

2004
Don Wood Lecture
in Industrial Relations

**Dealing with Work-Life Issues
in the Workplace:
Standing Still is Not an Option**

Linda Duxbury

The Don Wood Visiting Lectureship in Industrial Relations was established in 1987 by the many friends of Dr. W. Donald (Don) Wood to honour his role in building an outstanding research, teaching and continuing education program at Queen's, and to recognize his accomplishments in the wider industrial relations community. Dr. Wood was Director of the Industrial Relations Centre from 1960 to 1985, as well as the first Director of the School of Industrial Relations from 1983 until 1985. Over his long and distinguished career, Dr. Wood's efforts served to bridge the gap between the academic world and the policy and practice of industrial relations in Canada. In keeping with these achievements, the terms of the Lectureship expressly state that its purpose is to bring to Queen's University "a distinguished individual who has made an important contribution to industrial relations in Canada, or in other countries."

The 2004 Don Wood Lecture in Industrial Relations

**Dealing with Work-Life Issues in the Workplace:
Standing Still is Not an Option**

Linda Duxbury

**Sprott School of Business
Carleton University**

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Linda Duxbury, recipient of the 2004 Don Wood Visiting Lectureship in Industrial Relations, is a Professor at the Sprott School of Business at Carleton University, and Director of Research for the Carleton Centre for Research and Education on Women and Work. Her teaching and research interests focus on managing change, organizational behaviour, work-family conflict, supportive work environments, stress, telework, the use and impact of office technology, managing the new workforce, and supportive management. She has published widely in both the academic and practitioner literatures and in the past decade, has completed major studies on balancing work and family in the public, private and not-for-profit sectors; human resources and work-family issues in the small business sector; management support; career development in the public and high-tech sectors, and generational differences in work values. Dr. Duxbury is an accomplished trainer and speaker in the area of gender and communication, and the communication process. She sits on Carleton University's Board of Governors, and held the Imperial Life Chair in Women and Management from 1992 to 1996. In 1999, Dr. Duxbury was appointed to the Fryer Commission on Labour-Management Relations in the Federal Government. She has received several awards, including the Public Service Citation from the Association of Public Service Executives for her work on supportive work environments; the Canadian Workplace Wellness Pioneer Award for her efforts, leadership and innovation in the field of organizational health; the Canadian Pension and Benefits National Speaker Award, and awards for teaching excellence at Carleton University.



Other prominent Don Wood Lecturers have included John Dunlop, Harvard University; Jean Sexton, Laval University; John Fryer, National Union of Provincial Government Employees (NUPGE); Tom Kochan, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT); Nancy Adler, McGill University; Lee Dyer, Cornell University; Robert McKersie, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT); Harry W. Arthurs, York University; Paula Voos, Rutgers University; John Crispo, University of Toronto; Francine Blau, Cornell University; and Leo Gerard, United Steelworkers of America.

Dealing with Work-Life Issues in the Workplace: Standing Still is Not an Option

I am truly honoured to be here today. Let me start out by stating my biases up front. My research and concerns are at the level of the employee. This gives me a lot of freedom, however, as employees are found at all levels of the organization. We have employees who are managers and we have employees who are not managers. I see my role as being an advocate for employees and producing research that will facilitate the creation of better work environments for all. These are the same goals that you have as industrial relations and human resource practitioners.

The objective of my talk today is to convince you that you can no longer afford to ignore the issue of work-life balance. Do you want to hire people? Do you want to keep them? Do you want to motivate them? Are you worried about succession planning? If the answer to any of these questions is yes, then you need to be concerned about the issue of work-life balance as our research links conflict between work and life to all of these outcomes.

The Current Situation

In 1991, we conducted a national study of work-life conflict involving 37,000 employees across Canada. Our conclusions at that time were that many employees were stressed, could not find a balance between work and life, were dissatisfied with their jobs and their lives, and were having difficulties dealing with the demands placed on their time. We reported these findings and our research received a lot of media attention. Unfortunately, little was done to address these issues.

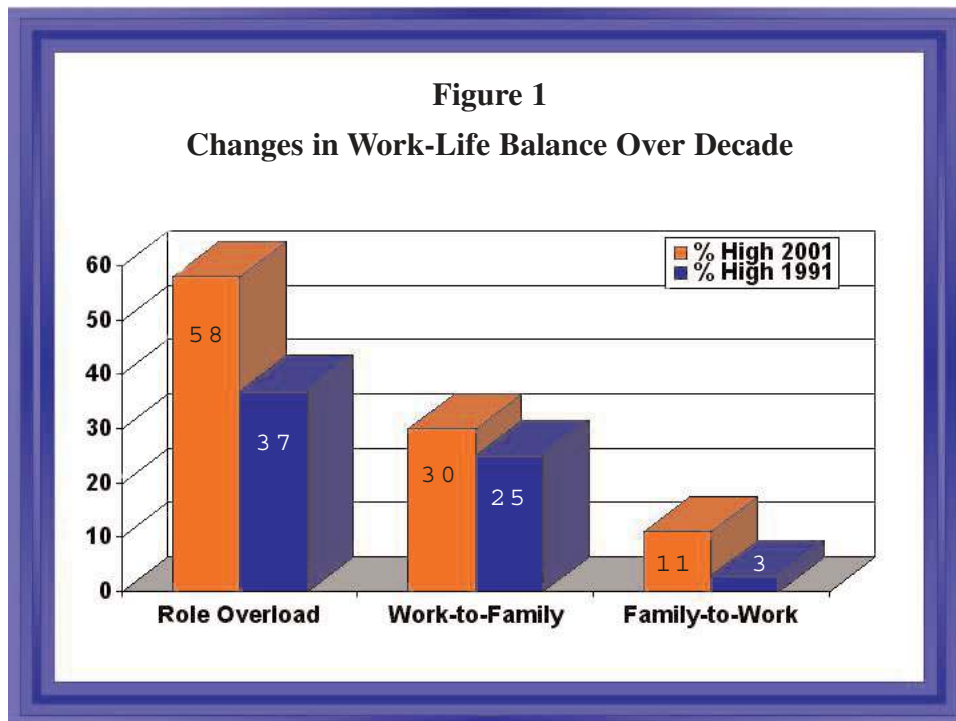
Over the decade of the 1990s, two very interesting things happened. First, employers started talking about becoming “employers of choice” and “best practice” employers. They also talked about the importance of their “human capital” and developed mission statements that talked about the fabulous service they provided to their clients and Canadians through their most important resource, their people. At the same time as employer of

choice and best practice lists were coming out, however, organizations were downsizing, restructuring, and trying to do more with less. A downturn in the economy meant that many Canadian organizations wanted to reduce their costs. Employees were the single biggest budget item, which meant that in order to save money, organizations had to get rid of many of their people. Unfortunately, however, they did not eliminate work at the same time or rate as the people. This meant that at the end of the 1990s organizations were in the position of talking about the importance of their people at exactly the same time as they were reducing their head count and increasing the workloads of those who were left — the survivors.

It was within this environment that we took another look at the issue of work-life conflict. This empirical study, which was begun in 2000, was funded by Health Canada. The 2001 *Balancing Work, Family and Lifestyle* survey was based on the responses of close to 33,000 employees who worked for 100 medium to large Canadian organizations. The sample is geographically and sectorally representative. The survey was designed to look at the prevalence of work-life conflict in Canada in 2001, to determine how the incidence of work-life conflict has changed over the past decade, and to identify the impact of high levels of work-life conflict on organizations, families and employees. We also looked at how gender, job type, sector of employment, and dependent care status affected these issues.

The goal of this research was to examine the issue of work-life conflict and to provide business and labour leaders, policy-makers, and academics with a “big picture view” on what had happened in this area in Canada over the course of the decade. We also wanted to provide a set of benchmark data describing the Canadian work environment of the new millennium.

Before I go much further I think that I have to tell you what we mean when we talk about work-life balance. In our research, we operationally define work-life balance as involving three things: role overload, work-to-family interference and family-to-work interference. Role overload is having too much to do in the amount of time you have to do it in. It is feeling rushed, stressed, fatigued, time-crunched. It is feeling that no matter what you are spending your time on, you should be doing something else. According to our research, a decade ago about 40 percent of Canadians were overloaded (Figure 1). The prevalence of high levels of role overload increased dramatically over the course of the decade, and just under 60 percent of the respondents to the 2001 survey reported high levels of role overload. This finding is very important because role overload is the best predictor we have of a number of outcomes Canadians and their employers care about: visits to the family doctor, use of an Employee Assistance Plan, benefit costs, prescription drug use, commitment, stress, depression, and absenteeism.



The second type of work-life conflict examined in our research, work to family interference, occurs when work demands and responsibilities make it more difficult for an employee to fulfill family role responsibilities. People simply cannot be in two places at the same time, doing two very different things. You either stay late at work and miss a family event (work interferes with family) or you go home on time, and make the family function, but let your colleagues or your boss down (family interferes with work). Most Canadians give priority to work at the expense of family. According to our recent survey data, one in three Canadian employees experience high levels of work to family interference. The incidence of this form of stress increased slightly over the decade — by about three percentage points.

The final form of work-life conflict I am going to address in this talk is family-to-work interference. This form of conflict occurs when family demands and responsibilities make it more difficult for an employee to fulfill work role responsibilities. About 11 percent of Canadians who responded to the 2001 survey reported high levels of family interference with work. The number of Canadians reporting high levels of this form of conflict increased by almost ten percentage points over the decade. This increase is due to a rise in the number of employees with eldercare responsibilities.

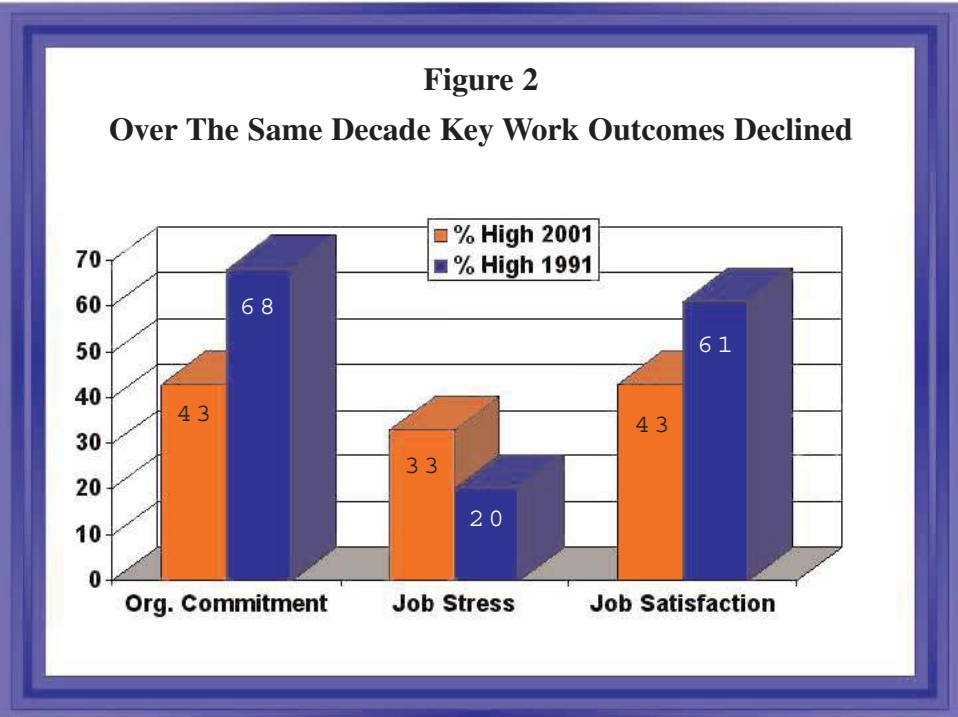
When we first started doing research in this area in the early 1990s, one in 12 Canadians had eldercare responsibilities. Now, 66 percent of Canadians have responsibility for the care of at least one elderly dependent. The number of Canadians with eldercare responsibilities is going to increase dramatically over the next several decades as the baby boomers get older and their parents age. This demographic shift will increase the need for both governments and employers to address the issue of work-life conflict. Why do I say this? For the past few decades, since women entered the Canadian labour market in force, neither governments nor employers have adequately deal with the issue of work-life conflict — despite their talk. The rhetoric has been that work-life conflict is an issue that working women need to address — not employers. According to this argument, having a child is a personal choice (“You decided to have a child, no one made you.”) and helping care for that child is not something that employers should have to do. Aside from the increased levels of work-life conflict that I just mentioned, this rhetoric has had an important, unforeseen effect. Many younger employees have taken to heart the idea that they cannot have it all — career advancement and children — and they need to make a choice. Many are deciding in favour of a career and delaying having children until their early 30s. The Canadian birth rate has plummeted since 1971. Our research has determined that inattention to work and family issues is a big part of this trend. While employees can make the choice on whether or not to have children, it is not possible to decide not to have a mother or a father. We all have them — for better or for worse. Similarly, while employees have some degree of control over child care, there is no ability to predict ahead of time the eldercare responsibilities that someone might face — when your parents will get sick, how much care they will require, if you can find space in a facility if necessary. When we put these trends together, you can see why we have concluded that eldercare will be the big issue that pushes key stakeholders to address the issue of work-life conflict.

The other interesting development to note is that when we talk about dependent care and a work-life balance is the emergence of what is called the “sandwich generation” — employees with both child care and eldercare responsibilities. Our data would indicate that one in four Canadian employees fall into this group. Two things are behind the increase in the number of employees with “sandwich” caregiver responsibilities — the fact that Canadians are delaying having children and the fact that employees’ parents are living to older ages. What is also interesting is that caregiving responsibilities have now increased to the extent that we now talk about the “clubhouse sandwich” generation as well as the “open face sandwich” generation. Employees in the “clubhouse” situation are typically baby boomers with eldercare responsibilities as well as children who have

returned to live with them after having “left the nest.” The “open face sandwich” generation, on the other hand, includes single parents, usually mothers, who are looking after younger children and elderly dependents.

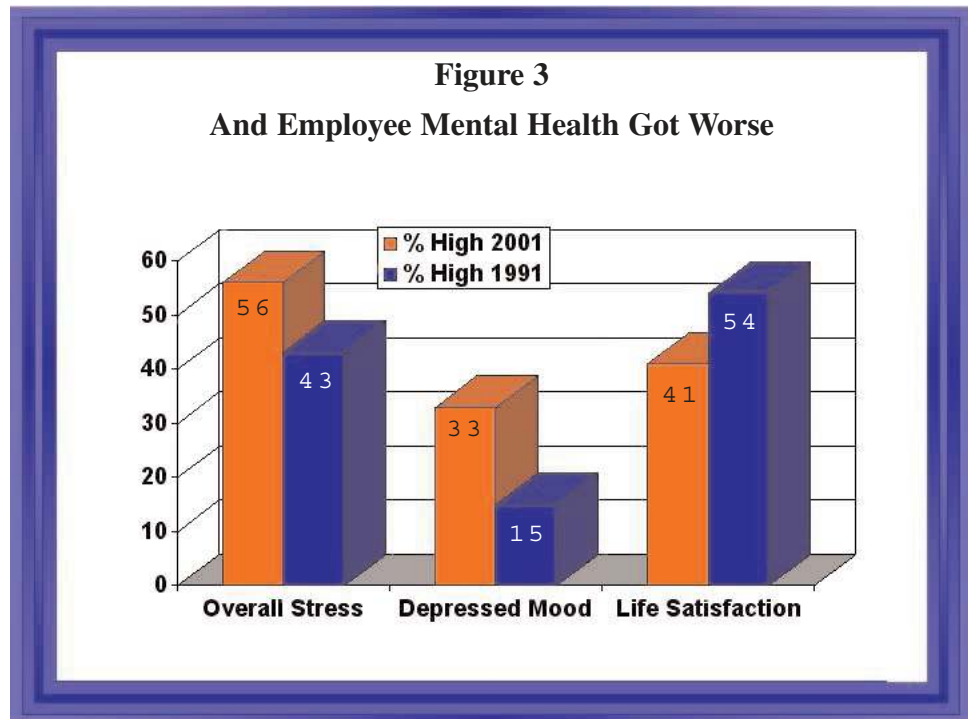
So what are the realities of work-life balance in Canada at this time? Balance is not getting easier — rather, it is becoming more complicated. Balance is not only about child care — it is also about eldercare. It is not just mothers who have difficulties achieving balance. Fathers also face challenges in this regard, as do men and women who care for elderly dependents.

What impact has increased conflict between work and family had on employers? To answer this question, let’s look at how organizations fared over the 1990s with respect to a number of key outcomes (Figure 2). One of the most important of these outcomes is a concept called commitment. Commitment is about how employees feel about their organization and their job. Commitment is about loyalty to the organization. It is being emotionally engaged with your job. It is feeling passionate about what you do. It is about wanting to go the extra mile for the organization — being engaged in one’s work. Many employers have the misguided idea that they can buy commitment and passion by focusing on salaries and benefits. Money buys presence, not passion. Passion is about how you are treated in the workplace and how your employer deals with you. It is about the work environment.



A decade ago, 70 percent of the Canadians who participated in our research were committed and loyal to their employer. They felt passionately about the organization they worked for and what they did. The percent of employees with high commitment declined precipitously over the 1990s — with the result that in 2001 only 43 percent of those in our sample reported high commitment to their employer. The biggest declines in commitment have been among those in the management group — who have experienced significant downsizing and restructuring of their role.

Over the same time period, job stress has increased and job satisfaction has declined dramatically (Figure 3). In 1991, 43 percent of the employees we surveyed reported that they were clinically stressed. By 2001, this had increased to 56 percent of employees. Interestingly, stress levels among men increased by 18 percentage points over the decade while stress levels for women increased by three percentage points over the same time period. This gender difference cannot be attributed to decreased stress levels for women. Rather, it is due to the fact that stress levels have increased for younger men (i.e., those in their 30s) to the extent that they now report similar levels of stress to their women in this group. Our research indicates that this finding can be attributed to the fact that younger men are more actively engaged in child care and in eldercare than their own fathers were. As such, they experience similar difficulties with respect to balancing work and family as women.



It is also important to note that over the same time period (i.e. the 90s), depressed mood increased dramatically in Canada while life satisfaction declined. Older employees tend to be happier with their jobs than younger employees: a trend that's the opposite of what was the case for over 50 years. Traditionally, life satisfaction declined with age. Older people were more likely to be in poorer health, dealing with the fact that their children were leaving the home, and not looking forward to retirement from their job. This trend has recently reversed itself, largely due to a phenomenon that we call "retirement on the job." Employees who have retired on the job typically report low organizational commitment but high life satisfaction. Our research suggests that retirement on the job typically occurs in older employees who have given what they consider to be their heart and soul to the organization for 15 or 20 years — only to have their heart broken. They participated in all the organizationally driven change initiatives and "survived" the downsizing, restructuring and re-engineering of the 1990s. These survivors lost faith in their leaders and have coped by reducing their commitment to their employer. Such employees give the employer what they consider to be a fair day's work for a fair day's wage but are not willing to give more. Is this good for the employer? Absolutely not. Is it good for the employee? The data would say yes!

So the 1990s seems to have been a brutal decade for employees and employers alike. What is behind these trends? Our data has implicated the following factors: the myth of separate worlds, increased workloads, the dominance of the baby boom cohort, office technology, and the culture of the organization. I would like to spend the next little while outlining how each of these factors has made work-life balance more challenging.

The Myth of Separate Worlds

Our research would suggest that many of these changes can be attributed to the fact that many organizations still operate under the "myth of separate worlds." This myth is based on the idea that that work and life are separate domains and should be managed as such, and that work should take priority over all other demands on one's time and energy. This myth took root, and in fact worked quite well, when the Canadian workforce consisted of male breadwinners with full-time "homemaker" wives — the so-called traditional or "Beaver Cleaver" family. This set of assumptions is, however, completely disconnected from the reality of the Canadian workforce. The traditional family of a male breadwinner with a wife at home makes up only nine percent of Canadian families. The majority of Canadians now are in dual income families, where both partners work for pay outside the home.

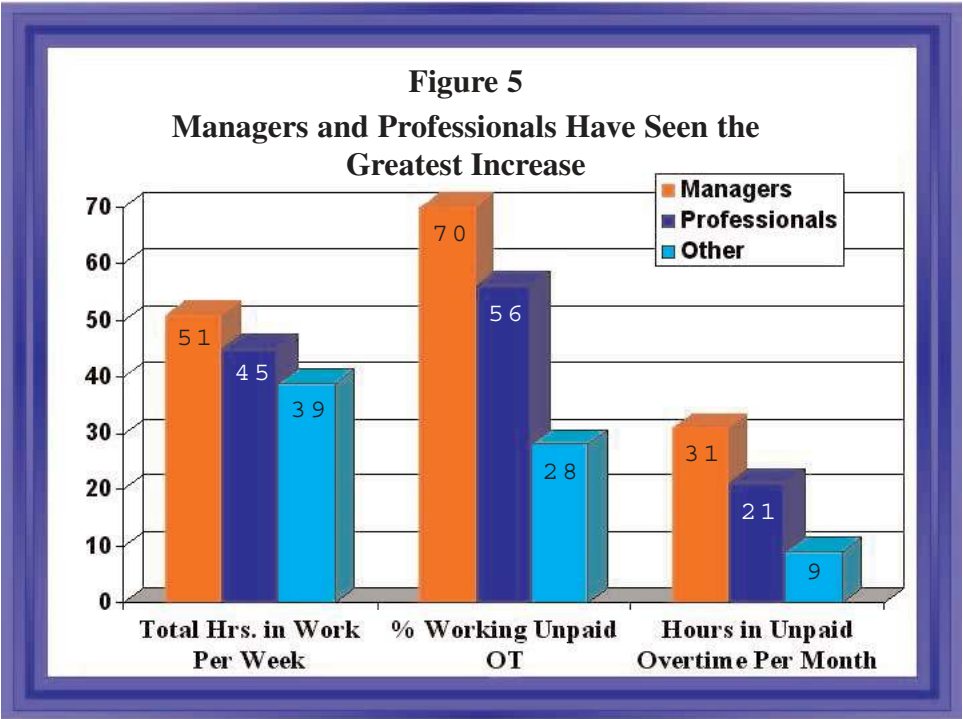
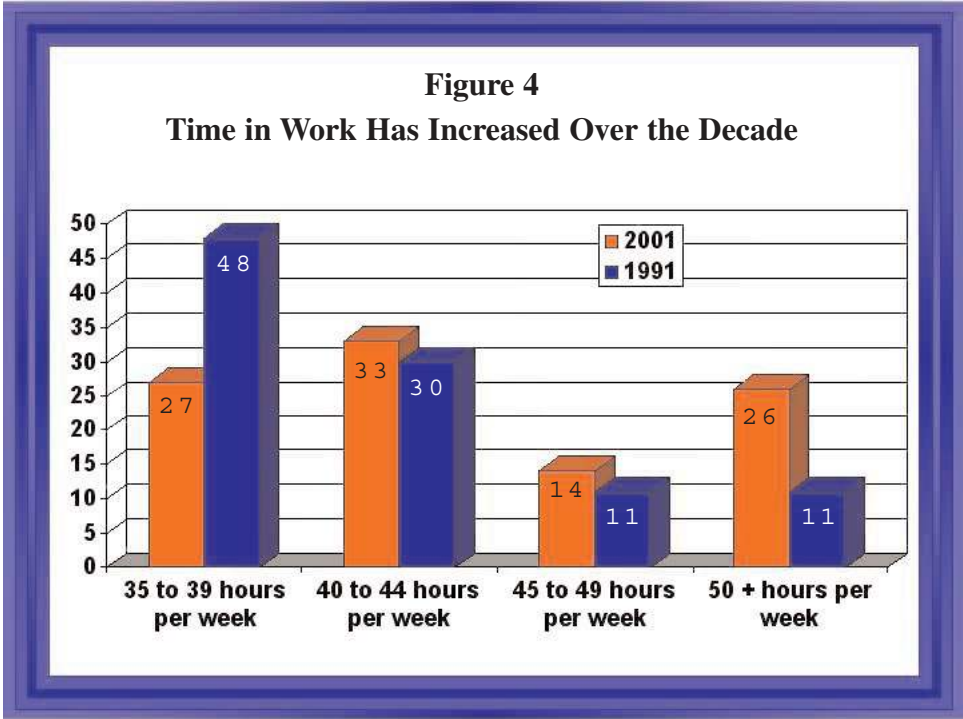
This brings me to another “myth” that I feel the need to bust. The media often portrays work-life conflict as the fault of Canadian families working for “luxuries.” According to this argument Canadians are “doing this to themselves” and would be far better off if they settled for a simpler lifestyle. This could be achieved, they say, by going back to the one-breadwinner family. Unfortunately, the data does not support such an argument. Rather, it shows that Canadians are not in dual-income families for the luxuries. Consider the following. The average family income with both partners working for pay outside the home in Canada is just under \$60,000 a year. That level of income does not buy a lot of luxuries. Along the same vein, Statistics Canada has shown that it takes 72 weeks of paid labour to support a family of two adults and two children. With 52 weeks in a year, it is just not possible for one earner to earn enough. Finally, we know that one in three families would drop below the low income cut-off if one partner quit work. This is the reality of our workforce today and we need to start managing it.

Workloads

A significant issue — and one that is seldom put on the table though it is the source of a lot of problems today — is workload. A decade ago, 48 percent of the Canadian work force worked a 37.5 hour work week and work ended at the end of the workday. Employees were not followed by e-mail, laptops, and the cell phone. Things are quite different now. Our data indicates that in 2001 26 percent of Canadians worked a 50-hour week or more (Figure 4). Almost one in five Canadians in fact regularly work a 60-hour week or more. Many employers use time at work as a measure of productivity. Such a perception is not supported by the data. In fact, it is just the reverse. People who regularly put in long hours at work are not as sharp as those whose work expectations are more reasonable. Long hours at work are associated with an increased number of mistakes, employees having to redo the work, higher absenteeism and greater benefits costs. Unfortunately, the fact that organizations tend to write off the costs of this overwork means that they are not able to quantify the ramifications of their downsizing, do-more-with-less strategies.

Increases in workloads are not evenly distributed throughout the workforce. Our data shows that the labour movement has done a good job of protecting the majority of its workers in this regard. The same cannot, however, be said about the workloads experienced by managers and professionals, who have seen the greatest increases with respect to work demands and time in work (Figure 5). Currently, the typical manager in Canada works a 51-hour work week at the office, 70 percent take work home to complete in the evening, and he or she contributes 31 hours of unpaid overtime per month to the organization. Professionals work 45 hours a week,

56 percent take work home to complete in the evening, and they contribute 21 hours of unpaid overtime a month. Many organizations right now are anorexic, especially at the middle management level. They have downsized and cut workforces but they have not eliminated work at the same time. Therefore, we are seeing “survivors” doing 1.2, 1.3, 1.4 jobs, with the resulting increase in workloads. Instead of empowering knowledge workers, more work is added to the manager’s job. In order to deal with this problem, we really need to lessen the workload of managers and truly empower our knowledge workers, or we have to have more managers.



The Baby Boom

The increase in workloads can be linked to the demographic changes we have seen in the Canadian population over the past 50 years or so — the transition from a “seller’s market” for labour in the 1950s where there were more good jobs than good people, to the “buyer’s markets” for labour in the 1980s and 1990s where there were more good people than jobs.

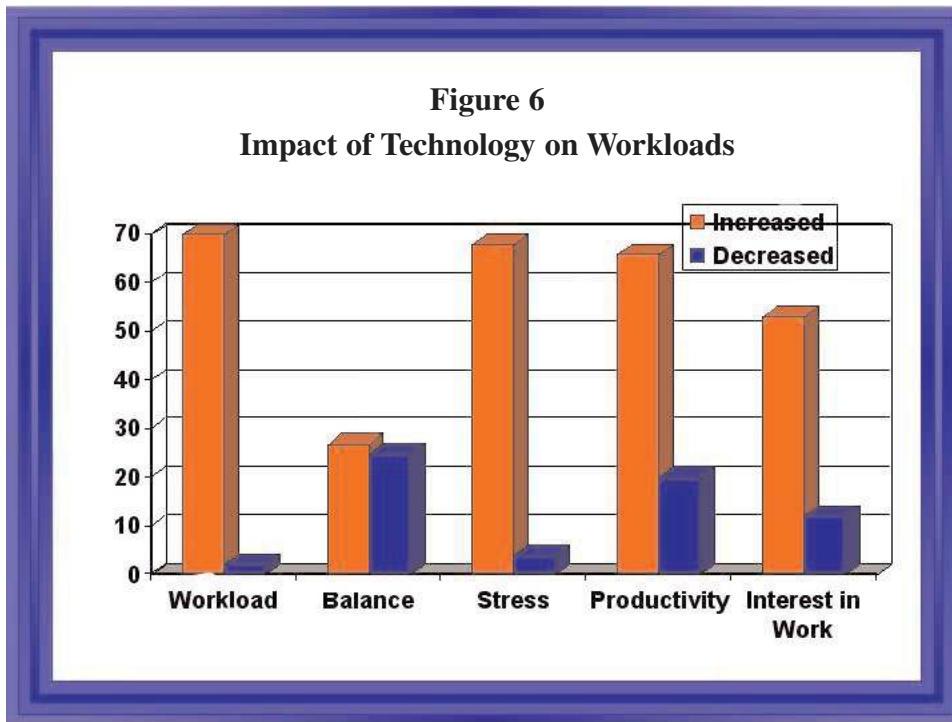
The people who joined the labour market in the 1950s and early 1960s belong to what we refer to as the “veteran generation.” Members of this cohort were born prior to 1947. This group, many of whom will retire in the next few years, makes up about 10 percent of our current labour force. The relatively small size of this group is consistent with the fact that relatively few babies were born just prior to or during the war years — largely due to the fact that many men were away at war. When this group entered the labour market the economy was booming and jobs were plentiful. This was, in fact, the last time that Canadian companies faced a seller’s market for labour.

Conditions were very different for the group that followed the veteran generation — the baby boomers. Canadians who were born between 1947 and 1964 are considered to be part of the baby boomer generation. A very large number of children were born in Canada in this relatively short time period — an average of four children per family. In terms of numbers, the baby boom cohort still represents the largest segment of Canada’s population, as well as our workforce. The size of this cohort helped create a buyer’s market for labour in the 1980s and 1990s as there were more qualified baby boomers than suitable jobs. Organizations operating in a buyer’s market for labour do not really have to deal with employee issues — things like work-life balance, stress, work environments, workloads — as voluntary turnover is low when jobs are scarce.

The baby boom generation was followed by a group which is referred to as generation X. This group was born between 1961 and 1974 and consists of late baby boomers as well as people born after the “boom.” This group entered a very unfriendly work environment — one characterized by recessions, downsizing and restructuring. They also had to compete with the much larger baby boom cohort for jobs and promotions. The comparison group during this period was the unemployed and it became unacceptable to complain about work environments or treatment at work. Employers downsized and employees who were worried about job security or desired promotions put in longer hours. Workloads and role overload increased and work-life balance declined as boomers and generation X employees competed with each other for fewer promotions and for job security.

Technology

Our data also indicates that the increased availability of low-cost office technology has contributed to the decline in work-life balance by increasing expectations around work and making it possible for employees to work anytime and anywhere. Of the 33,000 people in the 2001 study, 70 percent reported that technology has increased their workload and 70 percent indicated that technology has increased stress levels (Figure 6). While support staff and professional employees also said that technology has increased their productivity and interest in their work, the managers in the sample indicated that technology has reduced their productivity and made their jobs much less interesting.



We can find out more about the impact of technology on workloads and work-life balance by looking at the comments survey respondents gave at the end of the questionnaire. We authored a report entitled *In the Voice of Canadians*, which distilled what people had to say about different issues. Over 1,000 people discussed the impact technology had on their workloads and their ability to balance work and family. Their comments are highly illustrative of the dimensions of this issue. Employees wrote:

E-mail is widely used as the primary method of communication with employees at all levels; however, there is a universal expectation that everybody reads, clears and responds to all e-mails on a daily basis — actually, a constant basis. This is unrealistic. Memos sent in late afternoon are expected to be read by morning for discussion. This is unreasonable. Everybody needs to understand that communications need to be managed. Time must be allowed to read, understand and be able to respond.

The amount of work, regardless of organization, has increased dramatically in the last decade, particularly due to the increased use of technology. With today's technology, we can have someone in our office, an incoming phone call, voice mails and e-mails — all of which we are supposed to respond to at once. Technology has added the expectation of immediate response — and solution — to the workplace.

Technology allows you to work more efficiently, but demands more as well; especially availability.

The computer and other technology has resulted in a higher level of potential work performance, but rather than being pleased with that, society has merely increased the standards of what is expected.

Electronic tools have increased the expectations of availability — anytime, anywhere, immediate answers expected. After hours, during business travel, Sunday and Friday nights; you now are expected to use this time to return voice mails and e-mails.

These comments indicate that while technology has increased the ability to work from home and outside of regular hours, it has also increased the expectation that employees will do so. This makes work-life balance very difficult. Technology is a significant source of problems, workload and stress within the workplace and efforts need to be made to control it, rather than have it control us.

Culture

Our research indicates that the culture of the organization is an important determinant of employee well-being. Culture refers to the unwritten rules and expectations of the organization. Culture is not about the policies in place within an organization. Rather, the culture describes the way things really work within an organization. Psychotherapist Douglas LaBier, whose practice is devoted to the treatment of individuals who work for large organizations, has written that many organizations suffer from what he refers to as “institutionalized sickness” with respect to their cultures. He notes that the norms and expectations placed on employees in many organizations are “by all objective standards sick.” When an employee joins an organization, these norms exercise a tremendous pressure on the individual to become “sick” in order to fit in. Employees who try and engage in what are by all “objective” standards normal behaviour, on the other hand, are considered to be “problem employees” and are managed as such.

Our research has identified two sets of “sick” cultural norms that are having a negative impact on employee well-being and work-life balance. The first set of norms revolves around what we call the culture of hours. The idea that the people who work longer hours are the most dedicated, loyal and productive members of the workforce and that those who do not work these long hours are somehow “slackers” who are not worthy of promotion. The second set of problematic norms dictates how organizations treat employees who surface problems and question decisions. Organizations with sick cultures view such employees as disloyal troublemakers. Unfortunately, they do not recognize that the people who speak up are typically those who care the most about the organization and its clients. They do not appreciate how hard it is to speak “truth to power” — to tell the emperor that he has no clothes on.

Costs of Not Changing

Why should organizations address issues of work life balance and employee well-being? What are the costs of addressing these issues? In my opinion, these are not the questions that employers should be asking. Instead they should focus on the fact that there are significant costs associated with not dealing with these issues. For example, our data links high levels of work-life conflict to increased absenteeism, increased use of Canada’s health care system, and higher health care costs. We conservatively estimated that the costs of absenteeism due to role overload and conflict between work and life are approximately \$6 billion to 10 billion per year. The link between work-life conflict and use of the health care system is also staggering. We estimate that visits to one’s family physician that can

be attributed to high role overload and high work interference with family cost Canadians approximately \$6 billion a year, while the costs of overnight stays in the hospital attributed to imbalance are about \$17 billion a year. The implications of these findings are clear. Rather than trying to reduce health care costs by fixing problems associated with the health care system itself, we should be looking at the workplace as a source of illness — and address this.

Our data also clearly demonstrates a link between high levels of work-life and increased stress, increased depression, higher benefits costs, lower levels of commitment, lower levels of job satisfaction, and recruitment and retention issues — all of which can negatively impact an organization's bottom line.

Figures 7 through 10 compare the responses given by those individuals in our 2001 sample of 33,000 with high levels of work-life conflict (55 percent of our respondents) with those given by employees who are able to balance work and life (approximately 25 percent of our sample). The following conclusions can be drawn from the data. People who cannot balance are: less committed to their organizations and more likely to be thinking of leaving because their efforts are not being recognized; frustrated with the work environment; have no time for a life; and their values are not the same as those of the organization. The data also shows a strong link between high work-life conflict and high levels of job stress, overall stress, depressed mood and burnout — and we wonder why people are not being productive! It is very difficult to be productive when you are overworked and overstressed. People who cannot balance are more likely to miss work, miss more days of work, and are more likely to take “mental health” days. When that happens, the work does not go away. It gets transferred to others, who then become overloaded themselves.

Employers could substantially reduce absenteeism if they reduced work-life conflict. Our data shows that if organizations reduced workloads from 50 hours per week on average to 45 hours on average they could actually reduce absenteeism by 23 percentage points. They could reduce absenteeism by 6.3 percent if they eliminated high levels of work interference with family, by 8.6 percent if they could eliminate high levels of caregiver strain (a form of work-life conflict linked to the care of elderly dependents), and 3.6 percent if they eliminated high levels of family interference with work.

According to our calculations, such reductions would save Canadian organizations a substantial amount of money. The direct cost of absenteeism due to role overload is \$3 billion a year and the direct cost of high caregiver

strain alone is just over \$1.5 billion. Organizations could also reduce the amount they spend on employee benefits. The data indicates that 22 percent of employees with high role overload spent \$150 or more on prescription drugs over the past six months, compared with 10 percent with low role overload.

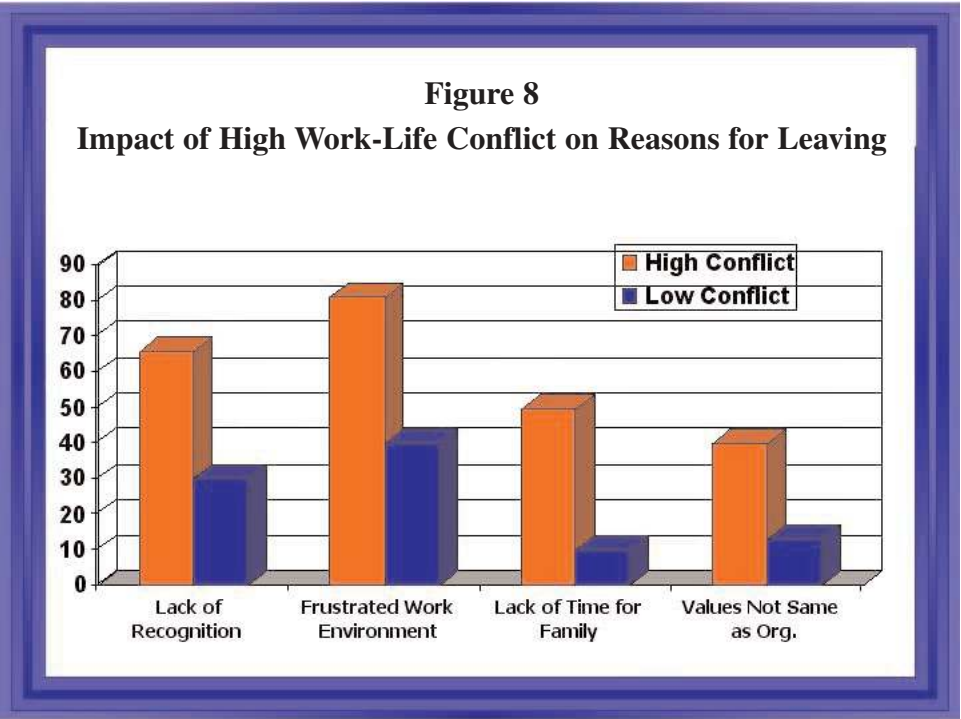
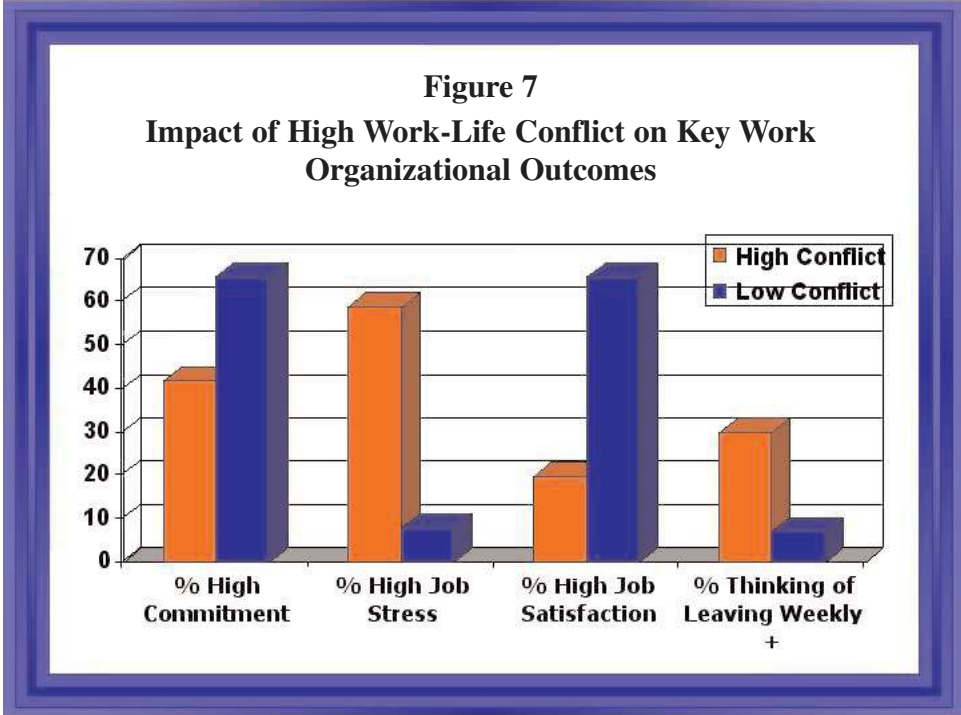


Figure 9
Costs of Not Changing:
Employee Mental Health an Issue

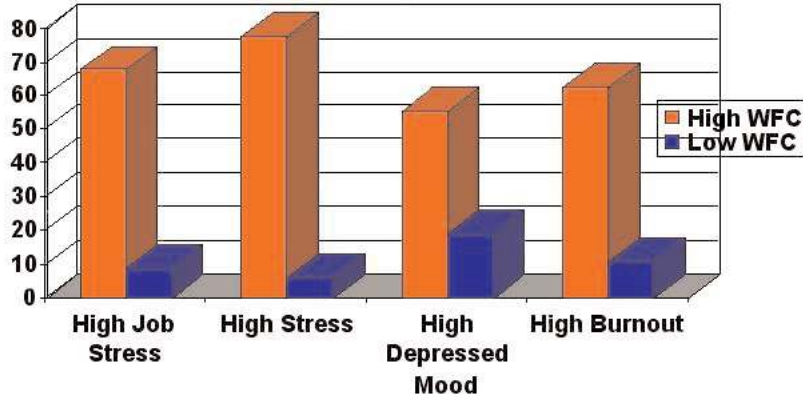
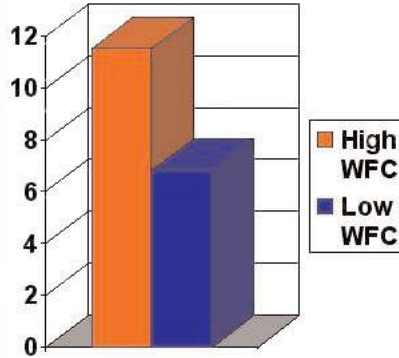


Figure 10
Costs of Not Changing:
Higher Absenteeism Days Absent per Year

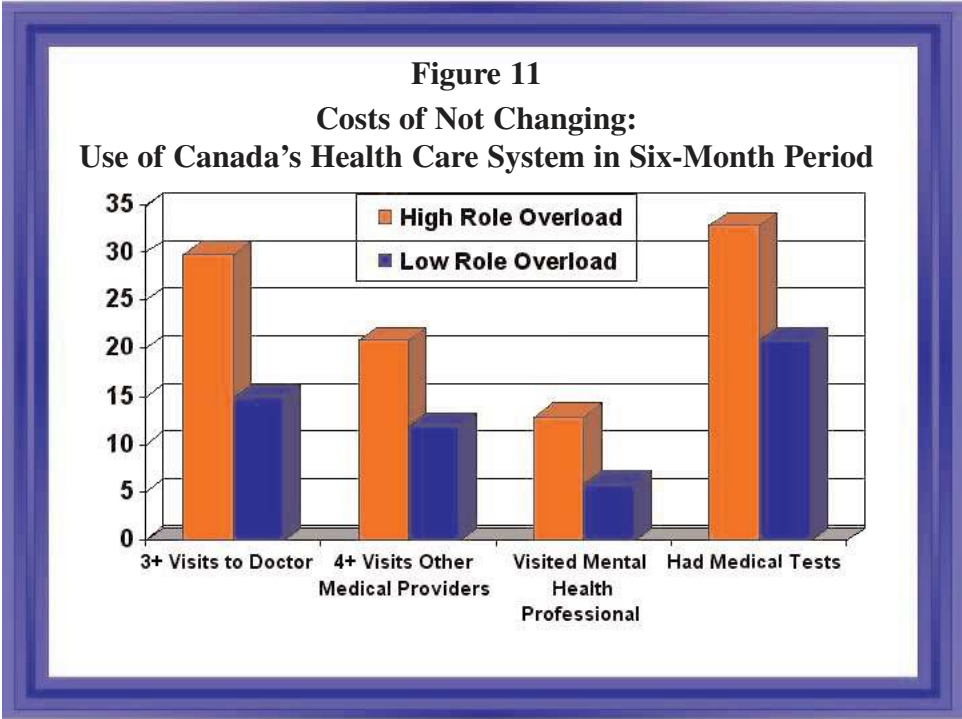


Employees with high work-life conflict:

- more likely to be absent from work
 — 68% absent vs 48%
- more likely to take a “mental health day”
 — 40% vs 18%

Among the hidden costs of not addressing these issues are lower birth rates. Many women are postponing beginning a family until their careers are established. The average age a professional woman in Canada has her first child is currently 31, and the average number of children per family has dropped 1.5 persons — well below the 2.1 children per family level needed for population replacement.

Data also revealed that work environments and work-life conflict are making people sick. Work-life conflict in general and role overload in particular are strongly associated with use of Canada’s health care system (Figure 11). One way to reduce health care costs is to focus on work environment issues. Implementing policies that reduced role overload from high to moderate levels would reduce the number of physician visits by 25 percent per year, reduce the use of hospital visits by 23 percent per year and reduce the number of in-patient hospital stays by 17 percent a year.



Why Should Organizations Care About Work-Life Balance?

The monetary costs have been well known for a number of years — and little has been done. Now, however, there is another factor in the mix that should increase the urgency with which employers deal with this issue — the fact that

work-life balance has important implications for recruitment and retention. We are now about to enter a “seller’s market” for labour — the tightest labour market since the 1950s. Two factors have contributed to this seller’s market. First, the number of retirements is increasing as the baby boomers reach retirement age. Unfortunately, at the same time as the retirement rate increases, the pool from which one can recruit “new” employees, especially highly skilled knowledge workers, is shrinking.

The biggest push in terms of solving this issue of employee well-being is the need to replace the veteran generation, who comprise 10 percent of the workforce, and the baby boomer generation, who make up 55 percent of the workforce. The media has been giving great play to several dimensions of this problem, including pension plans collapsing and the possibility that the retirement age will be changed to 67 years of age. Very few are talking about what this means for employers who are worried about getting people, keeping people and succession planning. In a seller’s market many of the strategies that worked when labour was plentiful will no longer succeed. It will no longer be enough for organizations to *talk* about being good — they will actually have to *be* good. Employers can no longer continue to treat everyone the same. Flexibility will be the name of the game as organizations deal with generational diversity in terms of what employees want from a job, what they want from their manager or supervisor, and what they will do if their organization or their manager or supervisor “does not deliver.” Let me spend the next few minutes on what our research in the area has identified as the key issues that organizations need to be aware of with respect to generational diversity.

The nexus generation are the people in the age group 20 to 28 years old. They are the next generation of workers and there are half as many of them as we need. For members of the nexus generation:

- Bottle caps have always been screw top and plastic;
- They have never heard of Atari;
- They have never owned a record player, never played a vinyl album and do not understand the expression, “You sound like a broken record”;
- The CD was introduced when they were one year old;
- Most have never seen a television set with only 13 channels and they have always had cable and remote controls;
- They were born the year that the Walkman was introduced by Sony
- Jay Leno has always been the host of the Tonight Show;
- They have never heard, “Where’s the beef?”; “I’d have walked a mile for a Camel” or; “de plane, de plane”;
- They do not know how to use a typewriter.

What do the nexus cohort want from a job? They want fun, challenging, interesting, and exciting work with flexibility and balance. Money ranks seventh to tenth on their list. In fact, they will take a job with learning and developmental opportunities that pays up to \$30,000 less a year. Employees in this group do not want a boss: rather, they want a coach, a mentor, someone who listens to their concerns. What will happen if the organization does not deliver? The 20-year-old employee will leave — immediately. Money is not a concern for many in this group as they have no responsibility for others (they do not get married until age 29, on average, and they do not have their first child until age 31) and they can move back in with their parents if necessary.

Generation X employees (i.e., those born between 1961 and 1974), have experienced difficult and challenging labour market conditions during the course of their career. As such, they want very different things from their employer than the nexus group. They want a raise, a promotion, career development, and respect. They want their manager to stop lying to them and to stop making promises they are not going to deliver on. This group is very cynical about their employer. Organizations who are worried about recruitment and succession planning have to recognize that the solution to both of these issues lies in their ability to re-engage their generation X employees. Generation X employees will stay, even if the organization does not deliver on its promises. They have younger children and older parents, and depend on the financial security the job offers. Many are also finally in their career ascendancy. Members of this group will, however, negotiate with their employer with respect to working conditions, flexibility etcetera. Organizations who do not deliver on promises made to this group today will pay the price later in the decade, however, as generation X employees will leave a bad employer when the market heats up in terms of succession planning.

Members of the baby boom generation (1947 to 1961) have been in the labour market for a number of years and are tired. They want benefits such as vision and dental care, and a good pension plan. They also stated that they want their organization and their manager to “leave them alone.” They do not want to be an agent or champion of change. They have been through all the changes and in their view, nothing has happened to improve their work environment. In fact, many think that things have become much worse at work over the past decade. Baby boomers have no intention of leaving their current employer until they feel they are financially ready to do so. Employers need to be aware, however, that this is not necessarily a good thing as members of this group are typically not quietly unhappy. Their attitude may make it difficult for employers to get and keep people in the other two generational groups.

Balance is the key to dealing with generational differences. Figure 12 contrasts the new and the old model of recruiting and retaining good employees across the different generations.

Figure 12: Dealing with Generational Differences

<i>New Model</i>	<i>Old Model</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • free agency • autonomy and independence • action and results • challenge, risk and innovation • work-life balance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • loyalty to institution • rank, hierarchy and following rules • system and process • safety, security, “don’t rock the boat” • career and advancement

If you believe that when you have hired someone they owe you loyalty and commitment, if you have rank, hierarchy and rules in the organization, if you talk about learning and innovation but you punish people who make mistakes, and if you talk about balance but the only way to get ahead is to actually put work ahead of everything else, you are going to have a lot of challenges in the next several decades attracting and retaining people.

If, on the other hand, you recognize that employees are free agents — that we are educating and raising this younger group to have opinions, to have ideas, to be creative, to really be innovative, to like to take risks, to like to deal with the clients, to be entrepreneurial, and to be independent - and if you appreciate what makes them different and how they can contribute, then you are likely to be able to get, keep and engage employees in the tough labour market that lies ahead.

Many of the baby boomers in the audience are listening and saying to themselves “Hey, this is interesting, but I really do not need to worry as this group will change as they get older. After all, I changed.” My advice to you is don’t count on it! Why do I say this? First, the baby boom generation created the buyer’s market for labour. They had to change to get and keep their job and to achieve a promotion. Such is not the case for these two younger groups, who are competing for work in a seller’s market for labour. Secondly, nexus employees went through two very profound experiences when they were growing up: the downsizing and divorce of their parents, their friend’s parents and other family members. This has had a significant impact on the values and attitudes of those in this group. They state that they will never make the same mistakes as they parents — they will never give their heart to an organization, and they will not jeopardize their health or their family for their employer. This whole demographic shift is a profound development in the labour market.

Strategies to Improve Employee Work-Life Balance

In terms of how organizations should improve employee work-life balance, policies are not the answer. Instead, organizations need to focus on the fact that employees do not work for an organization, they work for the manager in that organization and it is how that manager behaves that makes the difference. We have to change the culture and focus on accountability and measurement.

Cultural change is a leadership issue. The primary mechanisms to pay attention to when creating, transmitting or changing culture are:

- What leaders pay attention to, measure and control on a regular basis;
- The reactions of leaders to critical incidents and organizational crisis;
- Observed criteria by which leaders allocate scarce resources;
- Deliberate role modeling, teaching and coaching;
- Criteria for allocating rewards;
- Criteria for recruitment, selection, promotion, retirement and exiting.

For employees, the data from our research identifies several strategies that Canadians can use to cope effectively with work-life balance:

- Use your faith to put things into perspective;
- Be organized;
- Recognize that balance takes work — work at it;
- Have goals;
- Put things into perspective — do not sweat the small stuff;
- Enjoy life — focus on the positive;
- Find a job you enjoy;
- Find a supportive partner;
- Remain fit and use exercise to cope with stress.

For organizations to thrive and not just survive in the new millennium, they need to make human resources a high priority. Microsoft is an employer of choice and also a high performance workplace. I want to leave you with the words of Bill Gates, who said the following in his antitrust trial:

You guys have it all wrong. In today's market I can buy any kind of technology, I can buy any kind of processing, any kind of equipment. In today's market, those things simply level the playing field. In today's market, the only thing that gives you your competitive advantage is the hearts and souls of your people, because that's the asset that can't be copied.

As we move from a buyer's to a seller's market for labour, human resource issues will become a critical success factor. In order to get, keep and motivate people, you have to pay attention to them.

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* This paper is reproduced as a supplement piece to Dr. Duxbury's lecture.

Don Wood Visiting Lectureship in Industrial Relations, 1987-2004

- 1987** John Dunlop
Harvard University
Industrial relations: Old and new
- 1989** John Sexton
Université Laval
Are Quebec labour relations so different?
- 1990** John Fryer
National Union of Provincial Government Employees (NUPGE)
The Canadian labour movement in the 1990s: Challenges and opportunities
- 1991** Thomas Kochan
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Innovations in industrial relations and human resources: Prospects for diffusion
- 1992** Nancy Adler
McGill University
Human resource management in the global economy
- 1993** Lee Dyer
Cornell University
Human resources as a source of competitive advantage
- 1995** Robert M. McKersie
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Labour-management partnerships: Promise and challenge
- 1996** Harry Arthurs
York University
The new economy: The demise of industrial citizenship
- 1998** Paula Voos
Rutgers University
Changing labour markets: Implications for industrial relations
- 1999** John Crispo
University of Toronto
Looking backward and forward: Can industrial relations stand the test of time?
- 2001** Francine Blau
Cornell University
The gender gap: Going, going ... but not gone
- 2003** Leo W. Gerard
United Steelworkers of America
Globalization and North American integration: Implications for the union movement
- 2004** Linda Duxbury
Carleton University
Dealing with work-life issues in the workplace: Standing still is not an option

Duxbury, Linda and Christopher Higgins. Work-Life Conflict in Canada in the New Millennium — A Status Report. The Sydney Papers, 15, 2003: 79-97.

Work-Life Conflict in Canada in the New Millennium — A Status Report

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Sprott School of Business
Carleton University

Dr. Chris Higgins, Professor
Richard Ivey School of Business
University of Western Ontario

The issues associated with balancing work and family are of paramount importance to individuals, the organizations that employ them, the families that care for them, the unions that represent them and governments concerned with global competitiveness, citizen well-being and national health. Although much has been written about the topic, only a handful of “high impact” studies have been conducted on this subject in Canada¹. Despite the popular presses’ fixation on the topic (reflecting reader interest) there is, at this time, little sound empirical data available to inform the debate. This is unfortunate as credible research in this area has the power to change how governments and employers think about the issue and how they formulate and implement human resource, social and labour policy.

Just over a decade ago (i.e. 1991) we, along with our colleagues Lee and Mills conducted a national study of work-life conflict in Canada to “explore how the changing relationship between family and work affects organizations, families and employers.”² In total, 14,549 employees from 37 medium and large private sector of employment organizations and 5,921 employees from 7 federal public service departments participated in this research.³

A lot has happened in the ten years since we conducted our first study on work-family balance. Nationally the 90’s was a decade of turbulence for working Canadians as companies downsized, rightsized, restructured and globalized. The recession of the early 90’s was followed by the “jobless recovery” of the mid 90’s and job security was the issue that absorbed many working Canadians and their families. Organizations, faced with a glut of competent employees from which to choose, often paid little attention to becoming “best practice” with respect to human resource management. Paradoxically, as we enter the new millennium there has been a complete about face with respect to this issue as employers, faced with impending labour shortages, have become preoccupied with recruiting and retaining “knowledge workers.”⁴ Such employers have recognized that a focus on “human capital” is one key to increased productivity for the workforce of 2001 and beyond.

Throughout the 90’s technological change and the need to be globally competitive increased the pressures on organizations and employees alike. Time in employment increased for many as did the use of non-standard types of employment. Non-work demands also increased over the decade as family structures continued to change and the percentage of working Canadians with childcare, eldercare or both (the sandwich generation) continued to rise.

Taken together, these changes suggested that it was time for another rigorous empirical look at the issue of work-life conflict. The 2001 Balancing Work, Family and Lifestyle National Study was undertaken to address this issue and to provide business and labour leaders, policy makers

¹ See for example Duxbury et al., 1991; Higgins et al., 1992; Duxbury & Higgins, 1998, Duxbury et al., 1999, MacBride-King & Paris, 1989, MacBride-King & Bachman, 1999.

² Duxbury et al., 1991, pg. 16.

³ This research is summarized in Duxbury et al., 1991 and Higgins et al., 1992

⁴ Peter Drucker (1999) coined the term “knowledge worker” to describe highly skilled employees whose work is complex, cyclical in nature, and involves processing and using information to make decisions.

and academics with an objective “big picture” view on what has happened in this area in Canada in the last decade and what is the current situation. Funding for this project was provided by Health Canada.

This study conceptualizes work⁵-life conflict broadly to include role overload, work interferes with family, family interferes with work, spillover from work to family, and caregiver strain.⁶ This paper outlines key findings from this research with respect to the following:

- How prevalent are the various forms of work-life conflict in Canada at this time (reference year of 2001)?
- Has the prevalence of the various forms of work-life conflict changed over the past decade?
- What is the impact of the various forms of work-life conflict on:
 - Canadian organizations?
 - Canadian families?
 - Canadian employees?
- How does gender, job type, sector of employment and dependent care status affect these issues?

Demographic Profile of Respondents

In total, 31,571 Canadian employees responded to the 2001 Balancing Work, Family and Lifestyle survey. These employees worked for 100 medium to large (i.e. 500 or more employees) organizations⁷. The sample is distributed as follows:

- 46% of the respondents work in the public sector; 33% work in the NFP sector; 21% are employed by a private sector company;
- 55% of the respondents are women;
- 46% of the respondents work in managerial and professional positions while 54% work in “other” positions (e.g. clerical, administrative, retail, production, technical); and
- Just over half (56%) of the respondents have dependent care responsibilities (i.e. spend an hour or more a week in either childcare or eldercare). The rest (44%) do not.

The 2001 survey sample is well distributed with respect to age, region, community size, job type, education, personal income, family income, and family’s financial well being. In many ways, the demographic characteristics of the sample correspond to Canadian census data suggesting that the results from this research can be generalized beyond this research.

⁵ Throughout this paper the term work refers to paid employment.

⁶ There is a vast academic literature dealing with the issue of work-life conflict. A complete review of this literature is beyond the purview of this paper. That being said, readers who are interested in the theoretical underpinnings of this research or the key findings to date are referred to the research reports outlined in Appendix A.

⁷ 40 from the private sector, 22 from the public sector (federal, provincial and municipal governments) and 38 from the not-for-profit (NFP) sector (defined in this study to include organizations in the health care and educational sectors).

Approximately half of the respondents to the survey are highly educated (i.e. at least one university degree) male and female knowledge workers. The majority of respondents are part of a dual income family and indicate that they are able to “live comfortably” (but not luxuriously) on two full-time incomes.

The sample includes a substantial number of employees who may be at risk with respect to work-life conflict. The mean age of the respondents to this survey was 42.8 years old which puts them in the mid career/fast track stage of the career cycle, the “full-nest” stage of the life cycle and the 40’s transition stage of adult development. Each of these stages is associated with increased stress and greater work and family demands⁸. Three-quarters of the respondents are presently married or living with a significant other and 69% are part of a dual-income family. Eleven percent are single parents. Twelve percent live in rural areas. One in three is a clerical or administrative employee with a lower level of formal education (i.e. reduced job mobility) and lower personal and family income. One quarter of the respondents indicated that in their family money was tight; 29% of respondents earned less than \$40,000 per year and just over one quarter lived in families with total family incomes that were less than the Canadian average (for comparison purposes it should be noted that the Canadian average yearly family income in 1996 was \$54,583⁹). One in three of the respondents had a high school education or less.

The majority of respondents have responsibilities outside of work. Seventy percent are parents (average number of children for parents in the sample is 2.1); 60% have eldercare responsibilities (average number of elderly dependents is 2.3); 13% have responsibility for the care of a disabled relative; 13% have both childcare and eldercare demands (i.e. are part of the “sandwich generation”)¹⁰. The fact that these data on non-work demands correspond closely to census data provided by Statistics Canada suggests that the findings from this study can be generalized to all Canadians working for firms employing more than 500 individuals.

What do we know about the prevalence of role overload from this study?

Role overload is having too much to do in a given amount of time. This form of work-life conflict occurs when the total demands on time and energy associated with the prescribed activities of multiple roles are too great to perform the roles adequately or comfortably. The following key observations can be drawn regarding role overload from the data reviewed in this paper:

High levels of role overload have become systemic within the population of employees working for Canada's largest employers: The majority of employees in our sample (58%) are currently experiencing high levels of role overload. Another 30% report moderate levels of role overload. Only 12% of the respondents in this sample reported low levels of overload.

⁸ See Duxbury and Higgins, 2001

⁹ This was the average family income in 1996 - the last year for which Census data is currently available. Statistics Canada (1998) The 1996 Census, Nation Tables, Catalogue No. 930022XDB96005

¹⁰ See Scott, 2000 for a discussion of the term sandwich generation.

The percent of the workforce with high role overload has increased over the past decade: Almost sixty percent (58%) of the respondents to the 2001 survey reported high levels of role overload — an increase of 11 percentage points over what was observed in the 1991 sample. This increase in role overload is consistent with the fact that employees in the 2001 sample spent more time in work and family activities than their counterparts in the 1991 sample. Other data from the 2001 survey would suggest that much of this increase in role overload can be linked to new information and communication technology (e.g. laptops, e-mail, cell phones), organizational norms that still reward long hours at the office rather than performance and organizational anorexia (downsizing has meant there are too few employees to do the work). While a full discussion of workload issues can be found in Report One (see Appendix A), it is worthwhile to note the following:

“Comparisons done using the 1991 and 2001 samples suggest that time in work has increased over the course of the decade. Whereas one in ten respondents in 1991 worked 50 or more hours per week, one in four do so now; during this same time period the proportion of employees working between 35 and 39 hours per week declined from 48% of the sample to 27%. This increase in time in work was observed for all job groups and all sectors.”

What do we know about the prevalence of work interferes with family from this study?

Work interferes with family occurs when work demands and responsibilities make it more difficult for an employee to fulfil family role responsibilities. The data reviewed in this paper support the following deductions regarding work interferes with family:

Work interferes with family is a real problem for one in four Canadians working for larger employees: One in four Canadians report that their work responsibilities interfere with their ability to fulfil their responsibilities at home. Almost 40% of Canadians report moderate levels of interference. The proportion of the Canadian workforce with high levels of work to family interference has not changed over the past decade.

What do we know about the prevalence of family interferes with work from this study?

Family interferes with work occurs when family demands and responsibilities make it more difficult for an employee to fulfil work role responsibilities. The following key observations can be drawn regarding family interferes with work from the data reviewed in this report:

Family interferes with work is not common in Canada at this time: Only 10% of the Canadians in this sample reported high levels of family interferes with work. Another third reported moderate levels of family interferes with work.

Very few Canadians allow their family demands to interfere with the fulfillment of responsibilities at work: Family interferes with work has a very different distribution than was observed with role overload and work interferes with family. While role overload is positively skewed and work interferes with family has a normal distribution, family interferes with work is negatively skewed.

Three times as many Canadians give priority to work at the expense of their family as do the reverse (i.e. give priority to their family).

The percentage of working Canadians who give priority to family rather than work has doubled over the past decade: This increase can be largely attributed to the fact that the number of employees with eldercare responsibilities has increased over the past decade.

What do we know about the prevalence of caregiver strain from this research?

The term “caregiver” refers to anyone who provides assistance to a disabled or elderly dependent. Caregiver strain is a multi-dimensional construct which is defined in terms of “burdens” or changes in the caregivers’ day to day lives which can be attributed to the need to provide care for this dependent. Four types of caregiver strains resulting from stress have been identified¹¹: emotional (e.g. depression, anxiety, emotional exhaustion), physical, financial and family strain. The data reviewed in this report with respect to caregiver strain support the following assertions:

Approximately one in four working Canadians experience what can be considered to be high levels of caregiver strain: While the majority of the respondents to this survey (74%) rarely experience caregiver strain, 9% find eldercare to be a strain (physically, financially or mentally) several times a week or daily. Another 17% experience such feelings approximately once a week.

What do we know about the prevalence of work to family spillover from this study?

Spillover from work to family arises when work experiences impact an employee’s ability to perform non-work roles. Traditionally, researchers have assumed that work will have a negative impact on family (i.e. negative spillover between domains)¹². The concept of spillover included in this study is more comprehensive in that it allows for the possibility that conditions at work might have a positive, a negative, or no impact on the family. The following observations arise from the data on work to family spillover reviewed in this study:

Almost half of the Canadians working for larger firms (44% of this sample) experience negative spillover from work to family: Very few Canadians working for larger firms (only 9% of this sample) perceive that their experiences at work have a positive impact on their family life.

Almost half of the Canadians working for larger firms (47%) are able to compartmentalize — such employees feel that work and family are quite separate domains and that work does not affect their family life: Employees with fewer demands either at work (i.e. those in “other” jobs) and/or at home (i.e. those without dependent care, men) are more likely to report that work and family are separate domains.

¹¹ See Robinson, 1983, for a discussion of the various forms of caregiver strain.

¹² For examples of this type of argument see Frone et al., 1997 or Bowen and Pittman, 1995.

So what can we conclude about the prevalence of work-life conflict in Canada at this time?

The conclusions one reaches with respect to the prevalence of work-life conflict in Canada depends on what measure of work-life conflict is used and the characteristics of the group being studied. Looking at the data optimistically (i.e. taking prevalence of work to family interference and caregiver strain as our measure of work-life conflict), we estimate that one in four Canadians working for medium and large organizations experience high levels of conflict between work and family. This is the best case scenario. The worst case scenario (i.e. estimates calculated using role overload data) is that almost 60% of Canadians who are employed outside the home cannot balance their work and family demands.

Who has more problems balancing work and family responsibilities? The evidence is quite clear — employed Canadians with dependent care responsibilities. Employees who have child and/or eldercare responsibilities reported higher levels of work-life conflict than those without such responsibilities regardless of how work-life conflict was assessed (i.e. reported higher levels of role overload, work interferes with family, family interferes with work and caregiver strain and were more likely to report negative spillover). None of the other factors examined in this study were associated with all five work-life conflict measures. Employees without dependent care responsibilities are more able to separate work and family. This greater ability to balance can be attributed to two factors: fewer demands outside of work and more degrees of freedom to deal with work issues (i.e. more control over their time)

Job type was associated with all but one of the measures of work-life conflict. Employees with higher demands at work (i.e. managers and professionals) were more likely than those in “other” jobs to experience high levels of overload, work interferes with family and negative spillover (women managers in particular reported higher levels of negative spillover). Those in “other” jobs, on the other hand, were more likely to report higher levels of caregiver strain due to the financial stresses associated with eldercare.

Gender was associated with two out of five of the measures of work-life conflict. Women were more likely than men to report high levels of role overload and high caregiver strain, devoted more hours per week than men to non-work activities such as childcare and eldercare and are more likely to have primary responsibility for non-work tasks¹³.

It is interesting to note that when job type is taken into account and when work-life conflict is broken into its component parts many of the gender differences in work-life conflict referred to in the research literature disappear. This suggests that many of the gender differences in work-life conflict may be attributed to the fact that women are typically compressed into a different set of jobs than men.

¹³ Data to back these assertions can be found in the reports listed in Appendix A.

Sector of employment was associated with three out of five of the measures of work-life conflict. Respondents working in the NFP sector were more likely than their counterparts in the public and private sectors to report high role overload, high work interferes with family and negative spillover. The elevated levels of work-life conflict in this sector can be attributed to higher work demands (respondents in this sector spend more hours per week in employment related activities and are more likely to have to spend week nights and weekend nights away from home on job related travel) and how work is arranged (shift arrangements, rigid work schedules). It should be noted that the women in the NFP sector sample had the most difficulties balancing work and family. The data indicate that the women in this sector have three challenges to meet — heavier demands at home, heavier demands at work, and work arrangements that give them little ability to combine work and non-work demands.

Why should organizations care about work-life conflict?

The majority of Canada's largest employers cannot be considered to be best practice employers: The data reviewed in this report paint a disturbing picture for Canada's larger employers. Only about half of the employees who participated in this study were highly committed to their employer, satisfied with their job and viewed their organization as "an above average place to work." One in three reported high levels of job stress and one in four were thinking of leaving their current organization once a week or more. Absenteeism (especially absenteeism due to physical and mental health issues) also appears to be a substantial problem for Canadian employers with half of the respondents reporting high levels of absenteeism (defined as 3 or more days of absence in the six months prior to the study being conducted)¹⁴. One in four respondents missed three or more days of work in a six-month period due to physical health problems, while one in ten missed a similar amount of time due to mental or emotional fatigue.

Conditions within Canadian organizations have declined over time: High job stress and absenteeism due to ill health have become more problematic over the past decade. Almost three times as many respondents reported high job stress in 2001 (35%) than in 1991 (13%). More than half (56%) of those in the 1991 sample did not miss work due to ill health in the six months prior to the study being conducted, while just under one in four (24%) missed three or more days. In 2001, the number of respondents missing 3 or more days of work due to ill health had increased to 28% of the sample while the proportion reporting zero days' absence due to ill health had declined to 44%.

During the same time period, job satisfaction and organizational commitment have also appeared to decline. Whereas almost two-thirds of employees in 1991 were highly satisfied with their jobs (62%) and committed to their organization (66%), approximately half reported high satisfaction (46%) or high organizational commitment (53%) in 2001. Such findings are not surprising given the fact that workloads and work-life conflict also increased over the same

¹⁴ Absenteeism was measured in this study by asking respondents to indicate the number of days they had missed work due to the following reasons in the past six months: physical health problems, childcare issues, issues with respect to eldercare and emotional or mental fatigue.

time period. Taken as a whole, these findings suggest that many of the management practices instituted by Canada's larger organizations over the past decade (i.e. downsizing, re-engineering, focus on hours not output, pay freezes, restructuring)¹⁵ have had a negative impact on how Canadian employees perceive their job and their employer.

How an employee feels about their organization (i.e. commitment, view of the organization as a place to work, intent to turnover) and their job (i.e. job satisfaction, job stress) has more to do with the type of work being done and the work environment (i.e. job type and sector) than demands outside of work (i.e. gender, dependent care status): The data reviewed in this section of the report indicates that an employee's view of both their organization and their job as well as the amount of job stress they experience and their intent to turnover¹⁶ can be linked to the type of work being done and the work environment (i.e. job type and sector of employment) rather than gender or dependent care status. In other words, it is what you do within the work setting and how you are treated at work rather than responsibilities outside of work or gender (i.e. men and women react in similar fashions to the same work stimuli) that influence key organizational outcomes. Taken as a whole, the data indicate that managers and professionals are more committed to their organizations and satisfied with their jobs than their non-professional counterparts, despite the fact that their jobs are associated with higher levels of stress. The data also indicate that, generally speaking, employees in the private sector feel more positively about their employer and their jobs than their counterparts in the public and NFP sectors.

Absenteeism due to childcare and eldercare problems is associated¹⁷ with the number of demands an employee has outside of work (i.e. gender, dependent care status) while absenteeism due to physical and mental health problems is associated with sector of employment: The link between absenteeism and the context variables under examination in this study (i.e. gender, job type, sector of employment, dependent care status) is more complex. Absenteeism due to childcare and eldercare (and total absenteeism because it is made up of these two kinds of absenteeism) is strongly associated with demands outside of work (women and employees with dependent care responsibilities are more likely to report high levels of these types of absenteeism and higher family demands). Absenteeism due to poor emotional and mental health, on the other hand, is associated primarily with sector of employment (i.e. work environment) with Canadian public servants reporting the highest levels and private sector employees reporting the lowest levels of absenteeism due to these causes.

High work-life conflict is associated with increased absenteeism and substandard organizational performance: The data reviewed in this study leave little doubt that high work-life conflict is associated with a number of indicators of substandard organizational performance and

¹⁵ See Duxbury and Higgins, 2001

¹⁶ Intent to turnover was measured by asking respondents how often, in the past three months, they had considered leaving their current employer: never, monthly, weekly, several times a week or daily.

¹⁷ A negative association means that as the levels of work-life conflict increase, the levels of the outcome decrease (i.e. as overload increases, commitment decreases). A positive association, on the other hand, means that as the levels of work-life conflict increase, so do the levels of the organizational outcomes (i.e. as overload increases, so does job stress)

increased absenteeism costs. In other words, high work-life conflict negatively impacts an organization's bottom line. The data reviewed in this report indicate that the four¹⁸ components of work-life conflict examined in this phase of the study have different impacts on the organization. These differences are worthy of note in that they provide quite different motivations for addressing this issue as well as different prescriptions with respect to change.

Role overload is positively associated with physical and mental health problems: Employees who have high role overload are less committed to their organization, report higher work stress, are less satisfied with their jobs (due largely to dissatisfaction with workloads, hours worked and work schedules), are more likely to be absent from work (due largely to physical and mental health problems) are more likely to be thinking of leaving the organization (to escape frustrating and non-supportive work environments and to get more time for themselves and more recognition for their efforts), and have a less favourable view of their employer. In other words, organizations which have a higher proportion of their work force with high levels of this form of work-life conflict are likely to have difficulties recruiting and retaining employees and increased costs associated with poor physical and mental health (i.e. greater absenteeism, higher prescription drug costs, greater Employee Assistance Program use). The dimensions of the problem can be assessed by considering the following data. Compared to their counterparts with low levels of role overload, employees with high role overload are:

- 5.5 times more likely to report high levels of job stress,
- 3.5 times more likely to have high levels of absenteeism due to physical, mental or emotional fatigue,
- 2.3 times more likely to report high intent to turnover,
- 1.6 times more likely to have high levels of absenteeism all factors considered, and to miss three or more days of work in a six month period work due to ill health,
- 1.8 times more likely to miss work due to childcare problems,
- half as likely to report high levels of job satisfaction, and
- half as likely to have a positive view of their employer.

In addition, employees who report low levels of role overload are 1.3 times as likely as those with high role overload to be highly committed to their employer.

Work interferes with family is negatively associated with recruitment and retention: From the data reviewed in this paper it would appear that the impact of work interferes with family on the organization is very similar to that observed with respect to role overload. This is not surprising given the high correlation between these two constructs. It should be noted, however, that the respondents with high levels of work interferes with family reported the lowest levels of commitment (only 44% with high commitment), the lowest levels of job satisfaction (only 24% were highly satisfied with their jobs), the highest levels of job stress (66% reported high

¹⁸ The spillover measure is not used in this report to calculate the costs of imbalance. The way this variable was quantified (negative spillover, no spillover, positive spillover) makes it inappropriate for these kinds of data analysis.

job stress), and the highest intent to turnover (44% are thinking of leaving weekly or more, with 24% thinking of leaving several times a week or daily!) of any of the respondents in the study. Organizational commitment, intent to turnover and view of the employer have all been found to be strongly associated with recruitment and retention issues.

The data indicate that work interferes with family affects how people feel about their employer. Taken as a whole, these findings suggest that employees who perceive that they have to put work ahead of family (e.g. feel that they have to make a choice between career advancement and family or between job security and family) are not as loyal and committed as employees who do not perceive that such a choice is necessary.

Family interferes with work is positively associated with absenteeism due to childcare problems. From the organization's perspective, the main consequence of high family interferes with work is higher absenteeism due to childcare problems. Respondents with high levels of family interferes with work were seven times more likely to miss three or more days of work in a six month period due to childcare than those with low levels of this form of work-life conflict. These findings indicate that the organization can reduce this form of absenteeism by making it easier for employees with dependent care responsibilities to vary when and where they work.

Caregiver strain is positively associated with absenteeism due to eldercare problems and physical, mental or emotional fatigue: Employees with high caregiver strain were 13 times more likely than those with low caregiver strain to miss 3 or more days of work in a six month period due to eldercare problems and 1.8 times more likely to miss work because they were mentally, emotionally or physically fatigued.

Employers could substantially decrease absenteeism in their organizations if they reduced work-life conflict. Our calculations indicate that employers could reduce absenteeism in their organization by:

- 23% if they eliminated high levels of role overload,
- 6.3% if they eliminated high levels of work interferes with family,
- 3.6% if they eliminated high levels of family interferes with work, and
- 8.6% if they could eliminate high levels of caregiver strain.

The direct costs of absenteeism due to high work-life conflict are approximately 3 to 5 billion dollars per year: The data collected in this study provides us with the opportunity to estimate the potential financial cost of work-life conflict to Canadian organizations. Our estimates suggested that, in 2001, the direct costs of absenteeism due to work-life conflict was roughly 3 to 5 billion dollars. When both direct and indirect costs are included in the calculations, work-life conflict costs Canadians approximately 6 to 10 billion dollars per year. Specifically:

The direct costs of absenteeism due to high role overload was estimated to be approximately \$3 billion per year. Direct and indirect costs of absenteeism due to role overload was estimated to be between \$4.5 (conservative estimate) to \$6 billion dollars per year.

- The direct costs of absenteeism due to high role overload was estimated to be approximately \$3 billion per year. Direct and indirect costs of absenteeism due to role overload was estimated to be between \$4.5 (conservative estimate) to \$6 billion dollars per year.
- The direct costs of absenteeism due to high levels of work interferes with family was estimated to be one billion dollars per year in direct costs alone (costs increase to \$1.5 to \$2 billion if one also includes the indirect costs of this absenteeism).
- The direct costs of absenteeism due to high levels of family interferes with work was estimated to be just under half a billion dollars a year in direct costs (approximately \$1 billion per year when indirect costs are also included in the total).
- The direct costs of absenteeism due to high levels of caregiver strain was calculated to be just over one billion dollars per year (indirect costs are estimated at another one to two billion dollars).

Why Should Families Care About Work-Life Conflict?

The data in this report paint a mixed picture with respect to the “health” of the families in which Canadian employees live: On a positive note, the majority of respondents are satisfied with their families and their performance as a parent and engage in behaviours associated with positive parenting several times a week or more. On a more cautionary note, only 38% of respondents are completely satisfied with their families’ well-being and only one in four frequently engages in activities which have been linked to family stability.

Women are less satisfied than men with their performance as a parent: Men were more likely than women to indicate that they were satisfied with their abilities as a parent. This gender difference is particularly interesting given the fact that women spend more time in childcare than men. These findings suggest that many women judge their performance as a parent using dated and perhaps unrealistic standards (e.g. compare themselves to their own mothers)¹⁹.

Family outcomes decline as family responsibilities increase: In other words, family well being and stability decline as family responsibilities increase. Neither job type nor sector are associated with any of the family outcomes examined in this study.

High work-life conflict is associated with diminished levels of family and parental satisfaction and impaired family functioning: The data reviewed in this study leave little doubt that high work-life conflict is associated with a number of indicators of impaired family functioning (i.e. lower levels of family well-being and stability, poorer performance of parenting roles) and reduced satisfaction with the family domain (lower levels of family and parental satisfaction). In other words, high work life conflict negatively impacts employees’ abilities to enjoy and nurture their families.

¹⁹ See Hochsfield, 1989

Role overload and work interferes with family have the most negative impact on the family: In both forms of work-life conflict, employees with high levels of conflict are less satisfied with their family life and their ability to parent, less likely to feel that their families are well (i.e. report lower family adaptation) and less likely to feel that their families are stable and work well together.

Family interferes with work is negatively associated with family life satisfaction, parental satisfaction and family well-being: Surprisingly, employees who put family ahead of work are also less likely than those with low levels of family interferes with work to be satisfied with their families and their abilities as a parent. They are also less likely to be happy with their family's well being. In fact, this group reports the lowest levels of family life satisfaction, parental satisfaction and family well being in the study. The fact that family interferes with work is not associated with family integration suggests that either people who put family ahead of work are doing so to keep their family units intact or the strategy of putting family first maintains family integrity. The costs of this strategy are clear however — lower levels of satisfaction with the family domain.

Caregiver strain is negatively associated with positive parenting behaviours: Employees with high caregiver strain are less likely to engage in positive parenting behaviour. This suggests that the time and energy devoted to eldercare activities are interfering with the time available for ones' children.

Why should employees care about work-life conflict?

Many Canadians working for Canada's largest employers are in poor mental health: Over half of the employed Canadians who responded to our survey reported high levels of perceived stress; one in three reported high levels of burnout and depressed mood. Only 41% were satisfied with their lives and one in five were dissatisfied. Almost one in five perceived that their physical health was fair to poor. These data are disturbing as they can be considered to be a "best case scenario" as these data reflect the mental health status of employed Canadians, many (if not virtually all) of whom can be considered to have a "good" job, in one of the "best countries to live in the world!"²⁰ This begs the following question: If a substantial number of employed Canadians can be considered to be in poor mental health, what is the prevalence of mental health problems in those groups who are considered to be at risk with respect to stress, depression, and poor physical health (i.e. contingent workers, the unemployed, those on social assistance)?

The physical and mental health of Canadian employees has deteriorated over time: Overall, the 1990's appear to have been a tough decade for Canadians working for medium and large organizations. Comparison of the 1991 and 2001 samples indicate that the prevalence of high levels

²⁰ Canada was rated the number one country in the world to live in 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2000 by the United Nations according to its Quality of Life Index (see www.geocities.com)

of perceived stress and depression in the Canadian labour force has increased in the past decade. In 1991, 44% of the respondents to our survey reported high levels of perceived stress; this had increased to 55% with high levels of perceived stress in 2001. In 1991, 24% of the respondents to our survey reported high levels of depressed mood compared to 36% in the 2001 sample. This decline in mental health over the past decade is not surprising given the increase in work demands noted in Report One (see Appendix A)! Taken as a whole, these data suggest that the increase in work demands over the past decade as well as the proliferation of work-life conflict are having a negative impact on the mental health of employees.

Women report higher levels of stress, burnout and depressed mood than men: The data presented in this paper are unequivocal — women are more likely than men to report high levels of perceived stress, burnout and depressed mood. The fact that these gender differences in perceived stress, depressed mood and burnout were observed when job type, dependent care status and sector of employment were taken into account suggest that such differences have more to do with gender differences in socialization than in either work or non-work demands. These findings may, for example, be due to the fact that women are more likely to self-examine their emotional feelings and acknowledge problems with respect to their mental health.

Alternatively, it may be that women are less able to cope effectively with multiple stressors within their environment. Finally, these gender differences in mental health may be due to the fact that women who work for pay outside of the home have added stressors associated with paid employment to their lives with little concomitant decrease in the stressors associated with their family roles.

Managers and professionals are in better mental and physical health than are employees working in clerical, administrative, technical and production positions within the organization:

Managers and professionals can be considered to be in better overall mental health (i.e. less likely to be depressed, more likely to be satisfied with their lives) and physical health (i.e. more likely to describe their health as very good to excellent) than employees who occupy blue and pink collar jobs (i.e. clerical, administrative, production positions). This finding is particularly striking given the fact that the managers and professionals in our sample were more likely than the blue and pink collar employees to work long hours, take work home with them and report high role overload, high work interferes with family, negative spillover from work to family and high job stress — conditions which are generally a recipe for poorer mental health. Taken in concert, these findings suggest that managerial and professional employees are more able than their non-professional counterparts to cope with these higher work demands. These findings are consistent with the research done by Karasek and his colleagues²¹ which suggests that employees in professional positions have a greater perception of control than non-professionals and that it is these higher levels of control that helps them cope with heavier work demands.

Unfortunately we still don't know what contributes to this increased sense of control. Possible explanations include better working conditions, more interesting work, higher levels of flexibility, higher job security, increased job mobility (linked to their higher levels of education), and higher socio-economic status (i.e. more formal education, higher incomes). These data also

²¹ See Karasek et al., 1987.

suggest that the physical and mental health issues we observed in the other group may be more a function of their work environment, the types of jobs they do and their working conditions rather than the time spent in work itself.

Female managers and professionals are more likely than females in “other” positions to report high levels of burnout: The data from this study suggest that managerial and professional positions and motherhood are not compatible in that they both impose heavy demands. Females who work in managerial and professional positions are more likely to experience symptoms of burnout than any other group of employees. These higher levels of burnout can be attributed to the fact that this group of women appears to be in a “no win” situation with respect to work and family — they have heavier work demands than other women and heavier family demands than men. In other words, female managers and professionals are more likely than workers in any other group to try to “burn the candle at both ends” — succeed at a high level job while not sacrificing standards at home. Such a strategy appears to be unsustainable over time.

Employees who have no dependent care responsibilities are in better physical and mental health than are employed Canadians who spend time each week in child and/or eldercare: The data are also unequivocal with respect to the impact of parenthood and/or eldercare on employee physical and mental health. The greater the number of non-work demands assumed by an employee, the more likely they are to report that they are stressed, burnt out and that their health is fair to poor. In other words, the job of parent/eldercaregiver can be considered to be a high demand, low control position — one which we know challenges an individual’s ability to cope. Individuals or couples without children or eldercare responsibilities can act relatively independently, as they do not have the constraints or the demands of caring for children or elderly dependents. The addition of the parent/eldercaregiver role complicates an employee’s life situation as it places greater demands on them at the same time as it adds constraints. These data suggest that efforts to more pro-actively manage a more diverse workforce and implement policies and programs to help working mothers and fathers and those with eldercare issues have had no appreciable impact on this group of employees.

Motherhood presents more mental health challenges than fatherhood: Parenthood appears to have a different impact on the life satisfaction of mothers than fathers. Fatherhood is not associated with life satisfaction for men. Mothers, on the other hand, are less satisfied with their lives than women without children. Similar findings were observed with respect to depressed mood. Mothers were more likely to report high depressed mood than women without children/eldercare. Having either childcare or eldercare responsibilities was not, however, associated with depressed mood for men.

These findings support the research literature in the area²² which suggests that the role of working mother is qualitatively different from the role of working father and that the “quality” motherhood as a role is not as fatherhood (i.e. dads do the “fun” family tasks while mothers do

²² The following references present arguments or data illustrating the difference impacts of motherhood and fatherhood: Vanier Institute, 2000, Statistics Canada, 2000, Hochschild, 1989, O’Neil and Greenberg, 1995; Bowen and Pittman, 1995.

the “hard stuff”). Further research is needed to determine if these differences are due to social, workplace or family factors (or some combination) so that targeted policies are developed and supports implemented. More equitable sharing of childrearing within the family may lead to better mental health outcomes for working mothers.

Men who work in the public sector report poorer mental health: Men in the public sector sample appear to be exposed to a fairly unique set of stressors. They are more likely than any other group of men to report high stress and depressed mood and less likely to report they are satisfied with their lives. Further research is needed to determine what conditions within the public sector work environment are impairing the mental health of these men.

High work-life conflict is associated with declines in employee physical and mental health: The data from this study leave little doubt that high work-life conflict is associated with a number of indicators of physical and mental health problems at the employee level. Employees who are stressed, depressed and burnt out are not as productive as those in good mental health. Stress, depression and burnout are also linked to increased absenteeism, greater use of prescription medicine and Employee Assistance Programs and lower levels of creativity, innovation and risk taking, which, in turn, can all be expected to negatively impact an organization's bottom line.

The four components of work-life conflict have differential impacts on the physical and mental health of employees: These differences are worthy of note in that they provide quite different motivations for addressing this issue as well as different prescriptions with respect to change.

- *Employees with low levels of role overload are in better mental health:* Respondents with low role overload appear to be in the best mental and physical health of any of the respondents in the survey. Only 20% of those with low role overload report high stress, only 4% are burnt out and only 14% report high levels of depressed mood. Furthermore, 60% of the respondents with low role overload indicated that they are very satisfied with their lives. These data suggest that the mental health of employed Canadians would be significantly improved if organizations ensured that work demands were more manageable (e.g. hire more staff, reduce travel demands, put limits on the use of technology to support after hours work).
- *Employees with high levels of role overload are more likely to report high levels of burnout:* Role overload is positively associated with high stress, high burnout, and high depressed mood and negatively associated with life satisfaction and perceived physical health. Examination of the data indicates that employees with high role overload were 12 times more likely than those with low role overload to report high levels of burnout. These findings indicate that the long hours that employers expect from their workforce are not sustainable over time.
- *Work interferes with family is associated with higher levels of perceived stress, depressed mood and burnout:* The respondents with high work interferes with family can be considered to be “at risk” with respect to burnout and perceived stress (62% of the respondents with high work interferes with family report high levels of burnout and 77% report high levels of perceived stress). Employees with high work interferes with family were 5.5 times more likely than those with low levels of work interferes

with family to report high levels of burnout, 2.4 times more likely to report high levels of depressed mood and twice as likely to report high levels of perceived stress. These findings suggest that the strategy of “trying to do it all” and meeting heavy demands at work at the expense of one’s personal life impairs one’s mental health.

- *Family interferes with work less problematic for employees than other forms of work-life conflict:* The alternative strategy — putting family ahead of work — does not appear to be as harmful to one’s mental health as putting work ahead of family. It is, however, still cause for concern.
- *Employees with high caregiver strain are most likely to be depressed:* Respondents with high levels of caregiver strain appear to be at the highest risk with respect to perceived stress (80% with high caregiver strain report high stress), depressed mood (60% with high caregiver strain report high depressed mood) and impaired physical health (28% with high caregiver strain report that their health as fair/poor). They are also the least likely to be satisfied with their lives.

Recommendations

There is “no one size fits all” solution to the issue of work-life conflict. The data from the 2001 National Work, Family and Lifestyle study show quite clearly that different policies, practices and strategies will be needed to reduce each of the five components of work-life conflict: role overload, work interferes with family, family interferes with work, caregiver strain and negative spillover from work to family. That being said, the data would indicate that there are a number of strategies and approaches that the various stakeholders in this issue (i.e. employers, employees, families, unions and governments) can use to reduce of work-life conflict. These recommendations are summarized below.

What can employers do?

Employers who wish to address work-life balance need to:

1. Identify ways of reducing employee workloads. Special attention needs to be given to reducing the workloads of managers and professionals in all sectors.
2. Recognize that unrealistic work demands are not sustainable over time and come at a cost to the organization which is often not recognized or tracked. Accordingly, we recommend that the employer start recording the costs of understaffing and overwork.
3. Identify ways to reduce the amount of time employees spend in job related travel.
4. Hire more people in those areas where the organization is overly reliant on unpaid overtime.
5. Collect data which reflect the total costs of delivering high quality work on time (i.e. paid and unpaid overtime, subsequent turnover, Employee Assistance Program use, absenteeism).
6. Change their accountability frameworks and reward structures.
7. Tangibly reward and recognize overtime work.

8. Develop an etiquette around the use of office technologies (i.e. e-mail, laptops, cell phones).
9. Reduce their reliance on both paid and unpaid overtime.
10. Give employees the opportunity to say “no” when asked to work overtime. Saying “no” should not be a career limiting move.
11. Make alternative work arrangements more widely available within their organization.
12. Implement time off in lieu of overtime pay arrangements.
13. Provide a limited number of days of paid leave per year for childcare, eldercare or personal problems.
14. Provide appropriate support for their employees who work rotating shifts.
15. Measure the use of the different supportive policies and reward those sections of the organization that demonstrate best practices in these areas. Investigate those areas where use is low.
16. Implement cafeteria benefits packages which allow employees to select those benefits which are most appropriate to their personal situation on a yearly basis.
17. Offer childcare and eldercare referral services.

What can employees do?

Employees should:

18. Say “no” to overtime hours if work expectations are unreasonable.
19. Try and limit the amount of work they take home to complete in the evenings. If they do bring work home, they should make every effort to separate time spent in work from family time (i.e. do work after the children go to bed, have a home office).
20. Try and reduce the amount of time they spend in job-related travel.
21. Take advantage of the flexible work arrangements available in their organization.

To reduce work-life conflict within their constituencies governments (federal, provincial and municipal) need to:

What can governments do?

22. Implement legislation:
 - which stipulates that an employer’s management rights do not include an implied right to require an employee to work overtime except in the case of an emergency.
 - that gives employees the right to time off in lieu of overtime pay.
 - that entitles employees to up to five days of paid personal leave per year.
 - includes specific language around long-term unpaid leave for the care of an elderly dependent.
23. Take the lead with respect to the issue of childcare by determining how to best help employed Canadians deal with childcare issues (i.e. develop appropriate policies for parents of children of various ages, identify and implement relevant supports).

24. Take the lead with respect to the issue of eldercare by determining how to best help employed Canadians deal with eldercare issues (i.e. develop appropriate policies, identify and implement relevant supports).
25. “Lead by example” with respect to the availability and accessibility of flexible work arrangements and supportive policies.
26. Investigate ways to increase Canadians’ awareness of how social roles and responsibilities have changed over the past several decades, what changes still need to happen, and why (i.e. social marketing campaign, education programs in schools, advertisements).
27. Examine how they can reduce the “financial penalties” associated with parenthood (i.e. determine how to concretely recognize that this group of employees have higher costs).

What can unions do?

Unions need to:

28. Become advocates of employee work-life balance by undertaking public campaigns to raise awareness of work-life issues and suggest ways in which the situation can be improved. This advocacy should be done outside the collective bargaining process.
29. Include work-life provisions (i.e. flexible work arrangements, family friendly benefits) in negotiations during the collective bargaining process with the objective of gaining new accommodations in collective agreements.
30. Set up educational campaigns to:
 - increase individual worker's knowledge of work-life balance issues, and
 - give employees the tools they need to effectively deal with situations as they arise.

Appendix A: Reports Published Using Data from the 2001 Balancing Work, Family and Lifestyle National Study

Work-Life Balance in the New Millennium: Where Are We? Where Do We Need to Go? CPRN
Discussion Paper No. W112 October 2001

Website: <http://www.cprn.org/cprn.html>

The 2001 National Work-Life Conflict Study: Report One (2002)

Website: <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/pphb-dgspsp/publicat/work-travail/index.html>

Voices of Canadians (2003)

Website: <http://labour-travail.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/worklife>

Work-life Conflict in the New Millennium: A Status Report (2003)

Website: <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/pphb-dgspsp/publicat/work-travail/report2/index.html>

Where to Work in Canada? An Examination of Regional Differences in Work-Life Practices
(2003)

Website: <http://www.worklifeforum.com>

Exploring the Links Between Work-Life Conflict and the Demands on Canada's Health Care
System (Report Three)

Website: <http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/publicat/publicat/work-travail/report3/index.html>

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