204) 474-9225  
Fax: (204) 474-7592

### Consent Form

#### How to find me:

Name of researcher: Lisa Bednar

Contact information: phone

e-mail:

Affiliation: Department of Family Studies, Faculty of Human Ecology

211 Human Ecology Building, University of Manitoba

Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2

Project supervisor: Dr. Ruth Berry

University of Manitoba

Ph: 474-8054

**Research project title:** Older women volunteers: Exploring individual and social contexts of unpaid work.

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

#### Purpose of my study:

For this study I am interviewing several women age 65 and over about how they use their time, with a focus on the volunteer and other unpaid work that they do. These interviews form a part of a thesis project I am completing as part of my M.Sc. degree program at the University of Manitoba.

#### Details about the interview:

I estimate that each interview will take a minimum of 1 hour. The interview will be tape recorded so that I can listen to the interview responses again at home to prepare my final thesis report. Only I will ever have access to the tapes.

I will ask questions about unpaid work and volunteering. I would like your consent to be contacted again within the next 3 weeks, if needed, to clarify parts of the first interview. The second conversation will take place either by phone or in person.

**Participation in this research study is completely voluntary.** You are able to change your mind and withdraw from the study at any time, during the interview or after the

interview process is completed. You can also let me know if there are any questions that you do not want to answer.

**After the interviews:**

I will be using these interviews to complete my thesis report on "Older women's unpaid work". I will send a copy of this report summary to you if you like. The tapes used to record our conversation will be transcribed and will be destroyed upon completion of my Masters program. There is a possibility of the tapes being kept for 3 years (until 2006).

**Confidentiality:**

During my research, all of your responses, the tapes, transcripts and notes will be kept in a locked place at all times. No one other than myself will have access to the tapes or my notes. All data will be confidential. In my reports, I will not use your real name. Your address and phone number will not appear in any report, and no one other than myself will ever have access to that information. I will be using your address to identify the neighbourhood you live in, but the your address and the name of your neighbourhood will not appear in my final report. You will remain anonymous.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122 or e-mail

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Researcher's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Appendix C  
Interview Questions

## Interview Questions

### Introduction (following informed consent process)

For this project, I am interested in talking to you about how you spend your time volunteering. My questions today focus on how you spend your time in volunteer and other unpaid work, and what types of things you do during the course of a week. These interviews are part of my university project on women who volunteer in their later years. If there are any questions you don't want to answer, please feel free to tell me to skip that question. Do you have any questions?

### Demographics and economic background questions:

1. *Labour force status*: Are you working for pay right now?
2. What year were you born?
3. How far did you go in school?
4. *Paid work experiences of the past*: What kinds of work did you do when you were younger? ( e.g. *waged work, farming, family business, paid position on committees, etc...*)
5. What is your marital status?
  - a. How many people live with you in your household right now?
6. *For those with partners or widowed*: What type of work did your husband / partner do before he retired / stopped working ? (or he may be currently doing that work if not yet retired)
7. What year did you retire? OR how long have you been retired?

### Unpaid work questions:

One way that I can learn about how you spend your time is to ask you to go back and describe what you have done in the past week. The examples I have listed here are things that some people refer to as unpaid work, and these are the types of things in which I am especially interested (in general, the things you do to offer care or help to others).

Refer to "List of some time use activities"

*(at this point work together to fill in the Time Use Chart with activities that she has participated in during the past week. 1<sup>st</sup> go back last 7 days from interview. Then go over yellow sheet to document any other activities)*

1. Did you receive pay for any of the activities above? (Go over chart of week's activities for this question.)
2. Are there any activities you would like to add that did not get included because they were not done last week (example, you babysit from time to time, but did not happen to last week). *(these activities will be differentiated from the activities done in the chosen week as separate and additional data to time-use chart data)*
- 2a. where are all the places you currently volunteer your time?
3. I would like to talk about the activities that we wrote on the time chart. First, is this a good example of things you do from day to day? How is this week you described above different from a typical week? *(special occasion, meeting for an event about to happen, etc..)*
4. I would like to talk about how you feel about these activities. What activities from the chart (or from question #3) do you enjoy doing?
5. Why?
6. Are there any on which you would like to spend less time?
7. Why?
8. Could you tell me a little bit about **why** you do these activities? *(go through each activity on the chart, probe:: what are some of the reasons why you volunteer, etc...)*
9. Do you feel you have a choice in doing each of these activities? *(go through each activity listed)*

The focus in my project is to ask about how personal financial resources influence your activities.

10. How would having more financial resources affect your unpaid work?  
Do you think you would do more or less of this work if you had more financial resources? *(might do more because would be able to get around easier, or might do less because able to hire childcare or home care).*  
Another way to ask is to ask how would having less financial resources affect doing this work?
11. I am also interested in talking about how these current activities relate to things you did in the past.  
In general have you always done volunteer work?  
Have you always done church or community work?  
Have you always helped care for others in your family *(childcare, family responsibilities)*

12. Would you say you do more or less of this type of work in compared with before you turned 65 years old? (or since you retired, whichever came later)  
Did retirement or age 65 change the type or amount of volunteer or other work you do?
13. Do your activities change from summer to winter? Why? (*travel south, too cold out, hard to get around, no one to drive me etc.....*).

Economic and other background information questions:

14. How do you get around to do this work? (transit, husband or other drives, drive myself)
15. How would you describe your overall health right now?  
[ ] excellent [ ] very good or good [ ] fair (some good days, some bad days) [ ] overall poor
16. Does your health influence your day to day activities such as volunteering?
17. Do you feel you have enough financial resources to allow you to do this work (*volunteer*)?
18. My hope is to talk to several women with different backgrounds. Could you tell me which category of annual household income best describes your household right now?
- [ ] 0\$ - 19,999\$ [ ] 20,000\$ - 39,999\$ [ ] 40,000\$ - 59,999\$ [ ] 60,000\$ or more

OR

Do you know what your current net worth is? (includes income, savings of all types and assets such as own a home, car, boat, cottage)

19. Do you own a home? (either your own or someone else – i.e. relative living there, etc..)

Do you own a car?

Do you own a cottage or other home? (winter residence in warmer climate, summer home elsewhere)

Mailing address and phone number of participant to be recorded to mail out final report and in case I need to contact her to clarify her answers:

Observational data:

Type of home: (apartment, house, condo etc...)

Size of living space: (small living quarters, balcony? Backyard?)

Surrounding area (street consists of small houses, large condo high rises etc., near loud intersection or very quiet street)

Closing:

Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you for your time and for this interview. As stated in my consent form, I hope I can ask to contact you within the next 3 weeks if I want to clarify things that you have told me today.

Appendix D

Example of time use activities

## Example of time use activities

- **any paid work**
- **childcare or babysitting**  
example: having grandchildren stay overnight
- **volunteering**  
examples: can be once in a while or on-going, help with community centre or legion, apartment activities, fundraisers, working on a committee, helping with political campaign
- **help to family or friends**  
examples: visiting and / or driving friends or family to appointments, for shopping etc..
- **church work / or help to any other place of worship**  
examples: organizing events, helping with events such as "fall suppers", help with fundraising, on going duties that help the church operate
- **helping someone who is ill or alone**  
examples: running errands, picking up prescriptions, help getting to appointments
- **giving items you made to church or other charity**  
examples: making food for a bake sale, knitting for charity
- **helping someone outside your household**  
examples: helping someone with activities such as shopping (groceries and other items), housework, home repairs such as painting, yard work, help with gardening, cooking or baking for others, paying bills, "checking up" on others, etc..
- **giving items you made to family or friends**  
examples: making food for family or friends, knitting, sewing or mending clothing

Appendix E  
Time Use Charts

Time Use Chart 1 Age: 69 divorced	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Morning		Worked at home	8:30 to 4:00 worked at 2 <sup>nd</sup> hand clothing store (community based)		8:30 to 4:00 worked at 2 <sup>nd</sup> hand clothing store (community based)	8:30 to 4:00 worked at 2 <sup>nd</sup> hand clothing store (community based)	8 hours cleaning and painting at church
		Painted deck					
		Cut grass					
Afternoon		Laundry and other housework		12:30 to 4:30 worked at 2 <sup>nd</sup> hand clothing store			
Evening							
Notes							

Time Use Chart 2 Age 84 widowed	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday			
Morning	In Ontario on personal trip	In Ontario on personal trip	In Ontario on personal trip	Return from trip	Committee meeting		Trip to Ontario			
Afternoon									Bridge club	
Evening								Took friend for dinner	Taking language classes for recreation	
Notes										

Time Use Chart 3 Age 69 Married	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday		
Morning	Spent time with family		Leave 7:45 AM or earlier Babysit grandchildren Arrive back home at 5:45 PM	Volunteer driving	Leave 7:45 AM or earlier Babysit grandchildren Arrive back home at 5:45 PM	Volunteer driving	6 am to 1 pm prepared thanksgiving meal for family		
6 AM to 12 noon		11:30 volunteer driving							
		Return home to make lunch for husband							
Afternoon		Cottage yard work							3:15 Pick up grandchildren from school arrive back home 5:30
12 noon to 6 pm								3 pm volunteer driving	
Evening					Attended community school function	Traveled to cottage	Prepared meal for extended kin (10 people)		
6 pm to 12 midnight									
Notes									

Time Use Chart 4 Age 82 widowed	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Morning		Prepare thanksgiving meal for extended kin		Volunteer driving			Went out for breakfast	
				11 AM to 4 pm Helped with set up for seniors social & educational event				
Afternoon	Made pies					Visit friend in hospital	housework	
Evening		Family over for Thanksgiving dinner at her home				Went to daughters for supper		
Notes	Not feeling well							

Time Use Chart 5 Age 67	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Morning			9-12 noon volunteer at group home		10 – 1 pm volunteer at museum		
Afternoon	Baked pies for family members						
							1 hour: prepared banquet for community golf group
Evening							
Notes	Taking care of dog for friend (1 year volunteer commitment)						

Time Use Chart 6 Age 66	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Morning	9 – 12:30 church service, choir	Paid work					Watch grandchildren in swimming lessons
Afternoon			11 am – 2 pm visit family member in nursing home, provide lunch	11 am – 2 pm visit family member in nursing home, provide lunch		11 am – 2 pm visit family member in nursing home, provide lunch	
			3:30 pick up grandchildren from school, provide snack, dinner and put children to bed				
Evening					2 hours choir practice at church		Prepare dinner for dinner guests
				Church meeting 7 – 10 pm			
Notes							

Time Use Chart 7 Age 82	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Morning	10:45 – 1 pm Envelope secretary for church every Sunday	9 – 3:45 volunteer at food bank	9:30 – 12 noon volunteer at community outreach centre		Attended study group		Grocery shopping for meals to bring to neighbours who are ill
					Some volunteer organizing at church		
Afternoon						Lunch with friends	
Evening					Attended social event	Movie night with group	Work on home made Christmas gifts for family
Notes							

Time Use Chart 8 Age 73	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Morning	Provide church service to rural community with husband (volunteer)		9 – 11 am volunteer on hospital palliative care ward	Checking in with friends who are ill / alone			
Afternoon		Visit friend, help with home care, help getting dressed etc..			Volunteer at food bank, filling orders		
Evening			Make dinner for friends				
Notes							

Time Use Chart 9 Age 81	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Morning	Attend church service and assist with service						
Afternoon							
Evening							
Notes		Mentioned going to see a sick friend after interview (check which day interview was)					

Time Use Chart 10 Age 71	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Morning		10 – 3 pm volunteer at community resource centre	10 – 2 physiotherapy	Packing for move	housework	Housework, run errands	Attended religious service
Afternoon	luncheon			Grocery shopping			
Evening	Dinner with family						
Notes							