The Gender Wage Gap and Women's Labour Mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador

by

© Sherine Hamdy Khattab

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Abstract

This thesis examines the gender wage gap and women's labour mobility in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador in Canada. Women in Newfoundland and Labrador face the highest wage gap in Canada, and a high proportion of the province's workforce engages in employment-related geographical mobility. The first part of the study details a quantitative economic assessment of the gender wage gap using the Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition that was applied to data from 2001, 2006, and 2016 Canadian Censuses and the National Household Survey from 2011. The wage gap decomposition revealed that most of the gender wage gap in Newfoundland and Labrador could not be explained by variation in demographic data, including gender, age, marital status, full-time status, and presence of children . A logit model was used to analyze the likelihood of individuals in Newfoundland and Labrador to engage in labour mobility, specifically commutes between residence and work that were greater than 100 km. Individuals that had at least a bachelor's degree, were married, separated, divorced, or widowed, and had children were less likely to commute more than 100 km from their place of residence to their place of work, compared to individuals that had no post-secondary education, were single, and had no children. Moreover, homeowners and women were less likely to commute more than 100 km for employment.

The second part of the study examines men's and women's experiences with employment-related geographical mobility and the role of place and place attachment to Newfoundland and Labrador. Place attachment may be an unexplained variable when considering the gender wage gap and labour market mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador. Interviews were provided by the On-The-Move Partnership and were evaluated and coded using NVivo 12 software. A qualitative analysis revealed five main themes that affect the labour

market mobility decisions of men and women. When describing the labour market mobility decisions of men and women (and the potential implications for wages and the gender wage gap), it is important to consider a) the characteristics of place and community, b) the degree of family support, c) the quality of family life, d) the importance of and implications for community sustainability, and e) the implications for women and their mobility. Support networks and social interactions with family and friends were the most common reasons most women cited when deciding not to move. Additionally, most women expressed a strong sense of place and desire to raise their children in a known, safe community.

Finally, the third part of this study evaluated how public policy impacts the gender wage gap and women's labour market mobility. Of the provinces in Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador has made the least progress in narrowing the gender wage gap. This study compared Canadian and Swedish government public policies related to the gender wage gap, specifically policies of pay equity, employment benefits, childcare benefits and the pension system. Sweden has a different welfare state than Canada and has one of the lowest gender wage gaps in the world. The analysis suggests that the Canadian government should consider improving labour market policies, such as the pay equity act, and enhancing relevant programs such as employment benefits, childcare benefits and the pension system. Improving these policies will help women in Newfoundland and Labrador, and throughout Canada, be more mobile, which should reduce the gender wage gap. Furthermore, improving these policies would also decrease unemployment rates, which should alleviate strain on public resources.

To the soul of my father ***Hamdy Khattab***

To my daughters Sarah, Salma, and Nancy

To my husband ***Assem Hassan***

For caring, support, encouragement, and sharing these years of hard work

To my supervisors, ***Dr. Wade Locke, Dr. Kelly Vodden, and Dr. Russell Williams***

For their support and guidance as well as sharing their experience during these years

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Co-Authorship Statement

I, Sherine Hamdy Khattab, hold principal author status for all the manuscript chapters in this thesis. The manuscripts are co-authored by my supervisors, Dr. Wade Locke, Dr. Kelly Vodden, and Dr. Russell Williams. Described below is a detailed breakdown of the work completed.

- Paper 1 in Chapter 2: Khattab, S.H., and W. Locke. 2020. "The relationship between women's mobility and the gender pay gap: A look at the Newfoundland and Labrador labour market."

I am the primary author. Author 2 contributed to the idea, its formulation and development, and refinement of the manuscript.

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I am the primary author. Author 2 contributed to the idea, its formulation and development, and refinement of the manuscript.

1. Introduction and Overview

1.1 Background and Overview

The persistence of the gender wage gap (differences in average wage by gender[1]) is an important economic, social, and political issue in Canada and worldwide (Blau and Kahn, 2003; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2019). The gender wage gap has persisted despite a dramatic increase in female labour force participation. In 2017, 70.2 percent of women in Canada aged 15 and older participated in the labour force, compared to 23.2 percent in 1950 (Moyser, 2019). More women attached to and fewer women withdrew from the labour market after marriage and childbirth (Goldin, 2014; Sigal et al., 2001).

Earnings are a main determinant of economic well-being for employed individuals. Earnings influence individuals' decisions pertaining to labour supply and family formation, along with other major household decisions (Moyser, 2019). They also affect the power structure within households (Blau and Kahn, 1999). Many women spend most of their time devoted to unpaid household responsibilities, such as caregiving and childbearing, often reducing their labour force participation and leading to lower incomes. Men tend to prioritize paid work over unpaid work (Beaujot and Ravenera, 2009; Bianchi et al., 2012). Gender-related earnings differences make it difficult for families with single mothers and with single female earners to support themselves. Lower lifetime female earnings compared to male counterparts has led to

1 Gender refers to a socially constructed characteristic where female and male are seen as oppositional categories with different characteristics, unequal power and unequal social rights. Society will presuppose activities, behaviours and roles that they deem appropriate for a given sex. Beginning at childhood, individuals will develop their gender identity based on what is expected from them from the society/culture (Department for Women and Gender Equality Canada, 2018; Moyser, 2019).

women retiring with insufficient financial resources and into poverty (Fox and Moyser, 2018). The gender wage gap can be considered a symbol of injustice and gender discrimination (McDevitt et al., 2009; Schieder and Gould, 2016). Discrimination exists "when employers differentiate between workers on the ground of characteristics other than their productivity" (Blau and Kahn, 2017; Gilbert et al., 2002, p. 365; Moyser, 2019), and these ideas are further discussed below and in Chapter 2. Consequently, reducing the gender wage gap must be a national and international priority and a prerequisite of achieving gender equality (Moyser, 2019).

Labour mobility allows qualified individuals to match with appropriate employment throughout Canada and elsewhere. Labour market mobility is defined as the movement of labour from one place to another to obtain a job (Capstone Encyclopedia of Business, 2003; Kettunen, 2002; The Hutchinson Unabridged Encyclopedia, 2014). Labour mobility can be geographical, where workers move from one place to another, occupational, where workers change their occupations to meet new needs or take advantage of job availability, or a combination of both (Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Political Thought, 2007; The Hutchinson Unabridged Encyclopedia, 2014). Labour mobility is an effective way to respond to market demand. It stimulates development and innovation, and it helps transfer and upgrade workers' skills (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2015). Labour mobility is thus important to growing and sustaining the Canadian economy (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2017), but does it offer potential for addressing the gender wage gap? This dissertation examines what links, if any, exist between the gender wage gap and labour mobility, particularly the mobile workforce, in Newfoundland and Labrador and what factors may influence these relationships, including place attachments. Among the provinces in Canada,

Newfoundland and Labrador has the largest gender wage gap (Neil, 2018) and a high proportion of workers that engage in employment-related geographical mobility (E-RGM) (Bedford et al., 2019). E-RGM includes any extended travels or absences from a place of residence for employment purposes (Cresswell et al., 2016; On the Move Partnership, 2020). These workers periodically leave their home communities and/or the province for days, weeks, or months at a time to work elsewhere, while maintaining their place of residence within the province. E-RGM (also referred to as mobile work and/or labour mobility in this thesis) requires workers to cross provincial, municipal, or national boundaries to travel between their place of residence and work. E-RGM can range from relatively short commutes to nearby communities and longer trips that could be considered international migrant work (Cresswell et al., 2016; Temple et al., 2011). One form of E-RGM is long distance commuting (LDC). Öhman and Lindgren (2003) define LDC as travelling 200 km or more away from a home community. Other authors, such as Storey and Shrimpton (1986), describe LDC as workers being in an isolated place, far from their place of residence where they are provided with housing and food. The mode of transportation between the residence and work can define the type of LDC. Fly-in/fly-out workers travel back and forth between work and home by air. Some workers drive or use the bus (drive-in/drive-out and bus-in/bus-out, respectively) (McKenzie et al., 2014; Perkins, 2012; Victorian Department of Transport, Planning and Local Infrastructure, 2013).

In Canada, a country that historically relies on resource extraction, E-RGM and particularly LDC are important parts of the labour force (Cresswell et al., 2016). From 2010 to 2014, in Newfoundland and Labrador, between 8 and 11 percent of individuals had inter-provincial employment (Messacar, 2016; Morissette and Qiu 2015; Neis, 2019). In 2011, 8.5 percent of total wages and salaries in Newfoundland and Labrador were earned by inter-

provincial employees (Morissette and Qiu 2015). From January 2009 and March 2010, between 7 and 8 percent of the total workforce in Newfoundland and Labrador engaged in mobile work. Women accounted for only ten percent of this mobile workforce (Outlook, 2020).

Gender wage inequality and low participation of women in the mobile workforce affect the autonomy of women, making them more vulnerable (Moyser, 2019). Although Canada has a range of federal and provincial labour market legislation that intends to ensure that men and women be treated equally in the labour market, these pieces of legislation have not been effective in closing the gender wage gap (Schirle and Sogaolu, 2020), nor have they been effective in increasing labour market mobility (Canadian Labour Congress, 2014). This dissertation explores the gender wage gap as well as the role of, and experiences with, E-RGM from a gendered lens to make gender visible within Newfoundland and Labrador. As Howard et al. (2020) stated, this involves working to make "gender visible in a social phenomena" and looking at societies, standards, and opportunities and why they differ between men and women. Canadian and Newfoundland and Labrador public policies are also assessed and suggestions made to reduce the gender inequality in the labour market.

1.2 Explaining the Gender Wage Gap

The field of labour market economics offers insight into the factors that have led to the gender wage gap, but the influences of these factors can vary depending on what theoretical perspective is used. The field of labour market economics is based on the neoclassical paradigm, and it assumes that people act rationally to maximize their utility, that labour market equilibrium is achieved through market forces, and that markets operate efficiently (Boyer and Smith, 2001; Green 2002; Schettkat, 2018). The neoclassical theory further states that employees with the same characteristics and abilities working at the same positions should be remunerated equally

(Brozova, 2015). The human capital school (also called the labour economics branch of neoclassical economics) assumes that every level of education, experience and training has a direct association with an individual's wage.

Grybaite (2006) argued that the theoretical perspectives that researchers have employed to study the gender wage gap can be divided into two groups. The first theoretical group is based on the human capital theory, which analyzes gendered differences in qualifications. This theory argues that every individual has a set of human capital (abilities and skills) that will determine their earnings. Based on this theory, women choose to invest less in their human capital because they expect more interruptions in their labour market participation and therefore a shorter duration in their participation over their lifetime, which, in turn, leads to lower earnings for women compared to men (Becker, 1991; Grybaite, 2006; Manning and Swaffield, 2008; Polachek, 1981). The second theoretical group argues that much of the gender wage gap is due to discrimination in the labour market. Economic discrimination is defined as the difference in pay between workers performing the same job with the same abilities but are from different groups (e.g., men and women). Both of these explanations, which are not mutually exclusive and are often interconnected, are generally considered valid (Grybaite 2006; Joshi et al., 2015; Metcalf and Rolfe, 2009). In a study on university faculty in the United States, Johnson and Stafford (1974) attributed 60 percent of the gender wage differential to human capital differences, leaving the remaining 40 percent due to gender discrimination against women. Statistics Canada (2020a) stated that, at Canadian universities, a female full time teaching staff faces a gender wage gap of between 13 percent (University of Calgary) and 3 percent (Laval University) compared to a male full time teaching staff. The gender wage gap at Memorial University of Newfoundland between

female and male full time teaching staff was reported at 6 percent. Both of these perspectives are used to inform this thesis.

1.2.1 Educational Attainment and Age

The human capital theory states that education increases individual productivity and earnings; therefore, education is an investment. This investment is important to individuals and a country's economic growth (Tan, 2014). Moreover, the human capital view states that individuals invest in their human capital to reap benefits later in life and that women earn less because they choose to invest less in education and gain less experience due to low labour market attachment (due to pregnancy, for example) (Garibaldi, 2006; Hakim 2000; Polachek 2003; Thomson, 2009). Peterson (2003) argued that because women generally choose to invest less in their human capital, they have chosen to work in lower paying jobs and are therefore not underpaid.

Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis question the veracity of the human capital theory in Newfoundland and Labrador and argue that the gender wage gap is largely rooted in the discrimination theoretical perspective. Contrary to the hypotheses of the human capital model, Canadian women tend to seek higher education. Women's educational attainment is outpacing that of men, their labour market participation is increasing faster than that of men, and equal pay legislation has been introduced in many countries, a gender wage gap persists (Baker and Drolet, 2010; Blau and Kahn, 2003, 2017; Ferguson, 2016; Fortin et al., 2017; McGuinness and Redmond, 2018; Moyser, 2019; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2019; Schirle, 2015; Statistics Canada, 2016). The gender pay gap endures despite accounting for years of education, experience, and hours worked for men and women (Schieder and Gould,

2016). Thus, the gender pay gap cannot be explained simply by gender differences in levels of qualification, experience and mobility (Drolet, 2011; Gilbert et al., 2002).

Women in Canada are more likely than men to acquire higher education, but they do not get paid a higher income. In 2005, a woman between 25 to 29 years old with a Master's or PhD degree working a full-time job earned 96 cents for every dollar her male counterparts earned (and 89 cents for every dollar when comparing men and women with bachelor's degree) (Turcotte, 2011). In a comprehensive study examining the gender wage gap in Canada between 2011 and 2015 (Finnie et al., 2019), women earned less than their male counterparts in every field of study and earned less than men for every level of education. Women earned 12 percent less than men in their first year after graduation, which widened to 25 percent five years after graduation. The gender wage gap was 33.7 percent for college certificate graduates, 21.7 percent for bachelor's degree graduates, and 16 percent for doctoral degree graduates.

Blau and Kahn (2017) observed that the gender wage gap has been decreasing in the United States, and they attributed this trend to a) women having higher human capital accumulations in recent years; b) increased female labour participation (31.8 percent in 1947 to 57.2 percent in 2013); c) women surpassing men in education; and d) an increase in women pursuing mathematics degrees. Female labour force participation for women between the ages of 15 and 64 years varied from a high of 76.3 percent in Sweden to a low of 42.9 percent in Italy among developed western nations in 1996 (Daly, 2000). Schieder and Gould (2016) confirmed that the gender wage gap persisted even after an increase in women's educational attainment. In the United States, like Canada, women generally earned less than men at every educational level. Furthermore, the wage gap was larger at higher levels of educational attainment (Figure 1) (Gould et al., 2016). Day (2019) found that a woman with a bachelor's degree would earn 74

cents for every dollar a man would earn, while a woman without a college degree would earn 78 cents for every dollar a man would make. Employers often also give more opportunities for men to receive on the job training relative to those opportunities given to women (Evertsson, 2004; Gilbert et al., 2002).

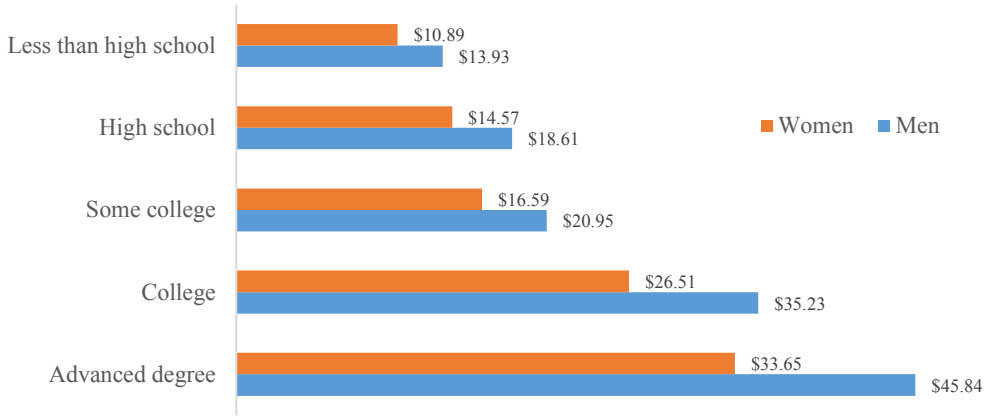

Figure 1: Average hourly wages by gender and education level from The Economic Policy Institute, as cited in Gould et al. (2016).

The supply side in the labour market can influence the gender wage gap, including education, which is particularly vulnerable to systemic discrimination in the form of gendered expectations. Families play a major role in shaping attitudes towards gender roles in society (Kulik, 2002). Hood (1983) and Kulik (2002) investigated how gender role ideology and parenthood influenced the values and beliefs about themselves and society that were passed on to children. Attitudes and ideologies within the family and society influence the educational paths of learners from an early age. Cvencek et al. (2011) found that children as young as second graders perceived math as a male domain. Herbert and Stipek (2005) found that third grade girls rated their math competencies as lower than boys, even though their performances were equal

(presumably discouraging girls from further math-related study and occupations). These "gender-science stereotypes" can influence women's decisions to study science, technology, engineering, and math (Makarova et al., 2019). Gender segregation in education (and then later in the workforce) is one of the reasons men are more likely to pursue majors in science, technology, engineering, and math, while women are more likely to pursue majors in health, humanities and education (Charles and Bradley, 2009; Daymont and Andrisani, 1984; World Economic Forum (WEF), 2017).

Women's attitudes and behaviour in the labour market can affect their wages. Gilbert et al. (2002) argued that because women anticipate breaks in their employment, they invest less in formal education and workplace training. Moreover, Benson (2014) and Blau and Ferber (1991) found that women and men in college had different career and family ambitions, which in turn, affected their educational choices. Additionally, Schieder and Gould (2016) argued that women made educational and occupational choices based on what is "expected" from them.

There is a relationship between age[2] and the gender wage gap (Drolet, 2011). Day (2019) and the Conference Board of Canada (2010) found that the gender wage gap widened with age. More years of experience generally leads to higher pay. In the United States in 2017, Day (2019) found that men earned more than women at every age, and the earnings differences peaked at the age of 50. In Canada in 2010, women 25-34 years of age earned 78.3 cents for every dollar their male counterparts earned, and women 45-54 years of age earned only 75.7 cents for every dollar earned by men at the same age and level of educational attainment (The Conference Board of Canada, 2010). In 2018, women in Canada between the ages of 25-54 earned 13.3 percent less

[2] It should be noted that age may represents potential experience rather than actual experience and how this may affect individuals' productivity in the labour market

per hour than their male counterparts, which is a decrease of 5.5 percentage points compared to 1998 (Pelletier et al., 2019). Drolet (2011) argued that the higher gender wage gap between older workers and the lower wage gap between younger workers can be explained by changing characteristics of women over time. At the start of their careers, women's characteristics are similar to those of men's but they may diverge due to differences in educational attainment, occupations and labour market interruptions. However, Drolet (2011) also found that the correlation between age and the gender wage gap is getting weaker with time. In Canada, in 1988, the gender wage gap among workers aged 25-29 was 20.1 percentage points smaller than workers aged 50-59. By 2008, this gender wage gap narrowed to 9.4 percentage points. Drolet (2011) attributed this weaker correlation to a "cohort replacement effect", where the gap is decreasing as younger workers replace older ones.

1.2.2 Occupational Segregation

The type of occupation also affects the wage gap. Women are often segregated into certain occupations, a form of discrimination that can result in women receiving lower wages compared to men. Being segregated into lower paid occupations leads to lower incomes, poorer benefits, part-time hours, and less career mobility. Arcila et al. (2016), Blau and Kahn (2017) and Moyser (2019) found that approximately half of the gross gender wage gap could be attributed to occupational segregation. In 2015, 56 percent of Canadian women were employed in service occupations, such as caring, clerical, cleaning, cashiering and catering, compared to only 17.1 percent of men, while 75.6 percent of occupations in natural and applied sciences were occupied by men, compared to only 24.4 percent by women (Dionne et al., 2016; Moyser, 2017).

Becker's (1971) "tastes and preferences" approach of labour argued that women are sometimes discriminated against by male co-workers, who demand higher pay when working

with women, and from customers who may be reluctant to buy goods or services produced by women (Figart and Mutari, 2005). These preferences, in turn, make women potentially less employable to some prospective employers, even though market competition (e.g., due to lower wages) can reduce this discrimination (Grybaite, 2006). This can contribute to women being segregated into or overcrowded in a limited number of occupations, or considered better suited for part-time positions, which further depress their wages (Anker, 1998; Usui, 2015).

The gap itself also varies by occupation. Women in the 95th percentile of wage distribution experienced a much larger wage gap than those in lower paid occupations (Schieder and Gould, 2016). The higher gender wage gap within higher paid occupations may also be driven by gender bias. Some employers may adopt "pay-settings practices" that disproportionally benefit individuals that can work longer or particular/off-hours (which are mainly men); this is disadvantageous for women due to the social norms and expectations on women (Hersch and Stratton, 2002; Goldin, 2014). Drawing from the human capital perspective, Gilbert et al. (2002) argued that women are generally less ambitious and less willing to accept positions of greater responsibility and commitment in the workplace compared to men, and thus males are paid higher than their female counterparts because they are more experienced, better qualified, and are more willing to take on work-related responsibilities.

Despite all of this, occupational segregation is changing. Blau and Kahn (2017) argued that, in the United States, although occupational segregation is still an issue, there has been an overall decline in occupational differences between men and women. There was less employer discrimination in 2010 compared to 1981, which is consistent with women being more represented in occupations that were previously dominated by men (Blau and Kahn, 2017; Graf et al., 2019).

1.2.3 Motherhood Penalty and Family and Household Responsibilities

In addition to being concentrated in relatively few economic sectors with lower than average earnings, women's perceived role is to run the household and take care of children, husband and extended family (Arriagada, 2018; Beneria, 2003; Blau and Kahn, 2007; Haddad et al., 1995; Moyser, 2019; Moyser and Burlock, 2018), which can contribute to the gender wage gap. Even if women are as productive per hour as men, they are often not able to work equivalent numbers of hours compared to their male counterparts (Goldin 2014; Hersch and Stratton, 2002; Landers et al., 1996; Mutari and Figart, 2001; Rubery et al., 1998), due to pressure often exerted on women to be the main caregivers for children and elderly parents (Schieder and Gould, 2016). Herbert and Stipeck (2005) illustrated that there are social norms about what jobs are deemed "appropriate" for women. Women may be more concentrated in jobs with shorter hours that do not require a lot of effort in order to maintain the time and energy to do domestic work (Barigozzi et al., 2017; Haddad et al., 1995; Schieder and Gould, 2016).

In many places, most of the gender wage gap is due to women taking on the primary role in childrearing (Anderson et al., 2003; Blau and Kahn, 2017, 2000; Budig and England, 2001; Joshi et al., 1999; Sigle and Waldfogel, 2007; Waldfogel, 1997, 1998; Winslow-Bowe, 2006), particularly for married women. In 1999 in Canada, the gender wage gap was 4 percent between "single, never married women" and "single, never married men" but rose to 23 percent between married women and men (Drolet, 2001). Furthermore, Polacheck (2014) found that, in the United States, "single, never married women" earned 2.8 percent less than "single, never married" men. However, the wage gap between married men and married women rose to 22.6 percent. Waldfogel (1998) observed a wage gap between mothers and other women both in the United States and in Britain and found that 40 to 50 percent of the gap could be explained by the

marital and parental status of women, while 30 to 40 percent of the gap was due to women's lower levels of work experience and the lower returns to experience.

Mothers typically earn less than non-mothers and men (Budig and Hodges, 2010; Glauber, 2008; Killewald and Gough, 2013; Jee et al., 2019; Sigle and Waldfogel, 2007). Mothers in Canada and the United States earned 21-24 percent and 11-19 percent, respectively, less compared to childless women, with a larger gap between mothers' and men's earnings (Sigle and Waldfogel, 2007). In 2009 in Canada, mothers earned 12 percent less than childless women (Zhang, 2009). Moreover, in the United States, between 2006 and 2014, mothers earned an average hourly wage of $16.32 compared to $19.54 for childless women (Jee et al., 2019). Crittenden (2001) estimated that mothers with a college degree in the United States sacrifice around $1,000,000 in earnings over their lifetimes. These observations corroborate the hypothesis that marriage and having children tend to depress women's earnings and contribute to the gender wage gap. In other words, mothers may face a "motherhood penalty" (Budig and England, 2001; Clark and Withers, 2009). Despite this, more women have entered and fewer women are withdrawing from the labour market upon marriage or motherhood in recent years (Goldin, 2014; Sigal et al., 2001).

However, although women's labour force participation has increased, women are still doing the majority of household chores. In Canada in 2015, men spent less time doing household labour than women (Moyser and Burlock, 2018). Based on the General Social Survey on Time Use (2015), women aged 15 years and older spent on average, 3.9 hours per day and men in the same age group spent, on average, 2.4 hours per day on unpaid work. In many other countries, the divide is even greater. In Italy and Japan, women spent 3.2 hours more per day on unpaid work compared to men (Moyser and Burlock, 2018). In Canada, based on data from the 2016

Census, women were still mainly responsible for doing the laundry (61 percent of households) and meal preparation (56 percent of households) (Statistics Canada, 2020). In 2016 in the United Kingdom, women reported doing 60 percent more housework compared to men (Burkeman, 2018). In Spain, women spent almost double the time men spent on household chores (20 hours for women compared to 11 hours for men) (Cerrato, 2018). In the United States in 2019, 58 and 51 percent of households stated that women were the main person responsible for laundry and for cleaning and cooking, respectively (Brenan, 2020). Consequently, women's choices appear to be shaped by discrimination, societal norms and other forces beyond the control of individual women. Haan (2020) argued that to enhance equality between men and women, equity in gender roles should be implemented from childhood.

1.3 Gender and Labour Market Mobility

The number of people engaged in complex and often extended E-RGM to and during work is growing globally (Dobson and Sennikova, 2007; Green, 2004; Haan et al., 2014; Sandow, 2008). Labour mobility is important on the aggregate level as well as the individual level. At the aggregate level, workers moving from one region to another leads to more resource exploitation, which leads to new industries and the use of new technologies (Long, 2002, Radcliff, 2020). At the individual level, labour mobility can allow employment opportunities that might not be available locally or are a better match based on skills (Long, 2002). Labour mobility can enhance workers' productivity and wages (Lengyel and Eriksson, 2017; Ofek and Yesook, 1997). It allows them to find employment that better matches their abilities and attributes (Clark et al., 2007; Dahl and Sorenson, 2010; Quillian, 1999), and it helps adjust the labour market. Labour mobility affects economic equilibrium, leading to a more dynamic economy and more productivity. Labour mobility is therefore an important contributor to

national prosperity and helps avoid mismatches between skilled individuals and jobs (Klosters, 2014). Moreover, labour mobility helps countries with high unemployment relieve the strain on public resources by reducing unemployment benefits, healthcare and other expenditures (Barslund and Busse, 2014).

However, not all individuals have equal access to these opportunities. Labour market mobility is clearly gendered (Hanson, 2010; Uteng and Cresswell, 2008; Roseman et al., 2015). In Canada and Sweden, men traveled more often and engaged in longer commute distances compared to women (Haan et al., 2014; Sandow and Westin, 2010). Women's commute distances were often shorter than were men's (Crane and Takahashi, 2009; Cresswell and Uteng, 2008; Cristaldi, 2005; Hanson, 2010; Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Noack, 2011). However, due to household responsibilities, women usually made more stops (Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Hanson, 2010; Kwan, 1999; Noack, 2011). Low labour market mobility among women may be one of the main reasons for the gender wage gap. The earnings gap between women and men widened from 1988 to 1998 in the Egyptian labour market, possibly due to women's limited geographical mobility compared to men (Assaad and Arntz, 2005). Research on the gender wage gap often neglects the role of migration in contributing to this gap (Cooke et al., 2009).

Migration studies shed light on some of the factors related to E-RGM and related earnings. In two-earner families, men typically have the primary impact on family migration decisions (Bielby and Bielby, 1992; Lundholm, 2007; Shauman, 2010; Sorenson and Dahl, 2013). Couples in Denmark disproportionately moved based on the decision to maximize the man's earnings and did not move to maximize household income (Sorenson and Dahl, 2013). This has been confirmed in numerous studies (e.g., Blackburn, 2010; Boyle et al., 2001; Clark and Huang, 2006; Cooke, 2003; Jürges, 2006; McKinnish, 2008; Mulder and Van Ham, 2005).

Women are generally affected negatively by family relocation decisions, including lower market participation and/or lower market earnings. Women are often considered the secondary earner of the family and will not consider a job where relocation is required because of the husband's employment status (Morissette, 2017). Consequently, the wife may have a constrained geographical area for a job search.

If a family moves to seek employment, the woman is typically called a "tied-mover", moving for the benefit of the family (Bielby and Bielby, 1992; Cooke and Speirs, 2005; Cooke, 2013). Women may face a disruption in their labour force participation due to the move, which may affect their labour market experience and lead to a lower return on human capital investments. Furthermore, Halfacree (1995) observed that employers can use women's recent mobility as a signal of their lower productivity or argue that a woman who is a recent "tied-mover" will be willing to accept a lower wage. In these circumstances, married men who have moved are increasing their human capital specific to a particular occupation, which may increase their returns on human capital and increase their earnings, thus furthering income divides within the family and between genders (Cooke, 2003; Cooke et al., 2009; LeClere and McLaughlin, 1997).

However, these differences are not consistent throughout the world. Boyle and Halfacree (1995) and Fielding and Halford (1993) demonstrated that women in the United Kingdom are more migratory than men. Female graduates in the United Kingdom are more prone to migrate than male graduates. They attribute this higher female migration to women trying to move to another labour market to reduce their own personal gender wage gap. Couples that believe in more egalitarian gender roles may move for the woman's job as often as for the man's job (Cooke, 2008; Jürges, 2006). In Sweden, women who earn more than 35 percent of the total

household income can use their bargaining advantages to resist mobility (Brandén, 2013). Despite these cases of higher female migration, Detang-Dessendre and Molho (2000) argued that women cannot be more migratory compared to men because women earn lower wages and work fewer hours than men, which reduces the likelihood of mobility. They observed that some women migrate as a result of getting married (or having plans to do so), and they are moving to new employment locations to follow their husbands, not because they are looking for better opportunities. The cost of living, commuting costs, housing costs, and urban amenities can also influence the decision to be mobile.

Women's traditional roles in the household can impact their ability to move for employment. Diefenbach (2002) studied the division of housework and marital power in relationships in 24 countries from different continents (including Canada, the United States and Sweden) and concluded that the man is typically regarded as the main provider within a household, while the woman is considered the housewife. There is unequal sharing of labour inside as well as outside of the home between husband and wife. When compared to men, there is a greater need for women to remain within their communities to care for families and relatives. This affects their ability to participate in E-RGM. Also, it is often not financially feasible for women to commute, which reinforces the notion that women are normally perceived as the secondary earners in their families (Morissette, 2017).

Place attachment, or sense of place, can also influence labour market mobility. Definitions of these terms vary among disciplines, with geographers more often using "sense of place" and sociologists more often using "place attachment" (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Sometimes, both terms are used as being an element or characteristic of the other. For example, human geographers use the terms "place identity, place attachment, and place dependence" as a

sub-concepts of the term "sense of place" (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Place attachment is a complex phenomenon with cultural, societal, and mental dimensions as well as personal experiences (Anderson, 1991; Gubert, 1999; Pollini, 2005; Proshansky et al., 1983). Place attachment often has consequences on women's E-RGM (Gustafson, 2001). How these attachments affect gendered mobility experiences and decisions are further discussed in Chapter 3.

Place attachments are often linked to identity, as are jobs and earnings. Power and Norman (2019) showed that mobility can lead to gender identity shaping as well as gender inequalities. E-RGM in some communities is based on tradition, with men going away for work (for example in resource extraction jobs), while women stay behind to take care of children and family (Hayfield, 2018; Power and Norman, 2019). Women are underrepresented in skilled trades' positions that often require E-RGM (Wright, 2014), women's unpaid work at home enables men to engage in E-RGM (Pini and Mayes, 2012). To accommodate their partners' E-RGM, many women with young families take part-time jobs in their town to be close to their children's schools (Cresswell et al., 2016). Women are underrepresented in E-RGM jobs because of the structure of employment in these positions, such as long hours, rotational shifts, long commutes, and fly-in/fly-out requirements. Moreover, as mentioned previously, the gender wage gap and the gendered division of the labour market make women more dependent on men, affecting their mobility decisions: "Women's immobilities are often defined in relation to the mobilities of the men in their lives" (McEvoy et al., 2012; Power and Norman, 2019:297).

Women face many constraints on geographical mobility. These can be short-term and/or long-term constraints, and they affect the gender pay gap over time. In the United States, short term mobility has been generally stable since the 1950s and has had no significant impact on

gender wage inequality (Carroll et al., 2007; Gottschalk, 1997; Kopczuk et al., 2010). Kopczuk et al. (2010) argued that in the United States, men have had a much higher level of long-term upward mobility compared to women but that this upward mobility disparity has been closing over time. Aretz (2013) argued that although German men still have higher long-term mobility compared to women, this long-term mobility has been decreasing and it has been increasing for women. This has contributed to narrowing gender wage gaps in the United States and Germany (Black and Spitz-Oener, 2010; Fitzenberger and Wunderlich, 2002). In Canada, Moyser (2019) stated that men have more opportunities to be in positions of power, suggesting that being a female is a barrier for upward mobility, which negatively affects career advancement and leaves them in lower-paying jobs. Higher upward earnings mobility for men has also been declining in Canada, while upward earnings mobility for women has increased (Beach and Finnie, 2004).

1.4 Public Policies and the Gender Wage Gap

The most widely accepted definition of public policy is the one given by Dye (1972:2): "Anything a government chooses to do or not to do". Another definition, proposed by Jenkins (1978) states that it is, "a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle, be within the power of those actors to achieve" (15, in Howlett et al., 2009). In general, the main labour policy goals of the Canadian government are to increase labour market efficiency by minimizing labour supply shortage and/or increase equity in the labour market (Haddow and Klassen, 2006). Governments enact labour market policies to more effectively utilize the country's human resources, matching skills with labour market needs. Governments develop and evaluate programs and policies using political, social and economic tools to maximize well-being for their countries (Bakvis, 2002).

Esping-Andersen (1990) argued that there are three models of "welfare states" or regimes: the social-democratic welfare state, the liberal welfare state, and the conservative-corporatist welfare state. The first regime is characterized by its universal approach to social rights, the inclusion of the middle class in social programs, as well as a high level of de-commodification. The second regime, in contrast, is known by its limited social insurance that is mainly directed toward the working class and the poor. The third regime has social principles based on traditions, religions, and families and not on egalitarian standards (Stier et al., 2001). Each of these welfare regimes has a distinct relationship between the market and the state. The liberal regime believes that economic well-being is best achieved by leaving everything to market forces. Therefore, government intervention happens only in the case of market failure (Gonyea and Googins, 1996). For example, in the United States, welfare provision is only given to the poorest individuals, and it is highly privatized (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Gustafsson, 1994). On the contrary, in the social-democratic regime, the state assumes full responsibility for its citizens' welfare, irrespective of market forces. The social-democratic state's goal is to protect individuals from market uncertainties. In the conservative regime, welfare rights are not universal. The market, the state, and other institutions (mainly the family and the church) share responsibility for their citizens' welfare. Although this regime has some degree of de-commodification, the state does not attempt to eliminate some aspects, such as gender inequalities, that may emerge from the labour market. Family-related policies in conservative regimes, such as taxation, can encourage women to withdraw from the market. The male breadwinner model is the norm in this regime (Esping-Andersen, 1999).

According to Esping-Andersen, female labour participation differs among welfare regimes. Esping-Andersen argues that female labour force participation will be highest in social-

democratic countries and lowest in conservative countries while liberal countries will be somewhere in between (Stier et al., 2001). Across the developed world, labour market participation rates of mothers are lower than those of fathers, unless there are state- or market-provided services or other means helping mothers maintain full-time employment. Even in countries with these types of services, such as the Nordic states, women's employment patterns are different from those of men. Specifically, women usually take more parental leaves and work fewer hours (Leira, 1992, 2002).

Esping-Andersen (1999) further argued that welfare states could address women's inequality through de-commodification and de-familiarization. De-commodification replaces incomes and public services through unconditional entitlements. This involves the welfare state substituting for wages, either directly through income transfers or indirectly through the provision of free or subsidized goods and services, such as food stamps, housing, free education and health services. This direct or indirect substitution for market wages will increase workers' reservation wage and reduce income inequality. De-familiarization, on the other hand, can help women's inequality by reconciling women's paid and unpaid work. Specifically, the welfare state would be responsible for care work, which would enable women to have equal time to engage in paid employment. This basic finding of Esping-Andersen (1999) has been supported by other studies, which found that women's decisions to participate in the labour market are affected mainly by country-specific patterns (Bardasi and Gornick, 2003; Del Boca et al., 2009; Jaumotte, 2003). Countries with more generous fiscal and social policies, such as better parental leaves, better social benefits/tax system, and available, high-quality childcare facilities, allow women to decide when to enter and leave the labour market (Attanasio et al., 2008; Berlinski and Galiani, 2007; Del Boca, 2002; Simonazzi, 2006). Countries with better childcare facilities, as

opposed to child benefits, exhibit a higher rate of women's labour force participation (Apps and Rees, 2004), and countries with liberal attitudes toward gender and higher acceptance of married women with children being employed show higher rates of women's employment (Algan and Cahuc, 2007; Fernandez, 2007; Fortin, 2005; Giavazzi et al., 2009). In Canada, some social policies support women's employment (e.g., job protected maternity/parental leave and partial income replacement) and legislation addressing the unfair treatment of women in the labour market has expanded (Agcos, 2002; Baker and Milligan, 2008). There is a need for more gender-related policies that will ensure better treatment of women in the labour market, and this will be explored in Chapter 4.

1.5 Research Objective and Significance

Newfoundland and Labrador, a province that traditionally relies on natural resource development (e.g., fishery, lumber, and mining), has a historically male-dominated workforce (Power, 2005; Tignanelli, 2017). Women in Newfoundland and Labrador have faced barriers accessing the same training and small business start-up funds that have been made available to men (Hussey, 2003). Hussey (2003) argued that this is mainly due to incorrect perceptions about women's skills and roles in the labour market. For example, women are less likely to receive employer supported training compared to men (Frazis et al., 2000; OECD, 2006; and Sussman, 2002).

The fishery has been a foundation of the Newfoundland and Labrador economy since the early days of European settlement. During the 17th and 18th centuries, however, women were considered a secondary component of the labour market (Porter, 1998). In 1611, when policies ensured men stayed in the colony year-round, pregnant women were sent home because they were considered drains on the system (Cadigan, 2009). During the 19th century, the

Newfoundland and Labrador fishery expanded and provided additional employment and income (Botting et al., 2019). Women working in the fishery did not receive the same remuneration as men (Porter, 1998). Women's contributions to the fishery were underestimated, while men received disproportionate credit for the family's work (Forestell, 1998). Later in the 19th century, the fishery was not sufficient to support the growing workforce in the province, and young people started leaving home to look for work abroad.

Pursuing equality between men and women in Newfoundland and Labrador started a long time ago. The first career exploration course for women was offered in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador in 1977. The goal of this course was to help women wanting to join the labour force. More courses with the same goals followed in other Newfoundland communities. The Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission sponsored a project supporting mothers with dependent children who wanted to take training or find employment. The Women Interested in Successful Employment program was developed to help women who wanted to re-enter the labour market. The Feminist Service Training Programme (1979) and the Women's Employment Counselling Project (1980) were based in Corner Brook and helped women make career choices and develop their job search skills, and it provided information on services such as daycare, financial and personal counselling. Throughout the 1980s, women's organizations worked with government agencies to help increase employment opportunities for women. In 1982, in the Upper Trinity South area, the Women's Involvement Committee was established in response to the effects of fish plant closures on women. They organized a forum where women stressed that they needed access to training in traditionally higher-paid and male-dominated positions (e.g., cutting and trucking fish, filleting). The Women's Involvement Committee then submitted a brief to the Macdonald Royal Commission on The Economy stating that women were getting paid less

than men for work of equal value, they were being discriminated against by their male counterparts, and they were the last to be hired and the first to be laid off (Kealey, 1993).

New industries, including pulp and paper, mining, and forestry, generated wage work in the province starting in the 1890s, diversifying the economy of Newfoundland and Labrador. Unlike the fishery, these new industries provided more steady jobs with fixed wages. However, most of the new jobs were for men. Women were usually left to work as domestic servants in the new industrial towns (Botting et al., 2019; Rennie, 1996).

As Newfoundland and Labrador grew, the labour supply exceeded the demand for work in the province. After Confederation with Canada in 1949, there were dramatic changes in Newfoundland and Labrador, including the construction of road, hospital, school, and power line infrastructure and the industrialization of the fishery. By the beginning of the 21st century, the province experienced rapid growth in white collar jobs, including managerial, professional, and clerical positions (Botting et al, 2019; Wright, 2003). From 1997 to 2007, projects such as Hibernia, Terra Nova and White Rose produced 867 million barrels of crude oil (worth around $46 billion). The oil industry accounted for around 35 percent of the provincial GDP in 2007 (compared to 13 percent and 24.3 percent in 1999 and 2004, respectively). In 2004, according to Statistics Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador's economic growth was higher than any other Canadian province. This economic growth was mainly attributed to the oil and mining industries (Higgins, 2009a). With falling oil prices in the 2010s, oil-dependent Newfoundland and Labrador reported two straight budget deficits in 2013 and 2014 (Hayward, 2014). The Newfoundland and Labrador economy saw a decline in GDP by 2.9 percent in 2014, and 4,650 jobs were lost (Conference Board of Canada, 2015).

The population of Newfoundland and Labrador in 2019 was 521,542, with 258,030 males and 263,512 females (Statistics Canada, 2019e). Unemployment rates have been declining in the province (from 16.6 percent in 2000 to 11.9 percent in 2019) (Statistics Canada, 2019f). Women have contributed to the recent employment growth in the province (outpacing that of men) (Outlook, 2020). Women's participation rate increased from 18.4 percent in 1961 to 61.4 percent in 2019 (Neil, 2016; Statistics Canada, 2020). Since 2000, women's participation rate has increased by 8.7 percentage points compared to 5.6 percentage points for men (Outlook, 2020). Moreover, the number of post-secondary graduates from either college or university has been increasing (Outlook, 2020). The province had 6,576 post-secondary graduates in 2017 (3,441 females and 3,126 males) compared to 6,270 in 2009 (3,363 females and 2,907 males) (Statistics Canada, 2020b).

Neil and Neis (2020) observed that Newfoundland and Labrador had the highest level of interjurisdictional employment of all provinces from 2002 to 2016 based on the ratio of outgoing to incoming workers (New Brunswick was slightly higher in 2013 and Quebec was slightly higher in 2016). In 2008, over 14,000 workers (approximately 6 percent of the labour force) from Newfoundland and Labrador travelled to work in Alberta (compared to 2000 and 7000 workers from Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, respectively). In 2011, 56.6 percent of the total employment income in the province came from mobile workers in Alberta (Lionais, 2016). Women accounted for only 10 percent of this mobile workforce between January 2008 and March 2009 (Outlook, 2020). Moreover, women accounted for only 27.6, 25.4 and 21.5 percent of the inter-provincial employees from Newfoundland and Labrador working in other provinces in 2005, 2009 and 2012, respectively (Messacar, 2016).

Despite the importance of labour mobility in the lives of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, gender-based geographical labour mobility has not been studied in detail in the province. Dorow and Mandizadza (2017) focused on care arrangements between camp and home, especially the help available for people to cope with camp life and caring for households at a distance. They researched the fly-in/fly-out lifestyle, the experience of male oil workers, and the camp as a gendered reproductive social space. Haan et al. (2014) investigated work journeys for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, using microdata from the 2006 Canadian Census to describe E-RGM in the Canadian provinces. They observed that men were more likely to commute longer distances compared to women (by approximately 40 percent).

The On The Move Partnership is a multi-year national scale research program with international links that is investigating E-RGM at both course and fine scales. The On The Move Partnership has worked with a variety of researchers to look at labour mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador from several different perspectives. Fitzpatrick (2016, 2019) studied the issues facing inter-provincial homecare workers in Newfoundland by interviewing women working in homecare and discussing the issues and challenges they faced on the job (e.g., job insecurities, irregular shifts, work/life balance, violence and harassment in the workplace). Power and Norman (2019) studied youth engagement in mainly male-dominated industries, such as seismic work (oil fields) and E-RGM. They contended that gendered mobilities were shaped by different mechanisms, including "men's networks of recruitment into resource extraction-related employment" and "women's responsibilities for social reproductive work" (p. 285). They argued that part of the gender wage gap was due to women's mobility being tied to men. Barber (2015, 2016) investigated masculinity and mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador with a focus on the construction industry and without much details about gender roles. Roseman et al. (2015)

researched the gendered geographies of power, describing the relationship between gender, ethnicity, class, citizenship and E-RGM and how these relationships affected mobility or immobility within families. They concluded that it is important to examine the structure of mobility for "differently situated workers and their families" (p.197) when researching E-RGM. Furthermore, Whalen (2009) studied rural women's experiences in Newfoundland and Labrador when their partners worked out west, detailing women's experiences, emotions and the support they received while their partners were away working, and they concluded that women faced challenges and dealt with stress when they were left behind. However, Whalen (2009) argued that gender roles, as perceived by society, were becoming less of an issue due to male commuters increasingly performing traditionally female responsibilities.

An important gap in the research is a detailed study investigating the relationships between the gender wage gap, women's labour market mobility and women's place attachment in Newfoundland and Labrador. This thesis will evaluate the gender dimensions of E-RGM within Newfoundland and Labrador and how this mobility relates to female-male wage inequality. It will also assess the Canadian public policies that should be revised to increase women's labour market mobility in order to mitigate the gender wage gap.

This study researches an existing problem in Newfoundland and Labrador that has not been well studied and makes a unique contribution by linking geographical labour mobility and the gender wage gap to the province's development, public policies, and economic growth. In other words, this study examines the relationship between three main issues: gender-based geographical labour mobility; the gender wage gap (earning inequality); and labour market policies that affect women's decision making on important societal issues within the context of Newfoundland and Labrador.

1.6 Thesis Outline and Methods

An interdisciplinary approach is important when studying societal problems because it allows additional perspectives and resources to gain more knowledge from different disciplines in order to address the challenges society faces (Carayol and Nguyen Thi, 2005; Jeffrey, 2003; Klein, 1990; Repko, 2008). The interdisciplinary research of this thesis draws from the disciplines of economics, geography, and political science. This study used a mixed-methods approach. Quantitative and qualitative data were gathered, integrated, and analyzed, allowing more in depth understanding and interpretation of the research questions (Cresswell, 2015).

Chapter 2 analyzes the gender wage gap and women's labour market mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador using quantitative data gathered from the 2001, 2006 and 2016 Canadian Censuses and the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS). The Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition was used to analyze the gender wage gap and explain which aspects of this gap could and could not be explained by variation in demographic data, including gender, age, marital status, full-time status, and presence of children. The logit model was used to analyze gender differences in labour market mobility.

Chapter 3 explores an enhanced understanding of the wage gap, women's low labour mobility and their place attachment using qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews conducted with men and women across the province who experienced different labour mobilities. The interviews were provided by the On the Move Partnership. The On The Move Partnership is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Research and Development Corporation NL, and the Canada Foundation for Innovation. With more than 45 researchers from 17 disciplines and 24 universities across Canada and abroad, as

well as over 30 community partners, the partnership's goal is to investigate the implications of E-RGM on workers, workplaces, families, and host and source communities.

Chapter 4 then looks at Canadian gender related labour market policies and their effectiveness in reducing the gender wage gap and/or increasing women's labour market mobility. Specific recommendations were made by comparing Canadian labour market policies to those of Sweden, one of the pioneering countries in reducing the gender wage gap. These recommendations aim to reduce the gender wage gap as much as possible, which should lead to more economic growth, community development and provincial prosperity. Further details on the methods associated with each chapter are outlined in the chapters themselves.

This thesis consists of five chapters described as follows:

Chapter 1 includes background and an overview of the gender wage gap and labour market mobility as well as the scope of work and its significance.

Chapter 2 investigates the gender wage gap and labour market mobility using quantitative methods.

Chapter 3 focuses on studying individuals' place attachment to Newfoundland and Labrador, the effect of place attachment on the gender wage gap, and labour market mobility using qualitative methods.

Chapter 4 discusses different Canadian government labour market policies, their effectiveness, and presents some recommendations.

Chapter 5 summarizes the study.

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2. The relationship between women's mobility and the gender pay gap: A look at the Newfoundland and Labrador labour market

2.1 Abstract

Newfoundland and Labrador has one of the largest gender wage gaps in Canada. A potential contributor to the size of this gap is the fact that women in Newfoundland and Labrador are more limited than men in terms of their mobility, both within the province and within the country. Newfoundland and Labrador data from the 2001, 2006 and 2016 Canadian Censuses and the 2011 National Household Survey were analysed via the Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition to determine both the size and determinants of the gender wage gap within the province, and a logit regression model was utilized to ascertain gender differences in labour market mobility (i.e., differences in probability of shorter versus longer distance commutes for employment). The results of these statistical investigations suggest that 1) women in the province experienced a large gender wage gap; 2) most of the gender wage gap in Newfoundland and Labrador was attributable to unexplained factors; and 3) compared to males, females in the province were less likely to commute more than 100 km from their place of residence to their place of work. There was a bidirectional, inverse relationship between the gender wage gap and women's labour mobility.

2.2 Introduction

Significant labour market differentials exist between men and women. One such difference is the income or earnings gap, which is referenced often as the gender wage gap. In Canada, in 2018, for example, the gap in hourly wages between males and females was 13.3 percent. This gap has narrowed over time, having fallen from 18.8 percent in 1998 (Pelletier et

al., 2019). In the United States, in 2014, Blau and Kahn (2017) demonstrated that women working full-time earned about 79 percent annually of what equivalent men earned. Likewise, Smith (2019) showed a gender wage gap for full-time employees in the United Kingdom of 8.9 percent. In addition, Gupta and Rothstein (2005) demonstrated that, from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, an average full-time female employee in Denmark earned about 80 percent of the average earned by a similar male employee.

Given the worldwide prevalence and persistence of the gender wage gap, it is not surprising that there are many theories proffered to explain why men and women with the exact same qualifications have different earned incomes, with the differential almost always going in favour of men. One hypothesis (Le Barbanchon et al., 2019) argued that women exhibit limited geographical mobility, which constrains the scope of their job search. Other researchers, Blau and Kahn (2000), suggested that reduced women's mobility was due to the fact that women had different familial responsibilities, causing them to seek family-friendly work situations and resulting in reduced labour market mobility. Choosing jobs with more flexibility and less commitment can impact women's annual income compared to men who do not face the same flexibility constraints.

In this study, confidential master data files from the 2001, 2006 and 2016 Canadian Censuses and from the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) were analyzed using two distinct techniques. Initially, the Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition technique was used to decompose the gender wage gap in Newfoundland and Labrador into explained and unexplained parts. The Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition technique enables researchers to identify how much of the difference between two groups (in this paper, the gender wage gap) can be explained by observed differences in some characteristics between the two groups versus differences between

the two groups in the wage returns to the same characteristics (this is the "unexplained part") of the decomposition. Any residual difference (the unexplained part) can be attributed to discrimination or other unobserved predictors that were not evident in the data sets. The Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition technique is commonly used to investigate the gender wage gap (Baker and Drolet, 2010; Drolet, 2011; Schirle, 2015).

Next, a logit regression model was used to examine gender differences in commuting distances in Newfoundland and Labrador. Examining the gender wage gap and variation in women's labour market mobility together will enhance our understanding of the challenges faced by women and provide an empirical basis for the types of policies needed to reduce the gender wage gap and increase women's labour market mobility. Implementing such policies should lead to better job matching; lower unemployment rates; and more equality in the labour market, which should lead to enhanced provincial prosperity (Barslund and Busse, 2014).

In Canada, labour mobility is an important contributor to the country's prosperity. The Alberta "Success Story" enabled Canada to top the G7 in annual gross domestic product (GDP)[3] growth from 1997 to 2007. In 2004-2005, Alberta's GDP growth was almost 40 percent higher than the national average. In 2007, Alberta's unemployment rate was one of the lowest rates in Canada, at 3.5 percent, compared to the national average of 6 percent (Annual Alberta Labour Market Review, 2007). Moreover, Alberta attracted the highest percentage of its working age population (15+ years) at 73.2 percent, compared to the national average of 66.8 percent. Net inter-provincial migration in Alberta was 57,105 people in 2006, the highest number ever

[3] Gross domestic product (GDP) is the market value of all final goods and services produced in a country in a given time period.

recorded in a calendar year for a single province, doubling its GDP growth compared to the national level (6.8 percent compared to 2.7 percent) (Pereira et al., 2007).

Women in the workforce represent between 6 and 14 percent of the total Canadian long-distance commuters (LDC)[4]. Occupations play a role in LDC incomes, with women being mainly employed in positions such as cleaning, catering, and administrative roles (Storey and Shrimpton, 1989). Being old, married, and/or having children negatively affects mobility for both men and women (Census analysis, 2001; Finnie, 2004; Marystown Community Profile, 2007). Commuting times and distances commuted are often used to study differences in commuting patterns between women and men (Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Johnston-Anumonwo, 1997; Kwan, 1999; McLafferty and Preston, 1997; Wyly, 1998). Men, especially married ones, generally commute to work over longer distances than do married women.

Women's experiences with commuting to work and the modes of transportation can differ from those of men (Tilley and Houston, 2016). Men are 40 percent more likely than women to commute greater distances from their place of residence to work (Haan, et al., 2014). Women are often responsible for domestic work, childcare and driving children to and from school/daycare, doctor's appointments, sports practices, and grocery shopping, among other tasks (Rosenbloom, 2006; Yingling, 2017), leading to women usually making more trips (Lee et al., 2007). These trips are sometimes referred to as the "trip chain", where women combine two or more trips into one trip (Tilley and Houston, 2016). Yaropud et al. (2019) found that men were more likely to commute for longer times compared to women. Moreover, women appeared to prefer jobs with shorter commutes due to household responsibilities (Turcotte, 2005;

[4] Long distance commute (LDC) is defined as a commute of 200+ km between the place of residence and the workplace (Öhman and Lindgren, 2003).

Yaropudet al., 2019). In 2019, women and younger workers (15-24 years old) were less likely to commute to work for 60 minutes or more (Statistics Canada, 2019). Patterson (2018) found that women in Canada were twice as likely as men (26 percent versus 13 percent) to choose part-time jobs. Differences in commute patterns between women and men can be affected by roles assigned to women, such as taking care of children and performing most houshold duties (Giuliano, 2009; Wachs, 2009).

Age, education, and social lives can also affect geographic mobility. Commute time generally decreased as people aged (Rapino and Cooke, 2011). Home ownership can decrease the likelihood of migration in favour of commuting longer distances to work (Clark and Dieleman, 1996; Fischer and Malmberg, 2001; Haan et al., 2014; Helderman et al., 2006). People with higher educational attainment are typically more mobile than people with lower educational attainment. Therefore, men's higher mobility compared to women can be attributed to the relatively higher returns men receive on their education (Brandén, 2013; Lundholm, 2007). In addition, Halfacree (1995) argued that women, even highly educated ones, were less mobile because they have been crowded into lower paid career occupations. Women were typically more attached to their social lives than men, making it difficult for them to separate work from their families and friends (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes, 2003; Mulder, 2007).

The assignment and maintenance of gender roles by society leads to gendered differences in commuting patterns. Men, contrary to women, are typically perceived as family providers, resulting in fewer domestic responsibilities, elevated labour market status and higher labour market mobility (Johnston-Anumonwo, 1997; Kwan, 1999; McLafferty and Preston, 1997; Sultana, 2005). The expected roles of women negatively affect their commuting range, impairing their labour market status (Rapino and Cooke, 2011). Women are often entrapped in roles

assigned to them by social norms, which may limit their ability to commute to potential jobs (Kwan, 1999). Moreover, women's lower labour market mobility can impact their wages, propensity to acquire human capital, experiences in working in gender-typical occupations, perceived safety issues; and reliance on public transportation (Rapino and Cooke, 2011).

2.3 Newfoundland and Labrador Mobility and Gender Pay Gap

Commuting to work, or as some Newfoundlanders and Labradorians call it "working out west", is not new in this province. In the 1800s and 1900s, Newfoundlanders commuted to areas with labour shortages, such as the offshore fishery of coastal Labrador, the inter-colonial railway in the Maritimes, or construction in American cities (building the Skyscrapers of New York and Boston) (Storey, 2010; Whalen, 2013). More recently, there has been work in Newfoundland and Labrador, such as the offshore fishery, fish processing (before the 1992 collapse of the cod fishery), and offshore oil projects and related construction projects. However, when local unemployment was high, workers often commuted to places like Fort McMurray in Alberta to work on oil sands projects (Storey, 2010) or to work on lake boats in Ontario's Great Lakes (Reid and Vodden, 2020). Excluding the three Northern Territories, Newfoundland and Labrador has twice as many LDCs compared to all other provinces (Haan et al., 2014).

In the last two decades, out-migration was caused mainly by the cod moratorium, with thousands of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians leaving the province to seek work. Newfoundland and Labrador lost 10 percent of its population between 1991 and 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2008) and many of the people that stayed commuted to work, leaving their families for long periods (King and Wicks, 2009). According to Statistics Canada, the number of workers commuting to work from Atlantic Canada to Alberta increased threefold between 2004 and 2008 (Laporte and Lu, 2013). In 2014, 57 percent of inter-provincial employees from Newfoundland

and Labrador went to work in Alberta (Hewitt et al., 2018). In Newfoundland and Labrador, results showed that mobile workers were between 13,127 and 16,240 between January 2008 and March 2009. This number increased to between 19,454 and 23,507 during the period from January 2009 and March 2010 (Outlook, 2020). However, women were underrepresented in this group of commuters (Whalen, 2013), and in 2010, only 10 percent of these mobile workers were women (Outlook, 2020).

In Newfoundland and Labrador, many workers choose to commute to work rather than relocating. Workers prefer to maintain their home life and keep cultural ties. The decision to engage in LDC instead of relocating is perceived as the "lesser of these evils" (Ferguson, 2011; Whalen, 2013). Employment in Newfoundland and Labrador grew by 10.4 percent from 2000 to 2010, while the provincial labour force increased by 7.6 percent. Women have accounted for 71.7 percent of all the labour force growth and 78.2 percent of all employment growth over the last decade. The number of women in the workforce has more than doubled since 1976. The gap between female and male labour force participation has been closing. Female labour force participation in the province increased to 67.6 percent in 2010, an increase of 8.7 percent compared to 2000, while male labour force participation increased to 74.4 percent in 2010, an increase of only 5.6 percent (Outlook, 2020). In Newfoundland and Labrador, women are more likely to have a university degree compared to men. Even so, women are still more likely to work in occupations in health and social services, sales and service, and business and administration. They are generally underrepresented in the skilled trades. In addition, women are more likely to work in part-time jobs. These factors lead to women being paid less compared to men (Outlook, 2020).

The gender wage gap proportion was 0.83 from 2006-2008 in Newfoundland and Labrador, one of the highest in Canada. Although there were some improvements over the 2000s, the gender wage gap increased again in 2010 (Schirle, 2015). Overall, between 1997 and 2014, little progress has been made. Neil (2015) argued that, in 2014, women in the province faced the highest gender wage gap in the country, earning 66 percent of what men earned.

Newfoundland and Labrador has an aging population. By 2038, 34.8 percent of the population will be over 65 years of age compared to 25.4 percent in Canada. This will have negative implications on the labour market and create demand for various types of occupations (Locke, 2017). Therefore, it is important to consider working-age people who are not in the labour force and underrepresented groups, such as women, who face barriers to enter the labour market. These groups could help the province meet its future labour demands.

This paper investigates the gender pay gap in Newfoundland and Labrador using the Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition model and then labour market mobility using a logit regression model. The implications of how the gender pay gap negatively affects the Newfoundland and Labrador labour market are important and will be discussed, along with the reasons for lower mobility for women. Finally, several possible solutions to narrowing the gender pay gap will be explored (discussed in chapter 4).

2.4 Models, Data and Measurement

Data from the 2001, 2006 and 2016 Canadian Censuses and the 2011 NHS microdata were accessed through the Memorial University's Research Data Centre[5]. Data were analyzed using STATA 15 (StataCorp, 2017). The data included samples of men and women between the ages of 25-64 that worked full-time[6]. The variable sex in the censuses and the NHS is utilized and the sample is divided into male and female. The terms gender and sex are used interchangeably in this paper.

The gender wage gap was calculated using hourly wages. Hourly wage is considered the most appropriate way to measure pay equity, because it allows one to investigate how much individuals are paid when performing similar work. Annual earnings are usually more beneficial when analyzing families' well-being (Schirle, 2015). However, annual wages do not consider differences in hours worked in a year, and the differences in hours worked per year may differ by gender (Statistics Canada, 2019; Moyser, 2019). This paper follows Baker and Drolet (2010) and Schirle (2015) and measures the gender pay gap using wages, not earnings[7]. To measure the gender wage gap, the Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition model was used to estimate the natural log of average hourly wages for males and females (Pelletier et al., 2019):

[5] Memorial University's Research Data Centre is "part of an initiative by Statistics Canada, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Canada Foundation for Innovation, and a consortium of universities to help strengthen Canada's social research capacity and to support the policy research community. Research Data Centres are located in 25 universities throughout the country" (Memorial University Library website).

[6] While it might be important ordinarily to separate out full-time and full-year workers from others in examining the wage gap. My sample included full-time employees. Those are individuals who reported working 30 hours or more per week, including self-employed individuals. It should be noted that, many of the workers, especially the ones engaged in FIFO and DIDO are self-employed workers and may not be paying themselves hourly wage.

[7] Most economists prefer comparing wages (Neil, 2019). Wages allows measurement of what individuals are paid performing the same job (Schirle, 2015). Wages are what employees get paid by their employers for work they performed, while earnings can describe a variety of sources of income (including funds received from non-working sources) (Pirraglia, 2019).

$$ln\,\bar{w}_M = \alpha_M + \bar{X}_M * \hat{\beta}_M + \varepsilon_M \qquad \text{Equation 2.1}$$

$$ln\,\bar{w}_F = \alpha_F + \bar{X}_F * \hat{\beta}_F + \varepsilon_F \qquad \text{Equation 2.2}$$

where, α is the intercept, ε is the error term, M and F represent male or female data, respectively, and ln $\bar{w}$ is the natural logarithm of the average real wage. Moreover, $\hat{\beta}$ represents the coefficients of the estimated regression, and $\bar{X}$ represents the averages for the wage-determining variables (age, age^2, marital status, educational attainment, the presence of children, and working full-time). Results from these equations were used in a counterfactual calculation to show what a female, with her own characteristics, would have earned if she were male (using the same coefficient from the male equation):

$$\ln \bar{w}^*{}_F = \alpha_M + \bar{X}_F * \hat{\beta}_M + \varepsilon_F \qquad \text{Equation 2.2}$$

With the explained gender wage gap part shown using:

$$\text{Explained} = ln\bar{w}_M - \; ln\bar{w}^*{}_F \qquad \text{Equation 2.3}$$

And the unexplained gender wage gap part shown using:

$$\text{Unexplained} = \; ln\bar{w}^*{}_F - \; ln\bar{w}_F \qquad \text{Equation 2.4}$$

Analyses were carried out for each year (2001, 2006, 2011, and 2016), and the explained and the unexplained parts of the gender wage gap were compared.

A logit model was estimated to study individuals' commute patterns in Newfoundland and Labrador. A logit model investigates the relationship between one binary response probability and one or more explanatory variables. Specifically, the model takes the following form:

$$ln\left(\frac{P}{1-p}\right) = \alpha_0 + \sum_{i=1}^{n} \beta_i * X_{i,t} + \varepsilon_t \qquad \text{Equation 2.5}$$

Where P is the probability that the event Y occurs, p(Y=1); $\left(\frac{P}{1-p}\right)$ is the odds ratio and the dependent variable is the natural log of the odds.

$$P = \frac{exp[ln\left(\frac{P}{1-p}\right)]}{exp[ln(\frac{P}{1-p})]+ 1} \qquad \text{Equation 2.6}$$

The above formula is then used to calculate the marginal effect, interpreted as the change in probability for a 1 percent change in x of each variable as follows:

$$\frac{\Delta P}{\Delta x} = \frac{\beta}{x} * P * (1 - P) \qquad \text{Equation 2.7}$$

Since 1996, respondents have been asked to provide both their place of residence and their place of work (if applicable) when completing the long-form census questionnaire. Statistics Canada calculates a straight-line distance to approximate distance travelled between the

respondents' place of work and the place of residence. All one-way travel distances of more than 200 km are recorded as 200 km, so some commute distances reported as 200 km could be more than 200 km (Haan et al., 2014).

Commuting distance was the dependent variable for the logit function (0 if the respondent's commute was more then 0 but less than or equal to 100 km; 1 if the commute distance was more than 100 km). This binary commuting distance variable was regressed over several independent variables: age, educational attainment (the reference group was having a high school diploma), marital status (the reference group was being single), the presence of children, home ownership (the reference group was renting a home), and being a female (the reference group was being a male). To summarize, the literature suggests the following:

1- The gender wage gap is high in Newfoundland and Labrador;

2- Women in Newfoundland and Labrador are more likely than men to have a higher educational attainment, which should reduce the gender wage gap;

3- Women are segregated in part-time, low-paid jobs, while men are working in full-time, high-paid positions;

4- Compared to men, women in Newfoundland and Labrador are less likely to commute long distances from their place of residence to their place of work;

5- Having children will lower individuals' labour market mobility and widen the gender wage gap;

6- Compared to a single individual, being married with reduce the likelihood of commuting long distances from one's place of residence to their place of work; and

7- Owning a house (vs renting) will increase E-RGM.

2.5 Blinder–Oaxaca Decomposition and the Analysis of the Gender Wage Gap

In order to check for any changes in the gender wage gap overtime, the Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition was used to examine differences between the log average hourly wages of women and men in Newfoundland and Labrador using the data from 2001, 2006 and 2016 Canadian Censuses and from the 2011 NHS. This statistical model regresses the difference in natural log of wages against a variety of explanatory variables (such as education, age, marital status, motherhood penalty[8]) in order to identify the contribution of discrimination to the gender pay gap (Blinder, 1973; Oaxaca, 1973). Specifically, the difference between the average log of hourly wages for men and women in Newfoundland and Labrador was calculated to identify the size of the gender wage gap and the proportion of the gender wage gap that could be explained by differences in the average characteristics of men and women (the "explained" portion of the gap) and the residual (the "unexplained" portion of the gap). The unexplained part of the gender wage gap is usually referred to as discrimination. However, the unexplained part can also capture group differences in some unobserved predictors that are unavailable in data sets (Villar, 2017).

A variety of individual and job characteristics were included in the Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition. Age and age^2 were used to determine the effect of age on the gender wage gap. Adding age^2 allows to more accurately interpret the effect of age, which may have a non-linear relationshiop with the independent variable. Only individuals in the core working ages (between 25 and 64 years old) were included in the analysis. Indicator variables were used for education (1 for a bachelor's degree or higher; 0 for lower than a bachelor's degree); marital status (1 if married; 0 otherwise); presence of children (1 if there are children in the house; 0 otherwise); and

[8] The motherhood penalty measures the pay gap between mothers and non-mothers as well as the pay gap between mothers and fathers (Grimshaw and Rubery, 2015).

full-time status [1 for full-time (30 hours or more per week); 0 otherwise]. These variables have been used in numerous similar studies (e.g., Pelletier, 2019; Schirle, 2015). These variables were used as explanatory variables in the log of hourly wage regressions for males and females[9]. The coefficients for men (Equation 2.1) were used as the reference coefficients in the decomposition analysis. Table 1 shows the summary statistics of the individual and job characteristics used in the Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition. Table 2 presents the mean hourly wages of males and females in Newfoundland and Labrador for all years studied.

Table 1: Summary statistics for the demographic data included in the Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition from the 2001, 2006, and 2016 Canadian Censuses and the 2011 National Household Survey.

	Census 2001	Census 2006	NHS 2011	Census 2016
% Females	47.2	48.9	49.8	49.3
Mean age (years) Female Male	 41.2 42.2	 42.9 44.0	 44.8 45.5	 45.2 45.4
Marital status (% Married)	70.9	66.6	63.6	59.3
Educational attainment (% Bachelor's degree or higher)	14.6	16.5	19.4	20.9
% Full-time work	84.6	83.3	83.9	82.6
% Presence of children	60.7	55.0	50.7	35.7

Table 2: Mean hourly wages of males and females in Newfoundland and Labrador based on data from the 2001, 2006, and 2016 Canadian Censuses and the 2011 National Household Survey.

Hourly wages (mean)	Census 2001	Census 2006	NHS 2011	Census 2016
Female ($/hour)	10.7	12.8	16.	20.1

[9] Occupation and industry may be important variables and can be part of future research.

			8	
Male ($/hour)	16.9	20.2	25.7	34.4
Female:Male wage ratio	0.63	0.63	0.65	0.58

Table 3 shows the Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition results for all years. The average log gender wage differentials (that is the log average wages for males minus the log average wages for females) in 2001, 2006, 2011 and 2016 were 0.5272, 0.4532, 0.4751 and 0.5826, respectively. This indicates that the gender wage gap decreased at the beginning to the middle of the 2000s; however, the gap increased in 2011 and was largest in 2016.

Much of Newfoundland and Labrador's gender wage gap can be explained by differences in the variables tested, with the remainder classified as discrimination and unobserved factors against female employees. Gender differences in productive characteristics explained approximately 26.6 (0.1403/0.5272), 31.7 (0.1436/0.4532), 33.8 (0.1608/0.4751) and 33.8 (0.1968/0.5826) percent of the gender log wage differentials in the 2001, 2006, 2011, and 2016 data, respectively (Table 3). Over time, differences in productive characteristics between males and females explained a greater proportion of the gender wage gap (2016 was an exception, which was the same as 2011). However, the differences in qualifications of males and females explained only approximately one-quarter to one-third of the total gap in all years studied.

Looking at the individual variables, working full-time had the strongest effect on the overall gender wage gap (Table 3). Between 30 and 42 percent of the gender log wage differential was explained by having a full-time job (0.1566/0.5272 = 29.7 percent in 2001; 0.1686/0.4532 = 37 percent in 2006; 0.1973/0.4751 = 41.5 percent in 2011 and 0.2321/0.5826 = 39.8 percent in 2016). In other words, if there were no differences between females and males in terms of working full time jobs, the wage gap would be smaller by between 29.7 percent and

41.5 percent for the years studied. This confirms the Outlook (2020) finding that females in Newfoundland and Labrador were more likely to work part-time jobs. Furthermore, between 4 and 29 percent of the gender wage was explained by gender differences in age [Table 3, 0.0990/0.5272 (18.8 percent) in 2001; 0.1302 /0.4532 (28.7 percent) in 2006; 0.0709/0.4751 (14.9 percent) in 2011, and 0.0238/0.5826 (4 percent) in 2016]. The negative sign of the "age^2" variable captured the fact that the effect of age on wages lessens over time. Together, gender differences in age and holding full-time jobs explained between 44 and 66 percent of the total gender wage gap.

The contribution of education in the explained part of the gender wage gap was small (between 3 and 6 percent) but negative. This implies that males in Newfoundland and Labrador were less educated than females in all studied years. If males and females received the same wage premiums for education, women should have higher wages compared to men given their higher educational attainments. Schirle (2015) and Outlook (2020) also observed that females in Newfoundland and Labrador were more likely to have university degrees compared to males. Marital status and the presence of children played minor roles in explaining the gender wage gap [and actually almost offset each other (Table 3)](i.e. 0.0017; 0.0012; 0.0008 and 0.0012 for marital status and -0.0009; -0.0020; -0.0015 and -0.0005 for censuses 2001, 2006, NHS 2011 and census 2016, respectively). All of the above variables contributed to the "explained" part of the gender wage gap.

Most of the gender wage gap in Newfoundland and Labrador was unexplained. Table 3 shows that 73.4 (0.3869/0.5272), 68.3 (0.3096/0.4532), 66.2 (0.3143/0.4751), and 66.2 (0.3858/0.5826) percent of the gender log wage differential was unexplained in 2001, 2006, 2011, and 2016, respectively. This is consistent with the findings of Drolet (2011), Gilbert et al.

(2002), and Gould et al. (2016), where the gender wage gap could not be explained fully by differences in levels of qualifications, mobility, and experience. The unexplained part includes discrimination as well as gender differences in productive characteristics that could not be accounted for by the analysis (Schirle, 2015). Converse to the explained portion of the data, the portion of the wage gap that was unexplained decreased over time (except for 2016 where the proportion was the same as 2011).

Table 3: Log hourly wage differentials from Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition analysis based on data from the 2001, 2006, and 2016 Canadian Censuses and the 2011 National Household Survey.

	Census 2001	Census 2006	NHS 2011	Census 2016
Explained	0.1403	0.1436	0.1608	0.1968
Contributions of Explanatory Variables to Total Gap				
Age	0.0990	0.1302	0.0709	0.0238
	(18.78)*	(21.17)*	(8.59)	(2.85)*
Age^2	-0.1008	-0.1382	-0.0793	-0.0352
	(-19.74)*	(-22.44)*	(-9.06)*	(-3.90)*
Married	0.0017	0.0012	0.0008	0.0012
	(5.13)*	(5.31)*	(2.49)*	(3.66)*
Bachelor's degree or higher	-0.0153	-0.0161	-0.0274	-0.0245
	(-12.78)*	(-13.81)*	(-29.23)*	(-30.34)
Presence of Children	-0.0009	-0.0020	-0.0015	-0.0005
	(-4.32)*	(-6.66)*	(-7.35)*	(-3.40)*
Full-time work	0.1566	0.1686	0.1973	0.2321

	(70.87)*	(66.68)*	(67.15)*	(67.21)*
Unexplained	0.3869	0.3096	0.3143	0.3858
Total Gap	0.5272	0.4532	0.4751	0.5826
Number of observations	40,940	43,065	40,900	56,735

Note: Z- values in parentheses. *- significant at the 5% level

2.6 The logit Model and the Analysis of the Commute Patterns in Newfoundland and Labrador

The logit model was used to study the commute patterns in Newfoundland and Labrador. The dependent variable was equal to 0 if a person's commuting distance was greater than zero but less than or equal to 100 km and equal to 1 if the commuting distance was above 100 km[10]. The independent variables that were included in the model were age, marital status (with a reference group of being single), educational attainment (with a reference group of having a high school diploma), the presence of children, house ownership (versus renting a house), and being a female (reference is being male). These variables have been used by other researchers (e.g., Finnie, 2000; Haan et al., 2014). These explanatory variables were used to analyze the commute

[10] 100 km was picked as the cut point to give a sense of approximately an hour commute.

patterns in Newfoundland and Labrador in order to give a clearer picture of the labour market mobility within the province. Table 4 shows summary statistics for the variables included in the logit model.

Table 4: Summary statistics for variables in the logit model.

	2001	2006	2011	2016
Age	41.7	43.4	44.4	44.9
Have children (ref: no children)	60.7	55	50.7	38
Female (ref: male)	50.4	52.7	53.6	53.4
Homeowner (ref: renter)	84.8	85.5	84.2	83
Marital status				
Divorced	6	7.2	7.8	8.2
Legally married	70.7	66.4	63.1	59.6
Separated	2.6	2.8	2.9	2.8
Single (reference group)	19.4	22	24.8	27.8
Widowed	1.3	1.6	1.4	1.6
Educational attainment				
No certificate, diploma or degree	26.2	17.3	13.2	10.1
High school diploma (reference group)	13.9	19.3	19.2	20.6
Trades certificate/diploma	24.8	10	8.7	5.9
Non-university degree	17.1			
Apprenticeship certificate		5.1	6.4	6.3
College/certificate/diploma (program 3 months to less than 1 year)		2.8	3.6	6.2
College/certificate/diploma (program 1 to 2 years)		16	15.9	17.3

College/certificate/diploma (more than 2 years)		7.4	8.3	8
University certificate or diploma below bachelor's degree	2.1	4.3	3.5	2.6
Bachelor's degree	10.6	11.4	13.7	15
University certificate or diploma above bachelor's degree	1	1.3	1.3	1
Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.7
Master's degree	3	3.7	4.8	5.5
Earned doctorate degree	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.8

* All data are percentages except age (mean age in years).

Associations between the probabilities of commuting more than 100 km were most easily illustrated using marginal effects of the independent variables (Tables 5 and 6). Gender had the largest effect on the probability to commute more than 100 km. The probability for a female to commute above 100 km was lower by 7.2, 8.2, 6.1, and 7.0 percentage points in the 2001, 2006, 2011, and 2016 data, respectively (Tables 5 and 6). These results are supported by the findings of Blau and Kahn (2000), Haan et al. (2014), Halfacree (1995), and Le Barbanchon et al. (2019) that women have limited/lower mobility.

Marital status, education and home ownership had clear effects on the probabilities of commuting more than 100 km among Newfoundland and Labrador workers. The probability of a married, divorced, separated or widowed person commuting more than 100 km was lower than the probability for a single person (except for married people in the 2011 data, which was not statistically significant). A married person was less likely to commute more than 100 km

compared to a single person by 1 and 0.5 percentage points in the 2001 and 2006 data, respectively. An individual with a bachelor's degree or above (e.g. master's degree or an earned doctorate degree) had a lower probability of commuting more than 100 km compared to an individual with a high school diploma. For example, all else the same, an individual with a bachelor degree will be less likely to commute above 100 kilometers compared to an individual with a high school diploma by 1.6, 2.2, 3.8, and 3.6 percentage points in the 2001, 2006, 2011, and 2016 data, respectively (that is -0.0156; -0.0222 in censuses 2001 and 2006, respectively; -0.0384 in NHS 2011 and -0.0356 in census 2016). An individual with no certificate, diploma or degree and an individual with trades' certificate/diploma were more likely to commute above 100 km compared to an individual with a high school diploma (ranging between 3 to 5 percentage points). An individual with a trade certificate or diploma was more likely to commute above 100 km compared to an individual with a high school diploma by 3.8, 3.3, 3.0 and 3.8 percentage points in the 2001, 2006, 2011, and 2016 data, respectively. Owning a house (versus renting) increased the likelihood of an individual commuting more than 100 km from their place of residence to their work by 1.1, 0.7, 1.7, and 3.1 percentage points in the 2001, 2006, 2011, and 2016 data, respectively, confirming the findings of Clark and Dieleman (1996), Fischer and Malmberg (2001), Haan et al. (2014), and Helderman et al. (2006) that homeownership increases the propensity of individuals to commute longer distances.

The age variable had conflicting effects on the probability of community long distances (Tables 5 and 6). For 2001 and 2006, the probability of commuting more than 100 km as a function of age was negative (-0.03 percentage points). Haan et al. (2014) also found that younger individuals had higher levels of mobility. However, the probability of long commutes as a function of age was positive in 2016 (0.05 percentage points). An individual with children had

a lower probability of commuting over 100 km than did one without children (around 0.2, 0.2, 0.3, and 0.3 percentage points in 2001, 2006, 2011, and 2016, respectively), confirming the results of Haan et al. (2014) that the presence of children had minor negative effects on the commute distance of individuals.

Table 5: Logit model marginal effects of women and men commuting more than 100 km using data from 2001 Canadian Census.

	Census 2001
Age	-0.0003
	(-3.26)*
Presence of children (ref: no children)	-0.0019
	(-8.48)*
Female (ref: male)	-0.0719
	(-55.29)*
Home ownership (ref: renting)	0.0110
	(6.27)*
Marital Status (ref: single)	
Divorced	-0.0109
	(-3.43)*
Legally married	-0.0102
	(-4.94)*
Separated	-0.0089
	(-2.07) *
Widowed	-0.0268
	(-4.4)*
Educational attainment (ref: high school diploma)	
No certificate, diploma or degree	0.0287

	(13.84)*
Trades certificate/diploma	0.0375
	(17.65)*
Non University degree	0.0022
	(1.01)
University certificate or diploma below bachelor's degree	0.0041
	(0.86)
Bachelor's degree	-0.0156
	(-7.13)*
University certificate or diploma above bachelor's degree	-0.0091
	(-1.59)
Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry	-0.0313
	(-6.99)*
Master's degree	-0.0215
	(-6.95)*
Earned doctorate degree	-0.0354
	(-7.56)*
Number of observations	157,000

*Z-values in parentheses. *=significant at the 5% level.*

Table 6: Logit model marginal effects of women and men commuting above 100 kilometers based on data from the 2006 and 2016 Canadian Censuses and the 2011 National Household Survey.

	Census 2006	NHS 2011	Census 2016
Age	-0.0003	0.00003	0.0005
	(-3.37)*	(0.47)	(6.88)*
Presence of children	-0.0017	-0.0031	-0.0029
	(-7.3)*	(-3.87)*	(-3.59)*
Female	-0.0822	-0.0608	-0.0703
	(-58.61)*	(-46.93)*	(-53.86)*
Home ownership	0.0069	0.0166	0.0305
	(3.74)*	(9.95)*	(20.06)*
Marital Status			
Divorced	-0.0147	-0.0186	-0.0163
	(-4.93)*	(-7.34)*	(-6.37)*
Legally married	-0.0048	-0.0012	-0.0067
	(-2.35)*	(-0.65)	(-3.78)*
Separated	0.0068	-0.0177	-0.0100
	(1.48)	(-4.7)*	(-2.45)*
Widowed	-0.0147	-0.0021	-0.0016
	(-2.39)*	(-0.36)	(-0.28)
Educational attainment			

No certificate, diploma or degree	0.0398	0.0471	0.0449
	(16.84)*	(18.56)*	(16.58)*
Trades certificate/diploma	0.0326	0.0302	0.0376
	(11.75)*	(10.79)*	(11.83)*
Apprenticeship certificate	0.0682	0.065	0.0741
	(18.14)*	(19.91)*	(22.78)*
College/certificate/diploma (program 3 months to less than 1 year)	-0.0105	0.0003	0.0194
	(-2.52)*	(0.08)	(6.26)*
College/certificate/diploma (program 1 to 2 years)	0.0072	-0.0048	0.000001
	(3.17)*	(-2.28)*	(0.00)
College/certificate/diploma (more than 2 years)	0.0032	-0.0124	-0.0143
	(1.15)	(-5.22)*	(-6.14)*
University certificate or diploma below bachelor's degree	0.0018	-0.0197	-0.0093
	(0.52)	(-6.28)*	(-2.38)*
Bachelor's degree	-0.0222	-0.0384	-0.0356
	(-10.19)*	(-21.32)*	(-20.19)*
University certificate or diploma above bachelor's degree	-0.0033	-0.0249	-0.0372
	(-0.59)	(-5.27)*	(-8.75)*
Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry	-0.0658	-0.0503	-0.0501
	(-24.44)*	(-13.28)*	(-13.9)*
Master's degree	-0.0385	-0.0329	-0.0396
	(-13.95)*	(-13.25)*	(-17.86)*
Earned doctorate degree	-0.0687	-0.0481	-0.0532
	(-26.89)*	(-11.87)*	(-17.55)*
N. of observations	163,545	166,270	160,515

Z-values in parentheses. *=significant at the 5% level

2.7 Conclusion

Micro data from the 2001, 2006, 2016 Canadian Censuses and 2011 NHS were used to calculate and decompose the gender wage gap and labour market mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador. Explanatory variables such as age, age^2, marital status, educational attainment, the presence of children and having a full-time job were used to decompose the gender wage gap and

determine which part of the gender wage gap could be attributed to differences in personal characteristics (the explained part), and which part of the gap was due to either discrimination or other factors that were not available for testing in the data used in this analysis (the unexplained part).

The observed gender wage gap in Newfoundland and Labrador decreased from 0.5272 in 2001 to 0.4532 in 2006, but then widened in 2011 (0.4751) and again in 2016 (0.5826). The portion of the gender wage gap that could not be explained by observed characteristics decreased from 73.4 percent in 2001, to 68.3 percent in 2006, and 66.2 percent in 2011 where it remained in 2016. Among the explainable variables, age and having a full-time job explained the most of the gender wage gap. The contribution of education in explaining the gender wage gap was small and negative, while marital status and the presence of kids had minor roles in explaining the gender wage gap in Newfoundland and Labrador. These results address the neoclassical (human capital school) as well the discrimination theories (as discussed in chapter 1).

Furthermore, labour market mobility was calculated using the logit model. Commute distance above 100 kilometers from an individual's place of residence to their place of work were regressed against age, being married (reference group is being single), having a bachelor's degree (reference group is having a high school diploma), the presence of children, homeownership (versus renting), and being a female.

Compared to males, females were less likely to commute more than 100 km from their place of residence to their place of work (e.g. cannot take up lucrative jobs that are far away). Compared to single individuals, married, separated, divorced and widowed individuals were less likely to commute more than 100 km from their place of residence to their place of work. An individual with a bachelor's degree or above was less likely to commute more than 100 km

compared to someone with a high school diploma. Owning a home increased the probability of commuting above 100 km. Moreover, those with children had a lower probability of commuting more than 100 km. Age showed mixed results. As a function of age, the 2001 and 2006 data showed a decrease in the probability to commute more than 100 km while the 2016 data showed an increase in the probability to commute above 100 kilometers per year of age.

The results of the Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition and logit model showed that women in Newfoundland and Labrador are still facing a high gender wage gap, and the majority of the source of this gender wage gap is unexplained. There appears to be a bidirectional relationship between the gender wage gap and lower mobility among women in Newfoundland and Labrador. It appears that the gender wage gap affects women's labour market mobility and vice versa. In other words, the direction of causality is bi-directional.

It is important to improve the gender wage gap and labour market dynamics in Newfoundland and Labrador. To further understand the gender wage gap in the province, Chapter 3 looks qualitatively at the role of place attachment in Newfoundland and Labrador and what related challenges women are facing. Finally, Chapter 4 argues that policymakers need to take a more targeted approach toward closing this gender wage gap and increasing women's labour mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador.

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3. Working away and place attachment: a gender analysis in Newfoundland and Labrador

3.1 Abstract

Employment-related, geographical labour mobility (E-RGM) has always been present and has become increasingly common in Newfoundland and Labrador. Many men and women from all over the province commute to work daily, weekly, or monthly. While earnings and occupation are important factors when considering employment opportunities, based on this research, place attachment and the sense of community in the province are also important for workers' mobility decisions. Drawing from 80 interviews conducted by researchers with the On The Move Partnership, this chapter investigated these relationships through a gendered lens, particularly from the perspective of women in Newfoundland and Labrador. Five key themes were identified and discussed: characteristics of place and community, family support, disruptions to family life, community sustainability, and implications for women and their mobility. Although women were concerned about the sustainability of their communities and the services provided to them, they showed high place attachment to Newfoundland and Labrador and to their communities. This place attachment is largely explained by the support the women received from their families and friends, especially while their partners are away for work. Further, mothers whose partners worked away preferred to raise their kids in a community with which they were familiar and that they felt was a safe place, in turn reducing their own mobility.

3.2 Introduction

Labour market mobility is becoming increasingly common across the world (Adey, 2009; Urry, 2007). Yet, some people are more mobile than others; some will, based on power and

social stratification, have more choices on when, where, and how to move (Bauman, 1998; Cass et al., 2005). Over the years, the perception of mobility and what constitutes mobile work has changed. Mobility and employment-related geographical mobility (E-RGM) have been perceived as contributing positively to progress (Urry, 2007), while they have also been perceived as contributing factors to social divisions and vulnerabilities, as mobility can be restricted or forced (Sheller, 2014).

There is also variation among the relationships between mobility, place, and gender (Gustafson, 2009). Bauman (1998), Fried (2000), and Laczko (2005) have argued that mobile people lose their sense of place attachment and social ties, for example, while Pollini (2005) and Savage et al. (2005) have contended that mobile people can maintain strong bonds to their places of residence. This research paper investigated, through a gendered lens, place attachment and the sense of community in Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada. Specifically, this paper provides new insights on the relationships between mobility, gender and place within this context that have not previously been examined.

The present study draws upon 80 interviews conducted by researchers with the On the Move Partnership, a seven-year project (2012-2019) that conducted comprehensive research on the spectrum of E-RGM in Canada. Their research investigated workers' extended travel and absences from their place of residence related to or as part of their employment (www.onthemovepartnership.ca). In particular, this study used interviews conducted by the Community Impacts team within the overall Partnership.

The interviews included mobile workers and their partners and families from different communities across Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as key informants such as municipal and industry representatives, federal and provincial government employees, and representatives

of businesses and community groups (Butters et al., 2019; Vodden and Butters, 2019). Interview questions sought to identify 1) how E-RGM has affected families and communities and 2) how the participants responded to the impacts of E-RGM. In total, 182 interviews were conducted by team members, however the interviews analyzed for this study were limited to interviews where individuals agreed that their transcripts could be shared with other team members. All interviews from the database that could be shared were compiled. A search was conducted using the keywords "wife", "wives", "women", "woman", "mother", and "mom", and the resulting subset (80 out of 182) was analyzed.

The interviews of men and women of different ages and positions from different communities in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador were analyzed to determine the following:

- How place attachment plays a role in their life, and particularly mobility decisions.
- How their experiences with labour market mobility may be linked to, or affected by their place attachments, and
- How these attachments and mobility experiences vary by gender.

This study focused on examining different experiences and views on mobility and how participants' answers varied by gender by looking for patterns (and discrepancies) within these interviews. Five main themes were identified and discussed, which will help enhance our understanding of men and women's labour market mobility experiences, their day-to-day activities, and the role place attachment plays in their lives and mobility decisions. The five themes were characteristics of place and community, family support, disruptions to family life, community sustainability, and implications for women and their mobility. Before discussing these findings, however, we review the existing literature related to gender, place, mobility and their relationships, with particular attention to the case of Newfoundland and Labrador.

3.3 Gender and Place

3.3.1 Employment-Related Geographical Mobility (E-RGM)

Mobility is becoming an increasingly important aspect of everyday life (Storey, 2010; Vodden and Hall, 2016). Mobility refers to the movement of people, objects, capital, and information on both larger and smaller scales, such as the movement of daily transportation and the travel of things on a daily basis (Hannam et al., 2006). Mobility creates a network in the economic and social lives of mobile people and also of individuals who are not mobile. In Canada, E-RGM is important because of the country's expansive geography and its reliance on resource extractive industries (Cresswell et al., 2016). E-RGM is defined as "frequent and/or extended travel from places of permanent residence for the purpose of, and as part of, employment" (Cresswell et al., 2016:1788). E-RGM can range from being absent from home for long periods of time to an extended daily commute (Vodden and Hall, 2016). Long-distance commuting (LDC), a form of E-RGM, was described by Öhman and Lindgren (2003) as workers being away from their home community by a distance of 200 km or more. Storey and Shrimpton (1986) defined LDC as a situation where workers travel for work to an isolated place far from their place of residence and where their housing and food are provided at the work site.

Individuals involved in E-RGM face many challenges and burdens, including travel costs, time pressures, and trade-offs related to health and quality of life (Hall, 2016; Storey, 2010). However, E-RGM also has benefits, such as faster career advancement compared to traditional workplaces and the potential for earning a higher income than what is available locally (Storey, 2010). While E-RGM is a growing trend, people have preferences with respect to commuting for work and sometimes make different choices. These choices (or in some cases lack of choices) and preferences are linked to considerations of gender and community.

3.4 Mobility and Gender

Gender and mobility are intertwined; they are inseparable (Hanson, 2010). Linking mobility with gender is complicated because both concepts are complex and are full of "meanings, power and contested understandings" (Cresswell and Uteng, 2008, p. 1). Gender is read differently among disciplines, with the binary of public/freedom vs. private/confinement and their relation to masculinity or femininity as one of the most commented on dimensions, despite the observation that the concept of gender "does not operate in a 'binary' form" (Cresswell and Uteng, 2008, p. 1; Hanson, 2010).

There are two key arguments related to gender and mobility in the literature. The first one argues that gender shapes mobility, while the second suggests that mobility shapes gender (Hanson, 2010). In the first view, much attention is paid to mobility, without a detailed examination of the gender dimension beyond simple male-female distinctions. These studies are largely statistical analyses of how mobility varies by gender (defined as male-female). This research generally concludes that women are less mobile than men and that women usually work closer to home (Blumen and Kellerman, 1990; Cristaldi, 2005; Schwanen et al., 2002; Song Lee and McDonald, 2003). These studies often observe that women use cars less than men (Polk, 2004; Vance and Iovanna, 2007) and drive fewer miles (Rosenbloom, 2006). Other studies have found that women tend to work more at home when compared to men (Rosenbloom, 2006). Women are also less likely to do work-related overnight travel (Presser and Hermsen, 1996), and less likely to engage in what is called an extreme commute of 90 minutes or more (one-way trip) (Marion and Horner, 2007). Women tend to travel more than men for non-work-related purposes and make more multi-stop trips compared to men (e.g., to do household and child-related errands) (McGuckin and Nakamoto, 2005; Murakami and Young, 1997; Root, 2000). These

studies also consider factors that affect variations within gender categories such as education, income, and marital status, for example, but ignore other factors such as the various experiences of gendered lives and power dynamics (Crane, 2007; Rosenbloom, 2006).

In the second view, which is mainly informed by qualitative studies, gender is often seen as partially spatial and shaped by mobility. Aspects of mobility, such as movement, meaning, potential and practice, create geographies of gendered differences. Each of these aspects of mobility are created in a gendered way and can lead to the production of gender itself (Cresswell and Uteng, 2008). Authors adopting this second view observe that women and femininity are often equated with the home, the private, and restricted movement, while men and masculinity are associated with the not-home, the public and expansive movement (Cresswell and Uteng, 2008; Hanson, 2010). Mobility, however, can be an empowering tool for women that it makes it easier to access opportunities and places, which affects their experiences and how they are perceived through a gendered lens (Hanson, 2010). This view has been criticized, however, for paying too much attention to gender and its relationship to mobility, neglecting details about the mobility side of this relationship.

Regardless of which view one takes, it is important when studying the relationship between gender and mobility not to just assume that mobility or immobility is a woman's (or man's) choice. Sometimes, women choose to work closer to home. This may be based on a time-management decision that will enable them to take care of their family responsibilities while simultaneously engaging in paid employment. Hanson and Pratt (1995), for example, suggest that the reasons given by women for why they work so close to home is that they want to be able to get home quickly to children or to respond to household emergencies. They further point out that, in some cases, women are constrained by unreliable transportation, inadequate childcare

services, and/or a partner who is not sharing in household and childrearing responsibilities (Hanson and Pratt, 1995).

Gender affects decisions to engage in E-RGM and the E-RGM lifestyle itself (Gustafson, 2006; Massey, 1994). The present study investigates the patterns of and reasons for mobility while addressing gender, mobility and their relationships. This responds to Hanson's (2010) call to consider both perspectives. We explore place attachment as one factor that can affect mobility decisions, which is particularly strong in Newfoundland and Labrador.

3.5 Mobility and Place Attachment

The concept of place is commonly used to describe a spatial entity, which can range from a room, to a neighborhood, nation or continent, that people consider meaningful (Canter, 1997; Groat, 1995; Low and Altman, 1992; Rubinstein and Parmelee, 1992). Spaces become places through our experiences and relationships with them and the meaning and values we associate with them (Eisenhauer, Krannich and Blahna, 2000). Place attachment, as described by Altman and Low (1992), is an aspect of territorial belonging and a sense of place, which Cresswell (2014:5) describes as the "subjective side of place" where individuals attach some meanings to a place or situation. Gustafson (2006) describes place attachment as the bond between people and places. This bond may get stronger over time and can be emotional, cognitive (beliefs) and/or based on practice (actions for example). Place attachment is multidimensional, involving social and cultural meanings and/or direct personal experiences (Gubert, 1999; Proshansky et al., 1983). Moreover, place attachment may be more symbolic, where people get attached to a particular kind of landscape. Place and place attachment are complex phenomena that involve social, mental, and cultural dimensions (Pollini, 2005).

The increase in human mobility has created cause to reflect upon what happens to people's emotional bonds with place and their place attachment(s) as a result of this trend. While mobility can be negative, causing people to lose their community ties and emotional bonds with their place (Lewicka, 2011a), others suggest that mobility and "being away" can even strengthen the desire to be in place, or at least the willingness to go away for work if it means being able to stay living in that location demonstrates a strong connection to that place (Gustafson, 2001). Much of the research that has been conducted, however, counters these oppositional views, arguing that even in highly mobile societies, people are often still very attached to place (Giuliani et al., 2003; Gustafson, 2009; Lewicka, 2011b; Pollini, 2005; Savage et al., 2005).

Many empirical studies concentrate on the quantitative side of place attachment, measuring how strongly people are attached to a place in which they have lived for a long time. These quantitative assessments usually conclude that a mobile person tends to be less attached to a place compared to a person who has lived in the same place consistently (Gustafson, 2001; Lewicka, 2011a). These studies, however, neglect the qualitative aspects of experience when studying place attachment and differences between more- and less-mobile people. Studies that incorporate qualitative measures have argued that, sometimes mobile people may in fact be more attached to a place than long-time residents. Gustafson (2001) proposed the terms "place roots" (when people are attached to a place because of their community bonds) and "place route" (when people are attached to a place because they see it as an expression of their identity and their achievements, even though they may be less physically "rooted"). It is important to note that a person's attachment to a place may incorporate both notions. Savage et al. (2005) found that mobile workers are likely to be attached to their place because they make an elective choice with regard to their place of residence, a choice that is based on their lifestyle. Savage (2010) added

that some long-time residents who are less mobile, on the other hand, might be attached to a place just because they are passive and taking the place as given (i.e., it is not really their choice).

Of relevance for this study, in describing place attachment, Low (1992) argued that "links to family and places of origin" are one of six types of cultural place attachment. Others include links due to destruction of community, economic, religious or spiritual connections, and links through cultural events, place naming or storytelling (Low, 1992). Furthermore, Hay (1998) implied that being attached to a place has multiple layers, including personal, familial, cultural as well as ancestral (Cross, 2015). Low (1992) also stated that developing place attachment is related to an ancestral and cultural sense of place. A community is "a complex system of friendship and kinship networks and formal and informal associational ties rooted in family life and on-going socialization processes" (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974, p. 329). McMillan and Chavis (1986) and Nasar and Julian (1995) distinguished two types of communities: 1) communities of interest that are connected based on common interests and lifestyle and not always place bound; 2) communities of place where individuals are connected based on their geographical location, as well as being socially tied and rooted in place or brought together in spaces that support their social interaction (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). The latter type of community is the focus of this paper.

Mobile people may develop and sustain attachments to multiple places. Basch et al. (2004) and Portes et al. (1999) argued that these multiple attachments are enriching and should not be considered problematic. Technology such as email, telephones, internet, and television lets people stay connected with their home places or with distant places (Hiller and Franz, 2004). In a study on oil rig workers, Gmelch (2016) pointed out that the internet helped offshore

workers, who are sometimes away from their families for half of the year, to stay connected with their homes. These technologies create a sense of identity and helps overcome separation issues (Hiller and Franz, 2004), and may facilitate people being attached to multiples places (Cheng, 2005). This relates to the term "place elasticity" (Barcus and Brunn, 2010), where place attachment is portable. This portability of place does not have to involve a physical return of the person to a place; it can also be expressed through the desire to associate with a place. Despite these potentials for co-existence of mobility and place attachment(s), it cannot be assumed that mobile people will develop multiple place attachments; some people become placeless (Creswell, 2011).

In short, places are not static. They change as mobility and technology changes. Places do not have to have clear boundaries; they can be multiple and intersecting. Places and people do not have single, unique identities or relationships; they are a mixture of wider and more local social relations that interact with each other and with the work-life choices of individuals and their families (Massey, 1991, 1994). The impact of place attachment and gender on E-RGM and E-RGM experiences has not been well studied in Newfoundland and Labrador from a qualitative perspective, and this study aims to fill this knowledge gap.

3.6 Gender, Place and Labour Market Mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador: Are We Trapped?

In Newfoundland and Labrador, a province with a current and historic reliance on natural resource industries, labour dynamics are very important to the value of production, and in turn help drive regional development and change (Kelly, 2013; Rainnie et al., 2014). Employment in the province has long been tied to the fishing industry, upon which it relied until the cod moratorium in 1992-1993 (Fantauzzo, 2014). With the fishing industry virtually shut down, over

30,000 people in the province were left without jobs (Higgins, 2009). The fishing industry remains important today, especially in many rural communities in Newfoundland and Labrador, but oil and gas and mining industries have become increasingly important.

After the fishing moratorium in 1992-1993, the province experienced an increase in LDC. This phenomenon changed the social and economic fabric of communities (MacDonald et al., 2012). The province also experienced inter-provincial migration through both permanent or long-term migration and E-RGM. The number of inter-provincial employees in Newfoundland and Labrador peaked in 2008 (Figure 2). Alberta was the primary destination for those workers, seeing an increase from 30 percent of total inter-provincial employees in 2005 to 54 percent in 2012 (Messacar, 2016). In 2014, there were more than 20,000 inter-provincial employees in Newfoundland and Labrador, out of approximately 260,000 employees in the province (Hewitt et al., 2018).

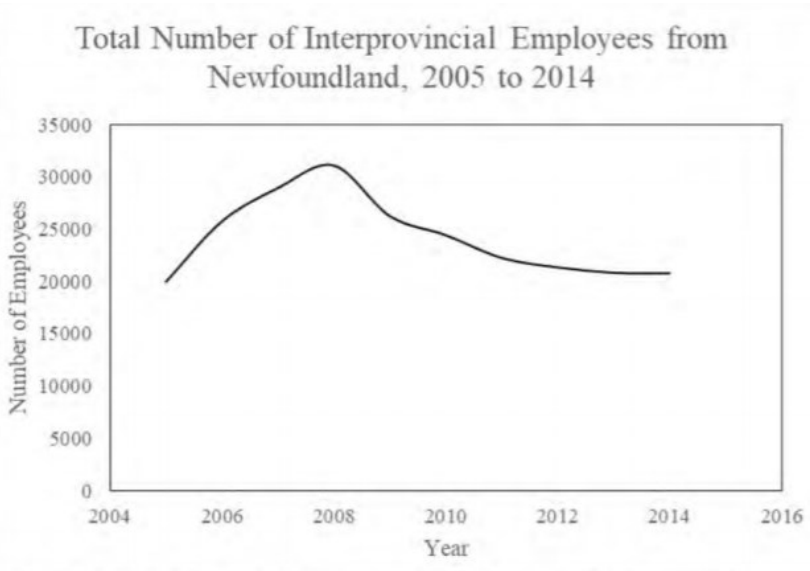

Figure 2: The total number of inter-provincial employees in Newfoundland and Labrador from 2005 to 2014 [Custom tabulation from the Canadian employer-employee dynamics database for the On The Move Partnership by the Social Analysis and Modelling Division (Hewitt et al., 2018)].

While residents of Newfoundland and Labrador are highly mobile, they also have among the highest sense of belonging to Canada, their province of residence, and to their local communities (Statistics Canada, 2013). Power (2009) argued that people in rural Newfoundland and Labrador areas are particularly attached to their place. They enjoy the freedom, the sense of community and access to outdoor activities. Many people in Newfoundland and Labrador return to the province after moving away. Family ties, personal health, identification with the home area, and high costs in their new location have been cited as reasons of why people return (Butters et al., 2017; Gmelch, 1983; Gmelch and Richling, 1988; House, 1989; Newfoundland and Labrador 2007; Richling, 1985; Sinclair and Felt, 1993; Walsh, 2009). Furthermore, Walsh (2009) found that some women returned to rural Newfoundland and Labrador from Alberta because they felt that it was a more accommodating and safer environment for their children. The boom of the oil industry in 2003 allowed people to return to Newfoundland and Labrador and engage in LDC from the province (Whalen, 2013). Nevertheless, since the cod moratorium in 1992 and associated outmigration, rural Newfoundland and Labrador has seen a decline in its population (Hewitt et al., 2018; Simms and Greenwood, 2017). The population of rural Newfoundland and Labrador declined by 18 percent between 1991 and 2001 and by 10.5 percent between 2001 and 2016 (Higgins, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2016). This decline was largely due to people out-migrating from rural Newfoundland and Labrador, combined with an ageing demographic and reduced birth rate (Moazzami, 2014).

LDC arrangements require a high level of mobility (Haugen, 2005; Temple et al., 2011). Some examples of LDC in Newfoundland and Labrador include workers who were previously engaged in construction work in Long Harbour building the Vale nickel processing facility and

others now working permanently in facilities operation, and in Bull Arm (related to the oil and gas sector) as well as the Muskrat Falls project in Labrador (Barrett, 2017). Access to inter-provincial and LDC employment is affected by gender and household composition (Dorow and Mandizadza, 2018). Construction and mining projects in Newfoundland and Labrador, often employ people on a temporary basis and rely on rotational work. Previous studies have found that these working hours, as well as the required mobility, are difficult for some people to access. Parents with young children, especially women, are underrepresented in these positions (Dorow and Mandizadza, 2018; Ryser et al., 2018). Walsh (2012) interviewed women in Lewisporte, Newfoundland who were married, had children, and had post-secondary education and found that none of them travelled long distances for employment. Women with appropriate skills and training were not hired for construction jobs in the Hibernia oil project in the 1990s. Younger women with no children typically have better chances of working in the construction industries, but once they have started a family, it becomes more difficult for them to find employment in their chosen field. Women with children need support networks (e.g., grandparents, other family members, daycares or live-in caregivers) to allow them the opportunity to work on these sites (Barber, 2016; Cadigan, 2012; Ryser et al., 2018).

In Newfoundland and Labrador, local labour shortages are due in part to E-RGM, with workers leaving the local labour market for higher paying jobs or jobs better suited to their training and/or experience. This puts upward pressure on local wages (Vodden and Hall, 2016). As a result, planners and employers are trying to attract people to take available local jobs. Despite this challenge for local businesses, LDC stimulates local economies by injecting new money and creating a multiplier effect. People who engage in LDC build new houses and buy new cars, which creates local employment in the construction fields and increases the demand

for some types of commodities and services (MacDonald et al., 2012). The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador estimates that people who maintain their residences in Newfoundland and Labrador, but work in Alberta, infuse millions of dollars into local areas (Butters et al., 2017; CBC News Online, 2007).

The number of mobile people has increased within the province since the decline of employment in the fishery in the 1990s. For some, E-RGM has given them the advantage of being able to continue living in their rural communities. However, these communities have in turn become dependent on specific industries, leaving them vulnerable to boom-and-bust cycles, and these communities remain "staples trapped" (Storey, 2016; Storey and Hall, 2017). But how do these circumstances vary by gender? How do they affect place attachments? And how these place attachments affected these mobility decisions?

The present study explores the relationships between gender, place and labour market mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador, examining implications for mobile workers and their families, their gendered experiences of engagement in E-RGM, and the implications of, and for place attachments and labour markets. Participants in this study offer unique insights into the role of place attachment in labour market mobility and gendered dimensions of these attachments and related labour mobility patterns, as well as implications for sense of place and labour market development.

3.7 Materials and Methods

3.7.1 Data Collection: Participants and Procedure

From the On the Move Partnership database, 80 interviews were selected out of 182 semi-structured interviews conducted with men and women from across Newfoundland and

Labrador. A search was performed using the keywords “wife”, “wives”, “women”, “woman”, “mother”, and “mom”, and the resulting subset (80 out of 182) was analyzed. These interviews were of interest for this research project because they helped in understanding, from a gender perspective, participants’ labour market experiences, their mobility decisions as well as the role place attachment played in their daily lives. Of these interviews, 58 percent of the interviewees were men and 42 percent were women. In some interviews, both partners in a relationship answered the questions at the same time.

Commute patterns and occupations varied. Fifty-five percent of the participants commuted within the province, such as from St. John’s, Paradise, Conception Bay South, Holyrood, Blaketown, Bay Bulls to Bull Arm, Long Harbour or Labrador. Twenty percent commuted to different provinces, such as from St John’s, Parkers Cove, Gander and Forteau to Alberta or Nova Scotia. Furthermore, six percent commuted to places outside of Canada, such as Korea, Houston, France, Dubai or Singapore based on their job requirements. The interviewees had a wide range of occupations, including engineers, technicians, financial officers, counsellors, pilots, teachers, fishermen, managers, construction workers and stay-at-home moms. The majority of women were employed in clerical or administrative positions, while men were mainly employed in trade positions (e.g., electricians, technicians, construction).

To understand the broad range of issues women and their families faced while engaged in E-RGM, the interviews allowed for open-ended discussion about participants’ experiences with labour market mobility, their mobility decisions and their place attachments. Interviews were audio recorded when permission was provided and transcribed afterwards. All research was carried out in accordance with a protocol approved by the Memorial University of Newfoundland Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research.

3.7.2 Analysis Methods

Different categories (codes) were assigned to different texts based on the interview content, which were then compared to other text included in the same category. Using codes to identify patterns and analyse responses to a research question is a commonly used technique in social sciences research. Attaching meaningful codes to relevant text related to the research question allows for theory building, categorization and pattern detection (Wicks, 2017). Transcripts were examined line by line to find these patterns. Identified patterns were then assigned a code and labeled as key themes. Text, sentences and paragraphs were coded when their relationship to a key theme was identified. Codes were grouped together and any variations or discrepancies were noted (Howitt and Cramer, 2007; Mistry 2012; and Othmar 2009). The qualitative data analysis was completed using QSR International's NVivo 12 software (a qualitative research software) to help in examining interviews and coding transcripts.

Five key themes were identified and are further described in the results section below: characteristics of place and community, family support, disruptions to family life, community sustainability, and implications for women and their mobility. This presentation of the key findings is followed by a discussion of the implications of these results for place attachment, labour market development and community sustainability in Newfoundland and Labrador.

3.8 Results

In this section, five themes identified in the interviews with men and women from Newfoundland and Labrador will be discussed in detail, looking at each through the lenses of place attachment and gender and identifying what insights the findings within each theme provide about the relationships between E-RGM, place, and gender.

3.8.1 Theme 1: Characteristics of Place and Community

The participants in this study expressed a strong sense of connection to their home communities, for reasons that included familiarity with and support from their fellow community members and safety. One key reason that people worked (or moved) away from their home communities, however, is because there were no jobs available in their communities or as one retired manager stated, "There is no employment for them all along this coast, whether they want to be lawyers, doctors, dentists, you're guaranteed they are moving away." Others chose to work away because income was much higher elsewhere, and this higher income gave them the opportunity to increase their standard of living, so that they could afford big houses, trucks and travel for vacation compared to earning lower income in their communities. A man from Witless Bay explained, "You can't live the life you want to live, I guess, in my situation, you know, if I stay at home you don't buy the big house, you don't buy the truck." He adds, "If I had something up here that I can get more money at, I'd stay up here."

However, people have deep roots in Newfoundland and Labrador. Some participants, including both men and women, described how attached they were to their place and that they had either returned or eventually want to come back to live in their community. A man from Mount Pearl explains, "That's why I'm doing all the things I'm doing. Trying to make myself employable as possible so I can make sure I don't miss any hockey tournaments. As little as possible anyway." Another man recounted how he felt about living in Newfoundland and Labrador versus staying in Alberta:

> If I was in need of a block of butter or a can of milk, I can go right there and get it. You can't do that in Alberta. We lived with my daughter like I told you. Every week when we got out of camp, she didn't know the people on the next wall or the people on the next level. It's amazing. Down here, we know everybody… I don't even lock my doors. You feel very secure in a little outport like this.

A woman from Witless Bay who worked approximately 40 km away in St. John's agreed that there is a strong sense of community, like an extended family, that people want to stay and enjoy: "It's more family… everyone knew each other. You could walk in the store and always know someone. Everyone's there to help each other." They can rely on each other within the community: "Some people will never give it up. And you'll hear it from a lot of the residents here. Some people say…I'll never give it up. I'll never give it up. I want to stay here." An Australian woman living in Georgetown and working for a mining company in St. John's explained, "It's like a safety net."

People in the community try to give a hand, they pull together and support each other, especially making sure that anyone left at home (often women) was surviving and happy. A woman from Witless Bay with a husband working on a 30-days rotation illustrated:

> If I happen to be working that evening, my friend up the road, who works in St. John's as well, she'll drive home right after work, pick them all up (her kids and my kids). But if that's my day off, she doesn't have to rush from work. I take them all, and I bring them out to meet, and we wait for them at their activities then together.

"We'll go over and shovel her deck," a woman from Kilbride said. The women in this study are attached to their place; they want to stay with their family and friends: "Her husband said to her about, 'There's a house for sale. Maybe we should look at it'. She said, 'Only if everybody else is moving with us will I look at another house.'"

Both men and women expressed that they felt their home community was safer than anywhere else. For example, men who go away for work are not worried about leaving behind their wives and children and explaining, "The quality of life is being home in the evening and in a safe community. If you're travelling to Alberta, going and knowing that crime rates are low, vandalism rates are low, good school systems and your family is secure." Safety was cited as a

main advantage of staying in these communities. A man who lives in Bay Bulls explained, "The kids are safe enough to go out and play in the yard… They play with the kids next door".

Some people argued that there was less sense of community compared to the past. A man from Bay De Verde explained, "People were a bit more friendlier, I think. A little bit different, that kind of way." A woman from Clarenville added, "You had people who, they basically looked after one another. They stood up for one another. Right, that's where you can get your real sense of community. Now, over the passage of time with the advent of greater technology, the whole community structure has kind of shifted." Younger people seemed to prefer the bigger city, and they do not come back to their community. A municipal representative commented, "Right now less young people come back to our community, and it's going to age."

In summary, the majority of participants stated that people in Newfoundland and Labrador looked for jobs elsewhere because there were no jobs in their communities or they wanted to increase their standard of living with a higher income. They explained that although people were mobile, they were still rooted in their communities. They were attached to their place. They wished to stay in a familiar, safe place for them and their kids and hoped they would never have to move or that they could return (or stop commuting one day). However, a few participants commented that technology (such as TV and the internet) and the movement of young people to urban centres has led to a decrease in the sense of community, especially for younger people, and poses a threat to community sustainability in the long-term.

3.8.2 Theme 2: Family Support

Participants stated that it was more difficult to take care of a family when you were commuting and/or when at least one parent was working away. In these cases, the support of

other family members plays a key role in supporting continuing E-RGM. A man working in Long Harbour and who lived in Paradise, over 100 km from his worksite explained:

> I think another thing too working near home is whenever you have any family issues, even doctors' appointments you can deal with them in a very short period of time. You can deal with that in an hour, you can take care of a family matter without running home, but when you're this far away it changes everything.

Women were attached to their communities in large part because they could rely on one another, and they often found the support they needed from their families. Family support was one of the main reasons women or men decided to stay in their communities. Besides wanting to raise their kids in a familiar, safe environment, these parents lived as single parents for much of their lives. Without family support, they explained that they could not have handled their day-to-day lives. Being close to family while their partners were working away made their lives a little easier. "I decided that I wanted to be closer to family, Mom and Dad and my brother…Yeah, it does make a difference. It does make a factor in the decision to move, for sure," a woman said, talking about the importance of her family in her life when her partner was away.

Participants gave frequent examples where grandparents were a big part of raising their grandchildren. Grandparents, as one participant from Burin Town said, "act like surrogate parents" for the kids when the parent(s) worked away. A woman who lived and worked in Witless Bay further explained:

> I think that what's happening now, too, in our communities is that the grandparents are doing a lot more work than they used to do. And I think that's going to have an effect too, because before, when the grandparents retired, they retired. And it was weekends you'd see the kids. Now they're babysitting every evening, or they're over helping out, right? I see a lot of grandparents involved now.

The support of grandparents included not only babysitting the kids; some grandparents also helped in doing chores, such as cleaning. A woman living in Bay Bulls stated:

> Now it's my mother who does a major chunk of it. When she goes down for her nap, mom can't sit idle. She's one of those people that's got to go, go, go. She's the one who's been doing the floors and bathrooms especially when I've been tired and I get off work and that kind of thing. Mom does a lot of it now to help out.

Having family around also gave the partner who was working away the ease of mind that their partner and children would be taken care of at home. One husband said, "So to have her family here to support her while she just had the kids, I mean that was a peace of mind for me and peace of mind for my wife. Her mother and father were two minutes away. Her sister and her husband are close by."

Some participants mentioned that it was beneficial from a monetary perspective to have family babysit: "It's her mom was retired at the time. She could watch our oldest daughter. So it was free childcare, which is [laughs] it's a big benefit."

Taking care of a whole family, staying with your kids, taking care of all of their needs while working is very hard to do when you are alone with your partner away working. Men and women stated that family support was an important pillar for dealing with labour mobility, and it appeared to be one of the main reasons people were attached to their home places. Many people explained that, without their families, they simply would not have been able to handle all their life responsibilities by themselves.

3.8.3 Theme 3: Disruptions to Family Life

While extended family support was described as invaluable, avoiding disruptions to family life discouraged mobility for an extended amount of time for some respondents, especially women (affecting their mobility decision). People who worked away lost time that they could have spent with their families. "To me, the cons are you lose time with your family, that's the biggest one. Money is money, but time is… you can take the money with you. You're

losing time," as one man who lived in Mount Pearl explained. No one denied that working away has drawbacks for families, such as missing very important events. As one woman noted: "He misses a lot, like birthdays, weddings, holidays. He hasn't been home for his birthday in years." Most opinions were that this lifestyle was better suited for young, unmarried people: "I think that style of living works best when you're young and single and you don't have a family at home." Some participants (both men and women) stated that sometimes they felt that it was not really worth it, even with all the money they were making, to leave their families for that extended period of time. One man said, "Sometimes you don't know if it's worth the money? Sometimes I think family life is more important than having someone gone all the time." Some men expressed that after moving and working away for some time, they decided that they wanted to come back and stay with their family: "I just want to be home. I don't want to be out there anymore [Alberta]. I just want to move home." "So the next year, he moved home" his wife said.

Furthermore, some interviewees (both men and women) suggested that some children really needed both parents with them and that, in these cases, the children did not care about that extra money. When asked if her children ever mentioned that they missed her, or if they ever said that they would like her to work close to home, a mother who lives in Carbonear and works in Bull Arm said, "Several times, all the time. They always say… 'Mom, why're you working like this?'... And I said … 'Well guys, you know Mom makes a bit of extra money out there doing that work, and it's only a short period of time, and…And, you know, you get to go on your trips and stuff.'"

Other participants stated that the kids did not miss their parents when they were away because they had gotten used to this lifestyle. A man who lived in Mount Pearl and would be working on a 4/4 rotation (working for 4 weeks, followed by 4 weeks off) in Korea talked about

his dad, who used to be a mobile worker: "I never ever missed my father because I was used to him being gone. It's all about perception."

There are mixed results in the literature related to relationships and E-RGM. Storey (2010) observed that although Newfoundland and Labrador has a large number of mobile workers, the divorce and separation rates are the lowest in the country. However, the pressures of the mobile lifestyle have consequences for family relationships and well-being, as one man living in Gander and working in the oil industry in Alberta explained:

> Not everybody is cut out for it and that's the reason I've seen a significant amount of my friends go through divorce or separations, or even just really rough patches in their relationships, because the pressure that you leave on the person home, whether it be… because I've said with women too, whether it be your husband or your wife, the pressure of handling a full household and day to day things plus working and children by themselves, it takes a toll right.

Interestingly, a man from Gander described this lifestyle as having a "honeymoon" every time he comes back home: "I'm not home long enough for us to get on each other's nerves, but I'm gone just long enough so that when I get home, everyone is happy. I don't know how else to explain it like that. I tell my friends that every trip home is a honeymoon."

Being a mobile worker has several advantages, including earning a higher income than the local labour market could provide. However, being a mobile worker may affect negatively family members' lives. Mobile workers sometimes miss important events. Men and women mobile workers expressed their desire to return home and would prefer living in their communities if they could earn equal pay and job opportunities.

3.8.4 Theme 4: Community Sustainability

Some participants stated that mobile workers were one of the main reasons some small communities still existed. Their spending patterns increased substantially because they had more

disposable income, and part of that income was spent in their home communities. Without this money, some communities would have disappeared. A representative of the business community in Clarenville described, "One thing that affects it in a good way, it helps the community sustain itself because those dollars that are earned in another place are coming back into the community and most of them, or some of them are being spent in that community, which is sustaining itself." This is supported by Butters (2018), who observed that mobile workers contributed positively to their communities in Deer Lake through local spending. However, some participants argued that small communities were negatively impacted by mobile work. They said that services and amenities in small communities were declining and many commuters were moving to regional or urban centres. For them, these deteriorations will lead to people leaving and dying communities. A man with a fishing history added:

> Everything is getting deteriorated, like the roads and stuff like that, nobody's spending any money out there for the upgrade of roads and stuff like that. So the small communities are dying like that. Unless they got some major industry that's close by and out there where we're from it's not. You're either fishing or you're working in Gander, or you work in Alberta. And if you work in Alberta, you live in Gander because that's where all of your amenities are to.

Furthermore, participants described how mobile work affected volunteerism in their community. Women staying behind often engaged in volunteering, such as school activities. A woman from Witless Bay stated:

> My name is on the volunteer list at school and I do spend a lot of time at her school because they need more people, obviously. In an elementary school there's more to be done, like photocopying and fundraising, counting money, helping the secretary roll all the coins for the fundraiser … book fairs, selling books at the library, restocking books, going on field trips.

However, both men and women participants raised their concerns that there were not enough volunteers left in the community to run activities for kids or to be there in case of

emergencies like a fire. Some participants attributed this lack of volunteerism in their communities to mobile work. A woman working at the Labrador West Housing and Homeless Coalition added, "I was going to say the same thing because that was when we did our first habitat project, and it was really hard to get volunteers because everyone was so busy." They feared that these communities face dangerous situations, as one woman living in St. Lewis explained: "If my house caught fire tonight, I don't know who I'd call. Because there's no one around." A lot of participants stated that there were not enough people to volunteer in the community because they were working away, and when they returned they were too tired to help or to spend time with their families. This can affect place attachment, especially if people are unable to find help in the case of emergencies.

Participants (both men and women) had a variety of opinions about the effect of labour mobility on community sustainability. On one hand, some argued that, without mobile workers and the money they brought back, small communities would disappear. On the other hand, others argued that the money mobile workers brought back was not reinvested in the main infrastructure of small communities. Main amenities and services were deteriorating due to lack of investment and reduced volunteer activity, which may lead to small communities dying.

3.8.5 Theme 5: Implications for Women and their mobility

Some of these themes include concern for communities, children and lost family time, by both men and women. Overall, the interviewees recognized and had some concern for women staying behind while their partners went away for work. Women whose husbands were working away faced numerous challenges on many levels and were often described as "superwomen". They were expected to assume the role of both parents with their children, to be responsible for the household finances, and to take care of anything that may happen while they are by

themselves. One woman commented on her friends with kids: "They are like superwomen. They take the time to make sure the kids are looked after. They make sure most of the errands in the house are taken care of. They're really self-sufficient…They do their own thing because they have to." These women would take care of everything that may have come their way once their husbands left for work. One woman describes how she dealt with bad weather by herself:

> I'd turn around, and I'd walk on the roof. And we had a wood stove, which would supplement the electricity. So, I would have to climb over there and go around this part of the house and then slide down to the woodshed get the wood, pull the wood, and bring it to the house and that would be the week's wood. But it was tunnels of snow. It was always blow'in and always windy.

Moreover, while their partners were away and not able to help, some women drove long distances every day to take their kids to activities in St John's from Witless Bay. As one woman explained, "She dances on Mondays, cheerleaders on Tuesdays, gymnastics on Wednesdays. Jess dances on Thursday, and then she has Guides on Friday. So, it's Monday to Friday."

These women may have had to change their work/life schedule to accommodate their situation when their partner first left and they were "single parents for some time." This may happen for a whole career. Moreover, women may have to work part-time instead of full-time to accommodate their kids' schedules. For instance, a woman from St. John's, describing how she had to accommodate her son's schedule because her husband was away said, "I've changed my hours a little bit so that I can work around my son's career".

In the long term, adjustments to their work life will affect women's pension payments. For instance, a woman from Witless Bay whose husband flew in and out on a 30-day rotation stated, "I just think about my pension. For the last six years, I'm basically only paying into half a pension. Because if you work 0.6, you get 0.6 of a pension. So, I need to work basically two years to get one pensionable year." Mobile spouses appreciated that this lifestyle was not for

everyone. It requires a "special kind of woman", an "independent", strong and trustful woman. As stated by a man from Gander, talking about his wife and how she handled all life responsibilities when he is away:

> So I've got an obscene amount of respect for what my wife does, while I'm gone. She's got to handle all of the bills, all of the responsibilities that the two of us share when I'm home, our boy and everything like that, while I'm out floating around on the ocean. I can't do anything. My hands are tied. I can barely check my email. So any type of communications that come in she's got to deal with anything that arises she god forbid once again (Knocks on table) but god forbid any kind of tragedy in the family, she has to deal with on her own. It takes a special type of person.

Another challenge that women faced was the uncertainty around when her partner was coming back home. The work schedule was not always known ahead of time, which made it difficult to make plans. As one woman explained: "You can never plan anything for that last week 'cause you never know the exact day he's gonna have to go. Or the first week he comes home 'cause you never know the exact day he gets home until probably like two days before."

Additionally, some women described how difficult it was to adjust to a new lifestyle once their partner was back home for a few weeks. Specifically, one spouse said, "You do have two different lifestyles when they're home and when they're gone." When their partner worked away for a few weeks, women established daily routines that they were happy with but once their partner returned, they wanted to do something different, adding to the burden on women: "When the husband came home and all of a sudden there was breakfast, dinner, supper." After the husband would leave again for work, going back to their own routine took time. Some women stated that they looked forward to their husbands leaving again because of the burden they put on them when they were back home: "I'm some glad he's gone for the rest of the year." But other women looked forward to their husbands coming back home and enjoyed every day with them.

Some felt that there was less stress when their husbands was home. A working woman, with a mobile husband living in Witless Bay, added:

> When he comes home I feel [deep inhalation] ah, I can breathe now, because if anything can happen he looks after everything then, you know what I mean? It's not that I – I don't stress about it or I don't really worry about it, but I was unaware that I was carrying that stress. It just feels like I'm more relaxed when he's here because I don't know, there are things that I can't do, that he could take care of.

The burden on women often depended on how considerate their husbands were when they came back home. Some men would try not to disrupt the woman's routine, making it easier on everyone. Some men would help with family duties. However, other men said that they wanted to relax once back home, and they did not want to take any responsibilities like taking care of children. A man from Conception Bay South who worked in the oil industry explained:

> These guys would come home, and the wife would meet them at the heliport, and pass the baby to him and say, 'It's your turn.' And they're like, 'But this is my life. These three weeks are my life,' and she would say, 'I just had three weeks of it so now here you go, dad.' So they would work offshore away from their families for three weeks and come home and instead of playing golf, going to play hockey or blah blah blah and drinking with the boys, it was babysitter.

However, some men did not mind helping their partners because they realized how hard it was taking care of everything while they were away. A woman from Witless Bay explained:

> When my husband is home, I don't drive to activities. I don't cook. I don't do baths with the kids or get them ready. I don't get up in the morning to get them ready for school. It's a given. He does that for the whole month. He knows that. There's no questions asked. He goes to dance, and I might be in the tub reading a book. If that's what I want to do, there's nothing – I'm not expected to do anything with them that I don't want to. If I feel like going, I'll say, "I think I'll go along for the ride today." He knows that that's not my job when he's here. If work calls and wants me to do an extra shift, I go to work. I don't say to him, "Do you have anything planned?" because it's a given. This is your month home.

Another challenge of the mobile lifestyle is the negative effect it can have on kids, which in turn affect their mothers. A local worker from Witless Bay observed that children with one or

both parent working away were more likely to develop behavioural issues: “Like, for example, if a child has an issue or behaviour issue, often I feel like it’s that situation. They’re struggling emotionally, or they’re needy – and I think, ‘Why are they so needy?’ and then someone says, ‘Their parents – their dad’s not home. He’s in Long Harbour.’ You hear that a lot. So, I think that’s the case.” Moreover, the influx of disposable money can lead to children using drugs. A representative of the business community in the Labrador Straits region explained: “Families have a lot more money now. Kids have a lot more money. Kids got more money than I got, right? And I’m sure that’s not just true for here, but it’s probably a contributing factor. You know, we can say well, Muskrat is bringing more drugs into the town.”

While some kids may have been doing well socially and academically with a parent working away, they were often described as exceptions. A woman from Witless Bay noted, “There’s some really adjusted kids and settled kids, and they’re fine. The ladies I know, their kids are fantastic. So, they’re exceptions, I think. But I think they work really hard with their children.” There were expectations that mothers must work especially hard to ensure their children were well adjusted given the E-RGM in their family, and there was a consequent pressure associated with the perception of their role if problems did arise.

Based on the challenges faced by women, primarily by women left at home while spouses engaged in E-RGM or women who commuted themselves but also had spouses working away, a lot of stress was present. This stress can be related to the uncertain and always changing homelife when partners came home or left for work, or it could be associated with the daily lifestyles women faced when their partners were away. Although it was often stated that it took a “special” woman to accept this lifestyle, women were sacrificing a lot of their time, career and life in the process.

3.9 Discussion and Conclusion

Despite the importance of E-RGM in the lives of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, there is limited research on how the patterns and experiences of E-RGM differ by gender and/or affected by place attachments. Storey (2010), Storey and Shrimpton (1989), Statistics Canada (2008) and Thomas (2009) investigated work camps, remote mining, forestry, tourism and offshore oil rigs, while Haan et al. (2014) studied travel distance/time for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians. Dorow and Mandizadza (2017) focused on the support given to people in order to cope with camp life, and Fitzpatrick (2016, 2019) studied the challenges women face working in home care. Barber (2015, 2016) focused on masculinity and mobility in the construction industry, but without specific attention to the experiences of women and/or place attachment. The present study partially fills these knowledge gaps by discussing, from a gendered lens, place attachment, experiences and decisions related to E-RGM in Newfoundland and Labrador.

This study is in line with numerous studies such as Macdonald et al (2012), Outlook (2020) and Whalen (2013) in that the mobile work lifestyle has always existed in Newfoundland and Labrador but has become increasingly common, particularly in the form of inter-provincial mobility for work. These workers are mostly men that are looking for jobs and/or a higher income that are unavailable in their home communities. They are looking to provide a better life for themselves and their families. However, this lifestyle is not for everyone.

The interviews revealed that it requires “a special person” to accept this lifestyle. Working away and leaving a partner behind, and often kids, has some disadvantages that affect and sometimes discourage E-RGM, especially for women. McEvoy et al. (2012) and Power and Norman (2019) argued that women’s im/mobilities are often affected by their partners’ mobilities. Women staying behind while their partners are working away needed to be

"superwomen" to be able to handle all their responsibilities. These women were taking care of their children, their houses and everything else each day.

Confirming Macdonald et al. (2012) and Walsh (2009) many women and men stated that they were attached to their communities and that they never thought about moving elsewhere. This place attachment comes mainly from the sense of community that they felt. People in these communities were always there and helped each other. This result confirms Barber (2016) and Ryser et al. (2018) in that women staying behind could rely on families, friends and neighbours to be there for them if they needed any help. Women stated that they felt safe and secure within their communities and that they preferred raising their children in a familiar place where they knew everyone. Men who were working away felt at ease leaving their families in a safe community and close to family members.

Having family and friends around helped in many ways. Several women, especially ones with kids, described how it was much easier to live close to their parents/grandparents and how they could rely on them in case of emergencies or just to babysit while they worked. They described how they would not have been able to manage without family support. Family is a key part in reinforcing place attachment. Many interviewees commented on increased drug use in their communities related to the influx of money from E-RGM work. Moreover, having a parent away for an extended period affected the emotional well-being of the partner staying home and their children. Some women talked about how their routine was disrupted when their partner returned. This led some to prefer staying alone and maybe even asking for a divorce because they could not handle this lifestyle. Looking at community sustainability, the majority of participants saw mobile work as the main reason these communities still existed. Without the money that these jobs brought back to small communities, their sustainability would not be

possible. Others stated that mobile workers did not spend any money they earned on community infrastructure, which would have negative effects on community sustainability.

There was very strong place attachment to their communities shown by both genders. This confirmed the Statistics Canada (2013) report that Newfoundlanders and Labradorians had a very high sense of belonging to their communities. These place attachments, which are in turn linked to family and community supports, also affected the experiences of these workers and their families with labour market mobility. Women, who are often the ones left behind, had to handle extra responsibilities while their partners worked. Moreover, they had to deal with the routine disruptions caused by this lifestyle. Finally, these attachments and mobility experiences varied by gender. Although some women mentioned how restricted they felt in terms of working schedule, they experienced a very high place attachment, mainly due to the help provided to them by families and friends and the safety they felt staying within their communities. Men showed the same strong place attachment as women. Men described how they would have preferred working in their communities if they could have received the same job opportunities as elsewhere. They also stressed the importance of family and friends, and the ease of mind they experience going away knowing that they are leaving their partners and kids in a safe environment.

When considering the debate about whether gender shapes mobility or mobility shapes gender, our research suggests that there is a bidirectional relationship between gender and mobility. Gender and mobility are inseparable. The complexity of the mobility-gender relationship must be recognized.

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4. Newfoundland and Labrador women's mobility issues: addressing the highest gender wage gap in Canada

4.1 Abstract

The gender wage gap is a major impediment to equality for women, and it is important to understand its relationship to women's labour market mobility and the policy instruments available to address this gap. All the Canadian provinces, except Alberta and Newfoundland and Labrador, have made progress toward reducing their gender wage gaps. Newfoundland and Labrador, known for its high labour market mobility, faces the highest gender wage gap in Canada. This is explained, in part, by men occupying the majority of the mobile labour force, while some women are more likely to stay in their present locations, which limits job opportunities. Women are also often responsible for household responsibilities and childcare. This chapter compares the Canadian labour market and its social policies with those of Sweden, a country with a different welfare regime that has been able to achieve one of the lowest gender wage gaps in the world. To enhance national prosperity, Canada should learn from the Swedish experience. The Canadian government should improve labour market policies, such as the Pay Equity Act, and should enhance employment benefits, childcare benefits and pension programs. In so doing, the government would help women in Newfoundland and Labrador be more mobile. This, in turn, should reduce the gender wage gap, decrease the unemployment rate and relieve strain on public resources in the province.

4.2 Introduction

The gender wage gap and the challenges of geographical mobility have become critical issues. Labour mobility exists throughout the world. Women and men of different ages,

occupations, and levels of educational attainment move for work and new opportunities and/or better lifestyles. Women's employment patterns vary considerably across countries and sometimes across different jurisdictions within the same country. This variation raises questions concerning the effects of government policies on female labour force participation and labour market gender equality. The type of welfare state regime can impact labour market mobility (Kolberg and Esping-Andersen, 1991). Each welfare state type has different policies regarding the labour market. These policies, in turn, affect worker's mobility, especially the labour market mobility of women. An efficient, equitable and diversified labour market, for which all countries should aim, would undoubtedly affect that country's well-being. This chapter explores the impact of different welfare states on women's labour force participation and mobility. We argue that the absence of a Swedish-style welfare state explains why the gender wage gap is so persistent in jurisdictions like Newfoundland and Labrador, where obstacles to women's labour market mobility disadvantage women. This situation is particularly evident and acute given the uniquely high dependence on mobility to access high income employment in the province.

In Canada, Schirle (2015) argued that between 1997 and 2014, most Canadian provinces made some progress in narrowing the gender wage gap, but Newfoundland and Labrador did not make any notable progress. This chapter is based on Schirle's (2015) paper and analyzes women's labour market mobility, the gender wage gap and the role of policy to explain the reasons behind the higher gender wage gap in Newfoundland and Labrador when compared to other Canadian provinces. Moreover, a comparison between Canada and Sweden (a country with a different welfare regime that has one of the lowest gender pay gaps and the highest equity for

women in the labour market) will be made to discover what can be learned from Sweden and applied to Canada[11].

This chapter is organized as follows: 1) an introduction on the concepts of labour market mobility and the gender wage gap; 2) an analysis of women's labour market mobility and the gender gap across Canada, with an emphasis on Newfoundland and Labrador; 3) a discussion of gender-based labour-related public policies, such as employment insurance, public childcare and the pension system, and their effects on the labour market through a comparison between Canada and Sweden; and 4) a discussion of the findings, a conclusion and recommendations.

In Newfoundland and Labrador, a province with high labour market mobility among men, some women are disproportionately trapped in low-paying jobs closer to their places of residence, leading to a higher gender wage gap in the province than in other Canadian jurisdictions. This chapter argues, based on a comparative analysis, that the government must develop new programs and policies to help increase women's labour market mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador, which would reduce the gender wage gap. This chapter contends that the type of welfare state regime has a significant impact on both women's mobility and the gender wage gap and that valuable lessons can be learned from the example of Sweden.

4.3 The Gender Wage Gap and Labour Market Mobility

It has been well documented that women earn less than men in the labour market (Dijkstra and Hanmer, 2000; Ding et al., 2009), and this gendered wage gap affects economic

[11] Although other Nordic countries have similar labour market policies as Sweden (for example, Norway), this study focused on Sweden due to the fact that it has more extensive and progressive family policies compared to Norway (Milgrom et al., 2001). Sweden was selected because it has been singled out as an exemplar of de-commodification style policies and how they impact equity in the labour market.

growth (Klasen and Lamanna, 2009). Numerous studies have tried to identify the sources of this male-female earnings gap (e.g., Baker and Drolet, 2010; Drolet, 2011; Morissette et al., 2013; Moyser, 2017; Pelletier et al., 2019; Schirle, 2015). Much of the analysis has focused on what feminist economists have labelled the discrimination hypothesis. This hypothesis states that the gender wage inequality is perpetuated by industries, employers and/or governments that are looking to maximize profit by paying equally qualified women less than men (Bergmann, 1974; Solberg and Laughlin, 1995; Treiman and Hartmann, 1981). Generally, earnings inequality is due to occupational segregation (Blau and Kahn, 2003; Gradin et al., 2010), where men are more concentrated in high-income professional and technical jobs and women are more concentrated in low-income administrative jobs (Berik, 2000; Coe et al., 2007; Dijkstra and Hanmer, 2000; Green et al., 1986). Females are treated as non-skilled, cheap labor and receive lower wages. Even though the gender wage gap has improved, it is still considerable (Niemi, 1989).

One method to reduce the gender wage gap is to improve labour market mobility. Governments should consider enhancing labour market mobility at the individual and aggregate levels. At the individual level, labour mobility can give some workers the opportunity to find employment in areas that might not be available in their home region. As well, it provides opportunities to find a better-matched position which more closely matches their skills (Long, 2002). Labour market mobility is an important contributor to national prosperity and provides an important opportunity to avoid mismatching skills at the individual and occupational levels. At the aggregate level, moving workers from one region to another leads to more resource exploitation, which leads to new industries and technologies. Furthermore, labour mobility helps areas with high unemployment relieve the strain on public resources due to savings on unemployment benefits, healthcare and other expenditures (Barslund and Busse, 2014).

For individuals, there is much to consider when debating whether to move or commute long distances for work. Level of education, age, marital status, and labour market status can all affect labour market mobility decisions. (Jurges, 2005; Krieger, 2004; Massey et al., 1998). Commutes are increasing in duration and distance (Green et al., 1999). Interestingly, some people with young children prefer to commute longer to work instead of moving to another region (Fasang et al., 2006; White, 1986). Further, men travel longer distances compared to women and stay away from home overnight more often (Buchel and Battu, 2002; Jeong et al., 2013; McDowell, 2013; Sandow, 2008). This commute gap can be attributed to the type of jobs occupied by each gender (Jeong et al., 2013; Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Madden, 1981; Singell and Lillydahl, 1986). However, not everyone is able to move or commute long distances for work, and this gap could also be related to the Household Responsibility Hypothesis, where it is expected that women to carry out household responsibilities (Aguiar and Hurst, 2007; Gimenez-Nadal and Sevilla, 2012; Turner and Neimeier, 1997).

This division in labour and mobility has been regarded by many Marxist-feminist scholars as the core reason for female oppression (Lorber, 2001; Mies, 1986; Reskin and Padavic, 1994). Commuting to work is a complex choice; women may decide to commute to escape the patriarchal pressure from within a family (Shah, 2006) or to pursue higher wages (Harvey, 2006[1982]). Women may not feel they have the option to commute, which can in turn limit their economic well-being and power. The commuting gap can be regarded as a consequence of the time-space constraints faced by the women (Coe et al., 2007; Hanson and Hanson, 1993; Hjorthol, 2000; Johnston, 1992; Turner and Niemeier, 1997). Western women often have dual roles in the household: working to earn wages and performing household responsibilities. Socio-economic factors (such as education, children, and income) can constrain

women's choices, as can geographical context (Sandow, 2008), which can lead to women being "spatially entrapped" (Coe et al., 2007:370; England, 1993; Hanson and Pratt, 1995; Peck, 1996; Wheatley, 2013). Gender is not the only factor leading to women's segmentation in the labour market; place of residence is also important (Agnew, 1987; Bauder, 2006). Some people will not migrate for work, even for a higher living standard. Non-market life-time considerations, such as marriage or divorce (Fischer and Malmberg, 2001; Greenwood, 1985), attachment to the place where they were born, attachment to their family, and/or their natural and cultural beliefs (Brueckner et al., 1999; Courant and Deardoff, 1993; Roback, 1982; Rosen, 1979), can play a role in the decision to move for work. Even though long-distance commuting to work may yield a higher financial and career benefit for the commuter, there may be costs that are borne not only by the worker but also by the family living with them (Green et al., 1999).

4.4 Women's Labour Market Mobility and the Gender Gap across Canada

Men are typically more mobile than women. Women have been excluded from many jobs that require more complex commuting arrangements because of their potential reproductive role. Based on data from the 2016 *General Social Survey*, family considerations play an important role in people's decision to move, whether temporarily or permanently. Instead of moving, some individuals prefer to commute daily, weekly, monthly or even yearly. Individuals usually prioritize staying close to their families and friends and providing care to their relatives (Morissette, 2017). Women with young children are often discouraged from taking rotational jobs because, as one human resources manager explained, they are too distracted by being away from their children (Dorow and Mandizadza, 2018). Moreover, due to privacy laws, communities may not be able to identify employers that are using negative or discriminatory hiring policies against women. Women also often lack the education and training needed to pursue careers in

the trades and technology, suggesting a need for more family-friendly educational programs (Ryser et al., 2018).

Women's income is an important source for their families' economic well-being. In Canada, women account for 47 percent of the labour force (Statistics Canada, LFS, 2014). Women are sometimes the primary breadwinners or contribute as a co-breadwinner in the household, yet they earn less than men (Hess et al., 2015). Based on the most recent report from Statistics Canada, women earn 27 percent less than men based on annual earnings for full-time workers and 13 percent based on hourly earnings. The gap is explained by the fact that women work more part-time jobs compared to men (Patterson, 2018). Women are typically responsible for childbearing, caring for other family members, and household chores, which contributes to the gender wage gap (Milkie and Pia, 1999).

Even though women's educational attainment has increased over the years, women are still segregated into lower-paying jobs, such as teaching, healthcare, clerical work, and service positions, when compared to men who are hired into higher-paying positions, such as engineering, law, medicine and natural sciences (Blau and Kahn, 2003; Fortin and Huberman, 2002; Gradin et al., 2010). This segregation into female-dominated jobs is mainly due to employers' prejudiced view of the traditional role of women in society, where men are associated with being breadwinners and women being the caregivers within households (Moyser, 2017). Baker and Drolet (2010) and Gunderson (2006) concluded that a significant portion of the gender wage gap can be attributed to discrimination across provinces.

4.4.1 The Newfoundland and Labrador Case

Migration and commuting to work over long distances are not new phenomena in Newfoundland and Labrador. Workers have faced challenges finding employment, especially

following the Cod Moratorium in 1992. Some people out-migrated from the province, while others commuted to jobs outside of the province. Between 1991 and 2001, Newfoundland and Labrador lost 10 percent of its population. Thousands of Newfoundlanders left the province, seeking work in the oil and gas sector in Alberta. However, some workers chose to commute long distances to work, leaving their families in Newfoundland and Labrador (King and Wicks, 2009). Ferguson (2011) argued that Newfoundlanders and Labradorians preferred commuting to work over relocating and leaving the province because they preferred to sustain their cultural ties. According to Statistics Canada, the number of workers commuting to work from Atlantic Canada to Alberta increased threefold between 2004 and 2008 (Laporte and Lu, 2013). Mobile workers increased from 13,127 in January 2008 to 23,507 in March 2010. Inter-provincial employment contributed to 8.5 percent of the total wages and salaries earned by Newfoundland and Labrador workers in 2011 (Morissette and Qiu, 2015). Women have been a major force in the labour market, with employment and labour force growth significantly outpacing that of men. However, only 10 percent of the province's mobile workforce were women (Outlook, 2020). Women have been isolated from mobile work due to their reproductive roles (Ryser et al., 2018).

There is significant variation in the size of the gender wage gap among provinces. In Newfoundland and Labrador the female to male wage proportion was 0.83 from 2006 to 2008, compared to Prince Edward Island (PEI), where women achieved equity from 2006 to 2008[12] (Baker and Drolet, 2010). Indeed, over the period of 1997-2014, decomposition analysis revealed

[12] In 2013, women earned 93 percent of what men earned in PEI (McEahern, 2017; Statistical Review, 2015). The gender wage parity in the labour market of PEI has been attributed to its unique economy, with an unusually large public sector (mainly occupied by women) that is unionized and subject to pay equity. UPEI economist Jim Sentance, argued that the private sector is trying to compete with the public sector with regard to pay scale. Moreover, the executive director of women's network in PEI, Jillian Kilfoil, argued that the labour market equity in PEI is mainly due to low wages and does not consider unpaid labour, which is mainly performed by women (Yarr, 2019).

a noticeable improvement in the gender wage gap in all provinces except Alberta and Newfoundland and Labrador (Tables 7 and 8, Schirle, 2015). Decomposition analysis divides the total wage gap into an "explained part", where the gender wage difference is attributed to differences in job characteristics between men and women (e.g., educational attainment, experience), and an "unexplained part", which captures differences in productive characteristics that were not accounted for in the explained part of the decomposition wage and can include discrimination against women in the labour market (Oaxaca, 1973). In Newfoundland and Labrador, there was little change in the wage gap from 1997 to 2014 (42 and 40 percent, respectively). Moreover, the unexplained part accounted for more than half of the total wage gap in 1997 and 2014 (0.2395/0.4205 and 0.2064/0.3961 percent, respectively). The Conference Board of Canada (2017) gave Newfoundland and Labrador a "D minus" for having the largest wage gap in Canada at 28.9 percent for weekly full-time earnings. This is almost three times higher than PEI, the province with the best wage gap. Although there were some improvements in the gender wage gap in Newfoundland and Labrador over the 2000s, there has been some deterioration since 2010 (Schirle, 2015).

The gender wage gap in Newfoundland and Labrador is influenced by many factors, such as some women being trapped in part-time positions and most women's jobs being concentrated in low-paying industries. In Newfoundland and Labrador, women are seen as nurturers. They are looked at as the person responsible for taking care of most of the household responsibilities, and the ones who care for the children (Neil, 2015). Since the 1990s, women have made up the majority of full-time graduate students enrolled in universities. Despite being better educated than men in Newfoundland and Labrador, women still face the biggest wage gap in the country.

In Newfoundland and Labrador, 66 percent of minimum wage workers and 69 percent of part-time workers are women (Vital Signs, 2018).

Table 7: Gender wage gaps in Canadian provinces in 1997 (from Schirle, 2015).

	NL	PEI	NS	NB	QC	ON	MB	SK	AB	BC
Unexplained	0.2395	0.2262	0.1950	0.2324	0.1908	0.1675	0.2412	0.2233	0.2366	0.1767
Total Gap	0.4205	0.2444	0.2673	0.3476	0.2536	0.2508	0.2820	0.3223	0.3316	0.2849

Table 8: Gender wage gaps in Canadian provinces in 2014 (from Schirle, 2015).

	NL	PEI	NS	NB	QC	ON	MB	SK	AB	BC
Unexplained	0.2064	0.0572	0.1038	0.1521	0.1146	0.1238	0.1143	0.1727	0.1557	0.1378
Total Gap	0.3961	0.1362	0.1819	0.2156	0.1749	0.1861	0.1947	0.2821	0.3033	0.2596

4.5 Role of Public Policy in Addressing the Gender Wage Gap

The type of welfare state in a region can have a strong effect on women's inequality in the labour market. Esping-Andersen (1999) argued that adopting different labour market policies could address women's inequality by de-commodification and de-familiarization. De-commodification is when a service rendered becomes a right (food stamps, free health care and free education as examples). In countries where de-commodification is applied, individuals can maintain a livelihood without relying on the market. De-familiarization is when governments intervene and extend social rights (such as caring responsibilities) in order to reduce the burden imposed on households and diminish individuals' reliance on kinship (Blossfeld and Muller, 2002). De-commodification policies will reduce the gender wage gap. Mandel and Shalev (2009) argued that de-commodification will increases workers' reservation wage leading to more labour market equality. Welfare states applying de-commodifying policies are helping the part timers, intermittent workers, who are disproportionally females, achieve better labour market equity.

Countries applying de- commodifying policies related to childcare services, benefits, women's involvement in the labour market and the division of household responsibilities within the family will give women the ability to be more engaged in the labour market (Janus, 2012; Leira 2002). These de-commodifying policies will promote women's employment opportunities and enhance women's freedom in the labour market (Esping – Andersen, 1990).

There has been a renewed effort to investigate the effects of public policies on gender inequality (Hegewisch and Gornick, 2011; Shalev, 2008). These equal pay policies are sometimes referred to as comparable worth policies (equal pay for the same work) and equal employment opportunity legislation (creating equal opportunities for women during every phase of the hiring procedures) (Gunderson, 1989). Women-friendly policies typically include more flexible, compressed work hours to reduce gender inequality, especially the gender employment gaps (Crompton, 2006; O'Connor et al., 2009; Orloff and Sainsbury, 1996). Family policies can impact women's decisions to join the labour market (Korpi, 2000; Mandel and Shalev, 2009; Montanari, 2000; Shalev, 2008). These family policies include leave and childcare policies and have large effects on women's employment, occupation, work hours and wages (Pettit and Hook, 2009). The availability of high-quality daycares, maternity leaves, and flexible terms of employment have increased women's labour force participation, work continuity, and lowered women's economic dependence (Daly, 2000; Harkness and Waldfogel, 2003; Korpi, 2000; Misra et al., 2007; Sigle-Rushton and Waldfogel, 2007). These family policies have the potential to decrease discrimination (Gornick and Meyers, 2009) and help women to combine paid and unpaid work (Budig et al., 2012). In the Nordic countries, strong parental leave programs and available childcare have promoted gender egalitarianism and provided better incentives for women to enter and remain in the labour force (Gornick et al., 1997). Gender earnings gaps were

less pronounced in countries with developed family policies (Mandel, Semyonov, 2005). Liberal market economies like Canada often have larger gender wage gaps than corporatist economies like continental Europe and Scandinavia, which are characterized by more generous social policies and more developed family policies (Gornick, 1999; Rubery et al., 1997; Wallerstein, 1999).

Canada has a less gender egalitarian welfare state and regional resource economies with a lot of labour mobility, which can produce a persistently high wage gap, as is the case for Newfoundland and Labrador where most of the gender wage gap remains unexplained (as discussed in chapter 2). The following section compares four types of public policies known to affect the wage gap in Canada and Sweden: pay equity, employment insurance, public childcare and the pension system. The effects of these policies on the labour market will be explored to see if anything can be learned from Sweden, a country with the highest labour market gender equity in the world (10.7 percent difference between women's and men's incomes in 2018, Swedish National Mediation Office, 2018).

4.5.1 Pay Equity

In Canada, pay equity is defined as "a compensation practice which is based primarily on the relative value of the work performed, irrespective of the gender of employees, and includes the requirement that no employer shall establish or maintain a difference between the wages paid to male and female employees, employed by that employer, who are performing work of equal or comparable value" (Pay equity act, Pay Equity Commission, 2018). Jenny Wright, Executive Director of the St. John's Status of Women Council, states, "Pay equity is a human rights issue. We simply cannot continue to bolster the economy on the backs of women's undervalued and

underpaid work" (SJSWC, 2018). Pay equity legislation imposes proactive obligations on employers, usually in the public sector, to identify and eliminate wage discrimination.

In Canada, pay equity legislation has been enacted in six provinces (Ontario, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, PEI, and Quebec) and in the federal jurisdiction. Newfoundland and Labrador, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia have developed policy frameworks to negotiate pay equity in the public sector (Baker and Drolet, 2010). One issue with this legislation is that there has typically been no audit to ensure employers are following the legislation. Previously, the only way to confront non-complying organizations was for individuals to file complaints with the Canadian Human Rights commission (Faraday and Borowy, 2018). New federal proactive pay equity legislation was passed on December 2018, where all federally-regulated employers with ten or more employees are required to pay women the same as men for work of equal value. Again, there is no guarantee that employers will comply with the rules and not drag out the process (Scott, 2019), and it only applies to a small segment of the Canadian labour force.

There are significant differences between the public policies of Nordic countries and Canada. Sweden's pay equity legislation plays a key role in reducing wage inequality and has been described as an exemplary model (Colclough, 2004). All employers with 25 or more employees are required to develop an action plan for equal pay every three years. In this plan, they must:

1) provide employee organizations with the information, analysis and the drawing of the plan;

2) any necessary pay adjustment measures that will be taken by the employer;

3) provide an implementation schedule; and

4) provide an account on how these planned measures were implemented (Chicha, 2006)

Additionally, the Equal Pay Act is enforced by the Equality Ombudsman, a government agency responsible for dealing with any type of discrimination in the labour market in Sweden. The support of employees and follow up required by the act has resulted in high compliance by employers and made the Equal Pay Act very effective in Sweden (Oregon Council on Civil Rights, 2009).

4.5.2 Employment Insurance (Maternity and Parental Leave)

Women's labour market supply is greatly affected by the presence of children and by government policies that have a large impact on women's decisions to participate in the labour market. All advanced industrialized countries currently have packages of maternity leave and childcare policies (Beland et al., 2014). The goal of these packages is to reduce the conflict between work/family responsibilities and the probability of women withdrawing from the labour market for childbearing reasons (Gornick et al., 1998). However, none of these efforts have been fully successful. Women continue to report that part of the reason for their higher levels of part-time work is the need to provide childcare (Moyser, 2017).

In Canada, maternity and parental leave benefits are a matter of federal jurisdiction and are delivered under the provisions of the Employment Insurance Act (Calder, 2006). In recognition of the increased role of women in the labour market and to the increased demand for equality, policies governing maternity and parental leaves have changed considerably. Employers are now required by provincial employment standards legislation to provide job-protected maternity and parental leaves to eligible employees (Statistics Canada, 2004). The Government of Canada changed policies around maternity and parental leaves in 1996. They expanded the benefits to cover almost all the workforce, including part-time workers. However,

they added more eligibility limitations on benefits for covered workers and to rates of benefits, which disproportionately affected women, especially women working part-time (Pulkingham and Der Gaag, 2004). With these new policies, women were required to work 700 hours to be eligible for maternity/parental benefits, rather than the 300 hours required under the unemployment insurance plan. This new eligibility requirement made it more difficult for women working part-time and those with caregiving responsibilities to qualify for benefits (Calder, 2006; White, 2006). As a result of these changes, 10,000 fewer women received maternity and parental leaves in 1999 (Canadian Labour Congress, 2000).

A new amendment to the Employment Insurance Act was implemented in 2000, reducing the eligibility requirement for maternity/parental leaves from 700 to 600 hours and extending parental leave from 10 to 35 weeks, giving a total of one year of benefits for one or both parents who meet the eligibility requirements (Statistics Canada, 2003). Based on a 2009 Statistics Canada study, nearly 90 percent of new mothers and 11 percent of new fathers took parental leave (McMahon, 2014). In 2018, the federal government offered extended parental leave benefits where, after receiving 15 weeks of maternity leave at 55 percent, which must be paid to the mother, parents could choose to receive up to 40 weeks of paid benefits at a rate of 55 percent or up to 69 weeks of paid benefits at a rate of 33 percent (Government of Canada, 2019). Haeck et al. (2018) suggested that a 55 percent benefit rate might entice mothers to take the maximum number of weeks, but a 33 percent benefits rate may not do so, especially for low-income mothers. Furthermore, employers must provide their employees with the same job they left or a comparable job in terms of wages, duties and benefits after returning from maternity/parental leave (Pulkingham and Der Gaag, 2004).

All provinces have followed the federal government by extending the period of receiving maternity/parental leaves, which has improved women's rights in the labour market. However, several provinces imposed additional restrictions on the eligibility criteria for job protection. In British Columbia, Quebec and New Brunswick, there are no conditions to receive job protection, other than being engaged in employment prior to the start of the leave. Alberta and Nova Scotia require workers to be working continuously with the same employer for a full year to be eligible to receive job protection. People may have accumulated the required number of hours to receive benefits, but if they had not been employed with the same employer, they would not be guaranteed to return to their job upon completion of the leave (Jackson, 2003). Newfoundland and Labrador, has a labour force attachment requirement of 20 weeks of continuous work, which is one of the more onerous qualifying conditions for job protection compared to the eligibility requirements for employment insurance (Pulkingham and Der Gaag, 2004).

The maternity/parental leave system in Canada has a profound negative impact on women earnings inequality and career advancement in the labour market. McMahon (2014) argued that half of the gender wage gap could be attributed to women taking time off to care for children. Women lose three percent of their earnings each year they are away from the labour market (for example, a woman earning $64,000 a year that took three years off to raise kids would lose $325,000 over 20 years). There is a need for better work-life balance policies, such as parental leaves that target men and encourage them to take time off work to care for their children. This would ensure that women's careers would not be disproportionately affected, and there will be more gender equity in the labour market (McMahon, 2014).

Sweden has a very generous parental leave in terms of duration and benefits. Sweden provides parental leave for workers with non-standard employment (Ekberg et al., 2013; Mahon

et al., 2016). Parental leave can be up to 16 months. The reimbursement rate is 80 percent of the income for 13 months and at a low flat rate for the remaining three months. Moreover, Sweden introduced what is called "daddy months" where two months of the paternal leave must be taken by the father (and they are considering expanding it to three months) (Mahon et al., 2012). Sweden has the most men participating in the parental leave program. The Swedish government supports families by targeting parental care towards men and encourages gender equity by making sure that fathers are engaged in childcare and household responsibilities, allowing women to go back to work and improve their labour market outcomes and earnings (Ekberg et al., 2013). Sweden's Government Bill, 1993/94:147 argues that having more fathers take parental leave will normalize the behaviour and change managers' attitudes. Sharing responsibilities will more evenly distribute work interruptions between men and women, thereby giving women better opportunities to advance in their professions. Ekberg et al. (2013) found that fathers not taking any days off decreased from 54 to 18 percent after the introduction of "daddy months" in Sweden. Moreover, there was an average increase of 50 percent of parental leaves taken by fathers. Clearly, these reforms achieved their goals and the Swedish government has succeeded in encouraging fathers to take parental leaves.

4.5.3 Public Childcare

With increases in the number of women in the workforce and dual-earner families, the need for childcare keeps growing steadily. Childcare can take different forms, such as family childcare, nannies, childcare centres, before- and after-school care, and it can be offered as a profit or a non-profit public service. Moreover, childcare fees can range from being a low universal fee to a high market price (Bushnik, 2006; Mahon et al., 2016).

In Canada, childcare policy is primarily a provincial responsibility. However, the federal government has been highly involved in childcare policies. The Government of Canada has used different tools, such as income tax transfers and other financial transfers to provinces to influence the childcare system (Piano, 2014). In Canada, regulated childcare space has limited availability because government provide minor financial support for these services (Mahon et al., 2016).

In 2004, the Government of Canada (a Liberal government at the time) negotiated early learning and childcare agreements with all the provinces. These agreements were centered on providing high-quality, accessible and universal childcare services (OECD, 2004). This agreement, however, was not enacted once the Conservative Party of Canada took power after the 2006 election. Instead, the new government introduced the universal childcare benefit (UCCB), a taxable benefit of $100 a month for all parents with children under the age of six, including stay-at-home parents. This UCCB was seen as inadequate to offset childcare costs. It slowed the expansion of regulated childcare spaces (Mahon, 2016). Currently, the federal government has left Canadians with different levels of services and no national standard of quality. Annual childcare expenses can go up to $10,000, requiring parents to pay as much as 82 percent of their wages (Piano, 2014).

Parents often have difficulty accessing childcare (Statistics Canada, 2019): 12 percent of parents reported difficulty finding childcare in their community, 8 percent had difficulty finding a childcare that fits with their work or study schedule, 11 percent had difficulty finding an affordable childcare and 8 percent could not find childcare that met the quality they desired. Further, 9 percent of parents had to change their work arrangements, 7 percent had to work fewer hours, and 6 percent had to postpone their return to work because of difficulty finding childcare.

Ten percent of parents with children aged from 0 to 5 years, reported not using childcare due to the high costs associated with it. Furthermore, Piano (2014) reported that less than 20 percent of children aged 0 to 6 years old had a place in regulated childcare.

In 2017, Newfoundland and Labrador, Alberta, Ontario and British Columbia announced or implemented programs benefiting from the federal government's childcare agreements, with the goal to reduce childcare fees. Newfoundland and Labrador implemented a 10-year childcare strategy in 2012. In 2014, Newfoundland and Labrador implemented the Operating Grant Program to provide parents with daily set fee rates ($44 for infants, $33 for toddlers and $30 for children between the ages of 3 and 12) for full day services, which likely led to a 13 percent decline in median preschool age fees in 2018 in St. John's (Macdonald and Friendly, 2019). Budget 2020 included a commitment to affordable childcare ($25 a day childcare plan) in Newfoundland and Labrador starting in January 2021. Regulated child care services participating in this program will be provided with a grant to offset the new/reduced fees they will charge families (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2020).

Sweden is a social democratic regime that supports dual-earner families and has enacted considerable childcare policies to provide universal, affordable, preferably public, and not-for-profit childcare services (Mahon et al., 2016). Childcare in Sweden has a national financial framework and is regulated centrally but is organized at the municipal level. Municipalities are required to provide childcare, without delay, for parents who want to work or study. There is considerable variation in childcare fees among municipalities. There were many reforms at the beginning of the 2000s, including a ceiling for parental fees and having municipalities provide childcare for unemployed or parents on leave (Skolverket, 2007).

Private childcare facilities are funded the same as public facilities and must meet the same standards (Allodi, 2007). The Swedish government provides grants that cover most childcare costs while guaranteeing high service standards, good working conditions and fair wages. In addition, the government support focuses on both sides of the market. For the demand side, targeted subsidy and vouchers are given, and for the supply side, capital and operating grants are available (Mahon et al., 2016). In Sweden, working mothers are widely accepted, and childcare services are used by different groups in society (Krapf, 2014; Lancker and Ghysels, 2012). There is high demand for childcare services, regardless of the mother's educational attainment. In 2011, childcare enrollment rate was around 70 percent (Krapf, 2014) and childcare fees were as low as 7 percent of net family income (Immervoll and Barber, 2006).

4.5.4 Pension Systems

The Canada Pension Plan (CPP) gives contributors and their families a partial earnings replacement in case of retirement, disability and death. CPP is available for all residents of Canada except Quebec (who can apply for the Quebec Pension Plan, which is similar to the CPP and gives similar benefits for individuals living in Quebec). Old Age Security and workplace pension plans can also help individuals with retirement income (Government of Canada, 2019).

In Canada, pension payments are based on how much and how many years an individual has contributed toward the plan. Workers can start contributing as early as 18 years old. Employees contribute 4.95 percent, which is matched by employers (Government of Canada, 2018). At the age of 65, individuals can apply and receive full CPP retirement pension. They can also receive a reduced pension if they apply at the age of 60 or a higher pension at the age of 70. Until 2019, CPP payments replaced one-quarter of the average work earnings, up to a maximum-earnings limit each year. After 2019, the CPP replaces one-third of the average work earnings

received (Government of Canada, 2019). The maximum annual pensionable earnings increased from $47,200 in 2010 to $57,400 in 2019 (Statistics Canada, 2019).

With increased female participation in the labour market, there is a higher proportion of women receiving money from government pensions. Between 1980 and 2006, the number of women 65 and older receiving government pension benefits increased from 34 to 84 percent. Moreover, the median amount received by those women increased from $3,100 to $5,500 (Statistics Canada, 2009). However, this is much lower than what men receive, and it is projected that this will continue until at least 2050 (Standing Committee on the Status of Women, 2009). The Ontario Expert Commission on Pensions stated three main reasons why women pensions are inadequate:

1- Women disproportionately take time off work to raise children and care for elders, so they will have fewer pensionable years;
2- Women earn less than men; and
3- Women's life expectancy is higher than men's (Standing Committee on the Status of Women, 2009).

Since 2016, the pension system in Sweden has consisted of a pay-as-you-go notional accounts system, a mandatory-funded, defined-contribution pension and a defined-pension, income-tested group (OECD, 2017). Sweden has three different types of pensions: 1) public pensions, which are received from the Swedish Pensions Agency; 2) occupational pensions, which are paid through employers; and 3) private pensions, which are voluntary savings (European Commission, 2019).

Everyone who has lived and worked in Sweden receives a public pension. There is no fixed retirement age. Pension payments can start to be paid out as early as 61 years of age, and there is no upper limit when a person must stop working. Pension payments are based on pensionable income, which is the income upon which tax was paid, such as salary,

unemployment benefits and parental benefits. Of the pensionable income, 18.5 percent goes toward retirement pension (16 percent to the income pension, and the remaining 2.5 percent toward a fund of your choice called the premium pension). Moreover, individuals with small pensionable incomes receive guaranteed pensions from the state in addition to their income pension. However, to receive a fully guaranteed pension, individuals must have lived in Sweden for 40 years after the age of 16 (European Commission, 2019).

Crucially, in Sweden, the number of years spent with children four years old or younger are credited to the parent with the lower income. Individuals receive the best credit out of three different calculations. In the case of no or low income, the credit will be based on earnings before the child was born. For low-income workers or individuals who did not work before the start of childcare responsibilities, the credits are based on 75th percentile of the economy-wide average earnings. Finally, if income stays the same or increases when childcare responsibilities start, the credits will be based on the individual income base amount. The government makes the total contributions regardless of which options someone is receiving. Additionally, parental benefits are considered pensionable income, where the employee contribution of 7 percent is paid by the beneficiary and the remaining 10.21 percent is paid by the government as employer contributions. If an individual is receiving unemployment benefits but is taking some labour market programmes, the unemployment benefits are considered pensionable income and the government pays the employer contributions towards the pension plan (Ahuja, 2011; OECD, 2017).

The Canadian government should consider gender-based policies to address gender pay inequality and to increase women's labour market mobility. In the next ten years, Canada will face a labour crunch (McNiven and Foster, 2008). As a result, countries in the developed world

will be forced to look at policy options like gender-based policies while also relaxing their immigration laws and giving more flexibility to geographical labour mobility due to the declining ratio of workers to retirees (Knox, 2010; McMullin and Cooke, 2004).

4.6 Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations

Newfoundland and Labrador faces the highest gender wage gap in the country (Schirle, 2015). Although other provinces have managed to decrease their wage gap between 1997 and 2014, Newfoundland and Labrador has not made noticeable progress. This chapter attempts to answer the following questions: Why are some women in Newfoundland and Labrador still trapped in this high labour market inequality? How effective are the gender-based policies in reducing the gender wage gap and in increasing women's labour market mobility in the province?

A fundamental characteristic of Newfoundland and Labrador is its high worker mobility (see Chapters 2 and 3). Many individuals in Newfoundland and Labrador looking for better professional growth opportunities and higher income must regularly travel long distances to work. Based on prejudices related to women's productivity (Chapter 2) and the obstacles women encounter in terms of care work (for children/elderly), these commuters are mainly men. While working away, they leave behind their families (Chapter 3).

A lot of the women who are left behind stated that their main reason for not leaving the province is their attachment to the place (Chapter 3). This place attachment is often an attachment to families and friends who are helping them while their partners are away. Some women stated that they would move if their families moved with them. These observations suggest that many women in Newfoundland and Labrador are trapped in the province. They are excluded from a lot of jobs and cannot move because their families are their main (and

sometimes only) source of help while their partners are working away. Some women that stay behind stated that they wanted to work full-time jobs but could not because of the responsibilities associated with family care while their partners are away. These obstacles for women, either being forced to stay in Newfoundland and Labrador or not finding a suitable job in the province, will affect their careers, and thus their current earnings and future pension benefits. There is a need to consider better gendered policies to alleviate this unfair situation faced by women in Newfoundland and Labrador. Policymakers need to investigate better services for families who want to stay in the province and also help families who choose to move to another province.

What can be done to help address the gender wage and mobility gap in Newfoundland and Labrador? Chapter 4 of this dissertation looked at Canadian labour market policies and compared them with Sweden, a country described by Esping-Andersen (1999) as a pioneer in creating policies that support gender equality in the labour market. Sweden has among the highest women's labour market equity and has come a long way in improving their policies. Much can be learned from Sweden's example and applied to the Canadian context. Canadian policymakers must consider policies that will promote equal treatment for men and women in the Canadian labour market.

Canada needs a more effective way to enforce pay equity. Canada should create a government agency responsible for making sure that employers comply with the pay equity legislation and put sanctions on non-compliant employers. Moreover, women should not be penalized in the labour market by being paid less than men because of the presence of children. Women in the labour market are sometimes forced to work part-time or withdraw from the labour market once they become mothers. Current employment insurance policies related to maternity and parental leaves contribute to women earning less than men in Canada. Canadian

policymakers should create gender policies that promote child rearing responsibilities by both men and women. Studying the Swedish maternity and parental benefits model, Canada can introduce "daddy months"[13] where a few months of parental leave must be taken by fathers. This way, women will be able to re-enter the labour market sooner, reducing the effects on women's careers. The Government of Canada should also increase the reimbursement rate during maternal and parental leave to reduce the amount of lost income. Furthermore, more public childcare facilities are needed in Canada. The federal and provincial governments should collaborate to provide more affordable, high-quality childcare facilities. It is difficult for many parents to find affordable high-quality childcare in their communities.

Continuing with the current policies will lead to less time and experience in the labour market for women. Unfortunately, less time working means lower pensions, leading to more women facing poverty later in life. The Canadian pension plan must be improved to avoid the suffering that senior women are currently facing. The Swedish pension system contains many examples of what the Government of Canada can do to enhance its pension plan. Canada should have a guaranteed pension income for individuals with small pensionable income. Credit for time spent with children four-years-old and younger and time spent taking labour market programs while unemployed should be considered as pensionable income where the government pays the employer contribution. Adopting these policies would ensure that individuals with low incomes and more work interruptions, which are disportionately women, will not be penalized.

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[13] In 2006, Quebec introduced a similar social policy called the "daddy quota" or "use-it-or-lose-it" benefit that provides up to five weeks of benefits to new fathers, and 81 percent of spouses or partners in Quebec took time off to care for a newborn in 2017, compared to 12 percent in the rest of Canada (National Post, 2018). It is recommended that Newfoundland and Labrador consider introducing, along with the other policies recommended in chapter 4, this "daddy months" policy and consider lessons learned from experiences in Quebec and other jurisdictions in doing so in order to have a more equal labour market.

Canadian women have made substantial gains in their wage-determining or productivity-related characteristics over the past two decades. Women are narrowing gaps between men with respect to skills level, quantity of schooling, and job experience, and are infiltrating male-dominated occupations. Yet, despite these pervasive and permanent shifts in female labour force participation, commitment and their relative improvements in wage-determining characteristics, pay differences between men and women persist (Drolet, 1999).

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5. Summary

Although female labour force participation and women's educational attainment have increased in recent years, the gender pay gap persists. Women still earn less than men all over the world. Women in Canada earn around 13 percent less than their male counterparts. Moreover, in Newfoundland and Labrador, women with the same qualifications earn around 66 percent of what men earn (Neil, 2015). Newfoundland and Labrador also has a very high percentage of mobile workers relative to other Canadian jurisdictions (Messaccar, 2016; Outlook, 2020). This study quantitatively and qualitatively examined the gender wage gap and relationships between that gap and women's labour market mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador, a province that simultaneously has the highest level of mobile workers and the largest wage gap in the country.

Newfoundland and Labrador has always been a mobile region. Mobility research is important in contributing to our understanding of the social transformation that has happened and is happening in Newfoundland and Labrador. Families and communities have relied on mobility for their economic livelihoods, and while they seem to have adapted well to this lifestyle, there are implications, such as the gendered differences in mobility and wage gaps, that call for more attention.

This study argues that lower labour market mobility among women and the constraints women face on being geographically mobile explain a large component of the gender wage gap in Newfoundland and Labrador. As discussed in Chapter 2, women in Newfoundland and Labrador generally have shorter commute patterns than do men. Women are more likely than men to look for work close to their homes and work part-time. Chapter 2 used statistical analyses of demographic data to provide an in-depth view of the gender wage gap in Newfoundland and

Labrador. This analysis identified how much of the gender wage gap could be explained by differences in demographic characteristics between men and women and how much remained unexplained. The results suggest that a big part of the gender inequality faced by women in Newfoundland and Labrador is due to discrimination or other unobserved predictors (as has been observed by Grybaite, 2006; Joshi et al., 2015; Schieder and Gould, 2016; and Schirle, 2015). There are gender stereotypes that women have higher turnover rates, are less productive, and are unable to accommodate long working hours. Women's work is seen by some as not essential when compared to men's work. Women with the same qualifications as men are paid much less. Moreover, women with young children face greater inequality ("the motherhood penalty"). However, as argued by Brozova, 2015; Manning and Swaffield, 2008; and Schirle and Sogaolu, 2020, discrimination is not the only reason for the gender pay gap. Differences in education, experience, mobility, and the labour market policies in Canada have also had an effect on the relative earnings of women.

The gender wage gap is a persistent problem in Canada (Baker and Drolet, 2010; Gunderson 2006; Schirle 2015). A significant part of this wage gap is unexplained in Newfoundland and Labrador, and place attachment may contribute to the wage gap in previously unidentified ways (Power, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2013). Chapter 3 studied place attachment and how it affects mobility decisions in the province qualitatively, from a gendered perspective, as one factor that may contribute to wage inequality. Women's lower mobility can be attributed to women being tied to families and friends, attached to their place, and being assigned the main responsibilities for the household and the children.

The gender-related policies discussed in Chapter 4 provide a road map to improve income disparities and women's labour market mobility constraints in Newfoundland and

Labrador society. The population of Newfoundland and Labrador is aging, and employment rates are likely to decrease. There is a need to encourage working-age individuals who are not in the labour force, especially underrepresented groups like women, to join the workforce. This requires solutions to close the gender gap and increase women's mobility. In order to claim social benefits, women must be employed. Being away from the labour market and doing unpaid domestic/family work imposes costs on women, such as lower incomes, lower pension entitlements, higher economic dependency, and poverty vulnerability. Some countries provide support for working mothers and part-time employment, which boosts employment continuity, and ensures that earnings are less likely to be reduced in the long run due to discontinuous employment.

Previous research on the qualitative aspects of labour mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador has not focused on the gender wage gap (Barber, 2015, 2016; Power and Norman, 2019; Walsh, 2012; Whalen 2009). In addition to qualitatively analyzing women's place attachment (and its relationship to mobility decisions and experiences) in the province (Chapter 3), this thesis also quantitively studied women's commute patterns compared to men in Newfoundland and Labrador (Chapter 2), looking for a link between gendered differences in the labour market mobility and the gender wage gap. This gives a better and more complete understanding of the relationship between the gender wage gap and labour market mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador.

There are two strands that explain gender-mobility relationships (Hanson, 2010). The first strand looks at how gender shapes mobility and is mainly carried out using quantitative analysis. The second strand focuses on how mobility shapes gender and is mainly carried out using qualitative analysis. This thesis used both quantitative analysis (Chapter 2) and qualitative

analysis (Chapters 3 and 4) to gain a better understanding of the inequality women face in the labour market in Newfoundland and Labrador. Mobility can transform an individual's identity. The inequitable position of women in society leads to exclusion, which this study suggests is linked to gender and mobility. Improving women's mobility and employment access can help reduce unequal gender relations.

Specific policies relating to the labour market will affect the gender wage gap and worker mobility (Esping-Andersen, 1999; Kolberg and Esping-Andersen 1991). Chapter 4 investigated public policies in Canada relating to gender and compared them with Sweden, a pioneer in achieving an equitable labour market for men and women. The Governments of Canada and Newfoundland and Labrador should investigate challenges that face workers and consider labour market policies that can help. Specifically, there is a need for gender equality policies that support women's employment, especially policies related to anti-discrimination, affirmative action, parental leave, childcare, and elderly services. These provisions, when combined with increased availability of mother-friendly employment, will lead to a more equitable and fair labour market.

This dissertation contributes to understanding and ultimately addressing the challenges that women in Newfoundland and Labrador face in the current labour market in Newfoundland and Labrador. More work is needed, including the discussed policy measures. Future research should incorporate the unique challenges facing indigenous and immigrant women in Newfoundland and Labrador labour market. The challenges they face in the labour market, wage gaps, and their mobility patterns need to be studied. Gender and mobility are complex and intertwining subjects that call for more research to analyze the relationships between these two inseparable concepts.

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