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M.J. SHERIDAN, P. WHITE**Acknowledgements**J. BADETS, C. BERTRAND, J. CHARD,
L. DUXBURY, M. FRENETTE, D. GALARNEAU,
M. HAMDAD, M. JUSTUS, H. LAUTARD,
E. RUDDICK, L. STONE, T. WANNEL, Z. WU

Canadian Social Trends (Catalogue no. 11-008-XPE; aussi disponible en français, n° 11-008-XPB au catalogue) is published quarterly.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

Paper version: CDN \$11.00 per issue

CDN \$36.00 for a one year subscription

Students: 30% discount

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Electronic version available on Internet

(Catalogue no. 11-008-XIE):

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ISSN 0831-5698
(Print)ISSN 1481-1634
(Electronic)CANADIAN
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Born in Bonaventure in the Gaspé Peninsula in Quebec, **Mylène Henry** has been pursuing her interest in the arts all her life. In 1995, she completed her graphics arts studies at the CEGEP in Rivière-du-Loup and specialized in illustration at Laval University. Mylène's most recent work was exhibited this summer at the Bonaventure Musée Acadien du Québec.

Would you live common-law?

by Anne Milan

Common-law unions have increased dramatically over the past 20 years, and have become an integral part of conjugal living in Canada. According to census data, common-law unions have more than doubled, from 6% of all families in 1981 to 14% in 2001. While some couples decide to live common-law in a second or subsequent relationship, many are choosing this type of arrangement as their first conjugal union.¹

Despite the growth in common-law unions, and the increased social acceptance of this type of relationship, living together without being married is not for everyone. In fact, it has been suggested that instead of asking “who lives common-law?” it might be more appropriate to ask “who does not live common-law?”² This article uses data from the 2001 General Social Survey (GSS) to examine the extent to which never-married and previously married people³ who have never lived common-law in the past would be willing to do so in the future.

Men more willing than women to live common-law

The unmarried population who has never lived common-law is fairly evenly divided between those who would and those who would not be willing to live in this type of union.

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What you should know about this study

Data in this article come from the 2001 General Social Survey. The survey interviewed a representative sample of over 24,000 Canadians aged 15 years and older living in private households in the 10 provinces. In this article the question, “Do you think you could ever live in a common-law relationship?” was asked only of the individuals who have never been married or were previously married, were not currently in an intimate relationship, and had never lived common-law. About 7,100 people with these characteristics responded to the question, representing nearly 6 million Canadians.

Just less than half (48%) of never-married or previously married people felt they could live common-law at some future time, while just over half (52%) felt they could not.

The proportion of men who would consider living in a common-law relationship is substantially higher than the proportion of women: 62% of unmarried men reported being agreeable to such a union compared with 36% of women. Results of a logistic regression model show that when all other factors were held constant, the odds of women agreeing to live common-law were only about 60% the odds of men.

Willingness to live common-law declines as people get older, and is lower for women than for men at each age group. For example, 74% of

men and 64% of women aged 15 to 29 would agree to such an arrangement, compared with only 13% of men and 5% of women aged 60 and over. The fact that women are less willing to live

1. Statistics Canada. 2002. *Profile of Canadian Families and Households: Diversification Continues* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 96F0030XIE2001 003); Statistics Canada. 2002. *Changing Conjugal Life in Canada* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-576-XIE).
2. Smock, P.J. 2000. “Cohabitation in the United States: An appraisal of research themes, findings, and implications.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:1-20.
3. This analysis excludes persons who, at the time of the survey, were in an intimate relationship with someone from a separate household.

common-law may suggest that they are more likely than men to think of marriage as the preferred social union. Perhaps because they tend to be older, only 6% of widowed people would consider a common-law union, compared with 39% of divorced or separated persons, and 64% of never-married individuals. Regression results showed that the odds of widowed individuals agreeing to live common-law were 30% lower than the odds of never-married people.

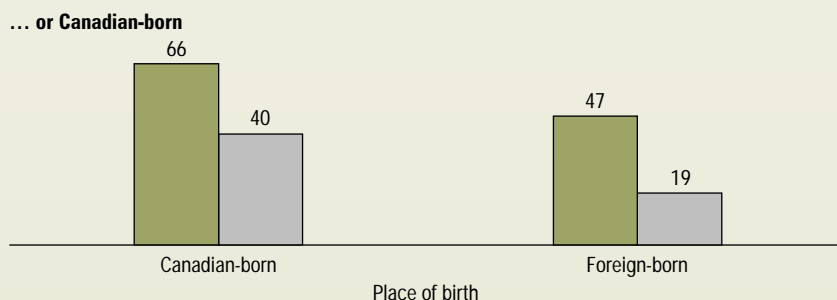
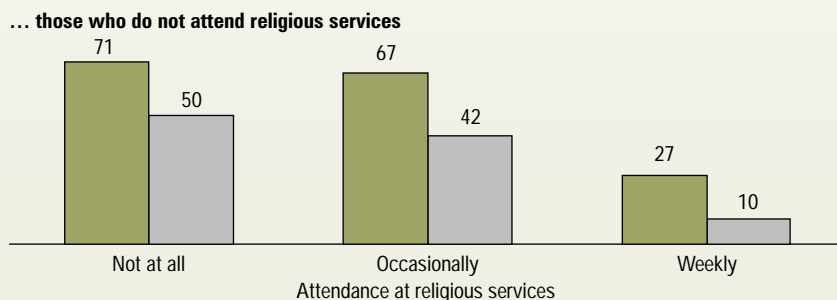
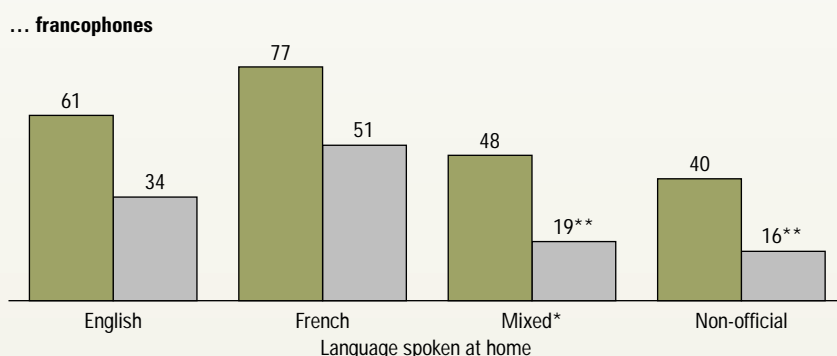
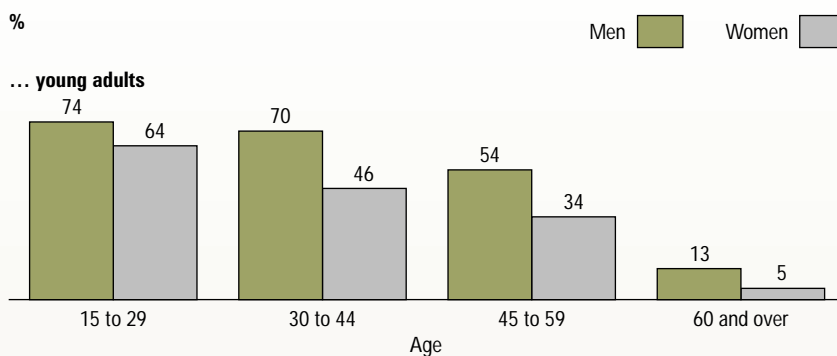
Education and labour force status make a difference

Higher levels of education are often associated with more liberal attitudes. Findings from the 2001 GSS show that individuals with at least some postsecondary education (54%) were more willing to live common-law than those with less than high school (41%). After accounting for other factors, the odds of agreeing to a common-law union were 30% lower for people whose highest level of education was high school than for those with at least some postsecondary education. An earlier study also found that individuals with some university education were more likely to live common-law than to marry in their first union.⁴

While higher education is associated with a more positive attitude toward common-law relationships, young adults aged 15 to 29 who were students were less inclined to want to live in a common-law union (66%) than those in the labour force (76%). Perhaps, to some individuals, a certain degree of financial security is important before entering a union. Overall, after controlling for other factors, the

4. Turcotte, P. and F. Goldscheider. 1998. "Evolution of factors influencing first union formation in Canada." *Canadian Studies in Population* 25, 2: 145-173.

CST Canadians most willing to live common-law are...



* Mixed refers to any combination of English/French and/or non-official language.
 ** High sampling variability.
 Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

odds of agreeing to live in a common-law union were 40% less for students than for those in the labour force. This is consistent with results from a previous study, which found some evidence that individuals attending school had a lower likelihood than their employed counterparts of feeling that common-law unions were acceptable.⁵

People in Quebec most willing to live common-law

The willingness to live common-law varies substantially across the country. This type of arrangement is considerably more widespread in Quebec than elsewhere in Canada,⁶ and people are most positive toward common-law unions in this province. Over three-fifths (61%) of unmarried people in Quebec who had never lived common-law would consider this type of relationship, compared with about two-fifths (39%) of those in Ontario and in the Prairies (41%). In both the Atlantic provinces and British Columbia, just over half (51%) of the unmarried population would co-reside without legal marriage. After accounting for all other factors, residents of Ontario, the Prairies and British Columbia had significantly lower odds than Quebec residents of agreeing to live together without tying the knot.

The language people generally speak at home also appears to make a difference. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of individuals whose home language was French were willing to live common-law compared with 46% of those who spoke English at home. The proportion of persons willing to live common-law dropped to 26% among those who spoke a non-official language at home.⁷ Regression results indicate that, compared with their French-speaking counterparts, the odds of expressing an interest in living common-law were 30% less for Canadians whose home language was English and 70% less for those with a non-official home language.

CST A snapshot of unmarried Canadians

The unmarried Canadians analyzed in this study are a diverse group. Their average age was 41, but more than 4 in 10 (44%) were 15 to 29 years old and nearly 3 in 10 (26%) were 60 or over. The number of women surpassed that of men among unmarried Canadians: 54% compared with 46%. Most unmarried individuals had never married (62%), an additional 19% were divorced or separated, and the remaining 19% were widowed. The majority of unmarried Canadians (56%) had personal incomes of less than \$20,000, while 18% earned \$40,000 or more. Over 4 in 10 unmarried persons worked in the labour force, just over one-quarter were students, and nearly one-third listed homemaking, retirement or illness as their main activity. Over half of the unmarried population (55%) had high school or less while 45% had at least some postsecondary education.

Among young adults aged 15 to 29, an overwhelming 95% of those who spoke French at home were willing to live common-law. The proportion of young adults open to the possibility of a future common-law arrangement dropped to 67% for those who spoke English at home and then to 42% for those who spoke a non-official language at home.

Cultural background matters

Living common-law is more accepted in some cultures than in others. In many Western countries, where increasing individualism and lower formal religious commitment are the norm, there is likely to be greater

approval of common-law unions.⁸ In contrast, these arrangements are less likely to be accepted in many of the more traditional Asian or southern European societies, which place a high importance on religion or family values. An earlier study of selected ethnocultural groups found that young Canadian adults with British ethnic origins display more liberal attitudes towards living common-law than those with southern European, Chinese, or Indo-Canadian origins.⁹

Canada is home to many cultures, and a notable proportion of the population was born outside the country. When asked about their willingness to live common-law, Canadian-born

5. Mitchell, B.A. 2001. "Ethnocultural reproduction and attitudes towards cohabiting relationships." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 38, 4: 391-413.

6. According to the Census, about 30% of all Quebec couples lived common-law in 2001 compared with 12% in the rest of the country.

7. In Quebec, over half (53%) of unmarried persons who spoke English at home would live common-law, compared with 64% of those who spoke only French. Only 44% (high sampling variability) of Quebec residents who spoke a non-official language at home were willing to live common-law.

8. See, for example, Thornton, A. and L. Young-DeMarco. 2001. "Four decades of trends in attitudes toward family issues in the United States: The 1960s throughout the 1990s." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 63, 4: 1009-1037.

9. Mitchell. 2001.

	Odds ratio		Odds ratio
Sex		Place of birth	
Female	0.6*	Canadian-born	1.4*
Male	1.0	Foreign-born	1.0
Marital status		Region of residence	
Widowed	0.7*	Atlantic	0.8
Divorced/separated	0.9	Ontario	0.4*
Never married	1.0	Quebec	1.0
		Prairies	0.3*
Age ¹	0.9*	British Columbia	0.6*
Education		Parents lived together until respondent aged 15	
Less than high school	0.9	Yes	1.0
High school graduate	0.7*	No	1.3*
At least some postsecondary	1.0		
Main activity		Importance of marriage for a happy life	
Labour force	1.0	Very important	0.3*
Student	0.6*	Important	0.5*
Other ²	0.4*	Not very important	0.9
		Not at all important	1.0
Religious attendance		Importance of a lasting relationship for a happy life	
Not at all	5.7*	Very important	7.7*
Occasionally	4.6*	Important	5.9*
Weekly	1.0	Not very important	3.1*
		Not at all important	1.0
Language spoken at home			
English	0.7*		
French	1.0		
Mixed	0.4*		
Non-official	0.3*		

* Statistically significant from benchmark group (p<0.05).

1. For each additional year, the odds of agreeing to live common-law decline by 10%.

2. "Other" includes main activities such as homemaking, retirement, volunteer work, or illness.

Note: This table presents the odds that a respondent would be willing to live in a common-law relationship in the future, relative to the odds of a benchmark group when all other variables in the analysis are held constant.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2001.

men and women were far more receptive to this option than were foreign-born individuals. About 52% of Canadian-born persons were willing to live common-law compared

with 30% of those who were foreign-born. When accounting for all other factors, the odds of being open to a common-law union were 1.4 times higher for Canadian-born individuals

than for those who were born outside the country.

Frequent attendance at religious services seems to go hand-in-hand with support for marriage.¹⁰ Only 15% of individuals who were very religious, as measured by weekly attendance at a place of worship, were willing to live in a common-law union compared with 61% of those who never attended religious services. The differences were equally striking among young adults aged 15 to 29. Some 27% of those who attended religious services weekly were willing to live common-law compared with 81% of those who did not attend. When all other factors were accounted for, the odds of being receptive to a common-law arrangement were 5.7 times higher for non-attenders than for those who attended services weekly.

Family disruptions influence attitudes toward relationships

Children's family-related views and behaviours, including attitudes toward common-law unions, may be shaped by the marital histories of their parents. According to recent research, young adults who experienced parental divorce or separation were more likely to choose a common-law relationship as their first conjugal union than were those who did not experience family disruption.¹¹

Men and women who, at least up to the age of 15, lived with both their parents were less willing to live common-law than those whose parents had divorced, separated, or become widowed: 58% versus 45%. When keeping all other factors constant, the

10. Clark, W. Autumn 1998. "Religious observance: Marriage and family." *Canadian Social Trends*: 2-7.

11. Turcotte, P. and A. Bélanger. 1997. *The Dynamics of Formation and Dissolution of First Common-Law Unions in Canada*. Statistics Canada working paper.

odds of being willing to live together without formal marriage were 1.3 times higher for Canadians whose parents had separated or divorced than for those who lived in an intact family at least until age 15.

Attitudes toward common-law

living related to other family values

People with conservative family attitudes tend to opt for marriage, while those with liberal views are more likely to choose a common-law union.¹² Willingness to live common-law is also linked to other family-related values and attitudes. Some 43% of Canadians who perceived marriage to be very important or important for a happy life indicated that they could live in a common-law union compared with 57% of those who felt that marriage was not very or not at all important. After all other factors were accounted for, those who rated marriage as very important for a happy life had 70% lower odds of considering a common-law union than did those who felt that marriage was not at all important. It seems that marriage may hold less importance for prospective partners in a common-law union, yet many individuals who do choose a common-law union as their first conjugal relationship do eventually marry their partner.¹³

Among individuals who perceived a lasting relationship as very important or important for a happy life, 53% indicated they could live common-law compared with 36% for whom a lasting relationship was not very or not at all important. The odds of agreeing to live common-law were

7.7 times higher for Canadians who rated a lasting relationship as very important for a happy life than for people who felt that a lasting relationship was not at all important, when accounting for all other factors.

Summary

Although common-law unions have become much more socially acceptable than they were in previous decades, there are many people who, for a variety of reasons, feel they could not live in such a relationship. In the past, people who lived common-law — generally those who were more likely to question social norms — risked social disapproval. This is much less the case today. If attitudes affect future behaviour, then those who are willing to live common-law are more likely to eventually engage in this type of union. Overall it appears that, among other factors, willingness to live common-law is associated with being male, having been born in Canada, being a resident of Quebec and attending religious services less frequently.



Anne Milan is an analyst with *Canadian Social Trends*.

12. Clarkberg, M., R.M. Stolzenberg and L.J. Waite. 1995. "Attitudes, values and entrance into cohabitational versus marital unions." *Social Forces* 74, 2: 609-634.

13. Statistics Canada. 2002. *Changing Conjugal Life in Canada*.

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Stress at work

by **Cara Williams**

This article has been adapted from "Sources of workplace stress," *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, June 2003, vol. 4, no. 6, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE.

An employee sits at her desk. Her inbox is overflowing with unread e-mails, her phone is ringing insistently, and she is racing against time to complete a report for the next morning. The demands of the job are making her anxious. At a nearby construction site workers fear layoff because winter is approaching. Meanwhile, on the other side of town, staff in a warehouse are nervous about the introduction of a new computer-based inventory control system. These are just a few examples of the sources of stress that people may encounter in the workplace.

According to research, workers in high-strain jobs have higher rates of a wide variety of diseases than their counterparts in low-strain jobs.¹ But the costs of workplace stress are not limited to those who experience it. The *Journal of Occupational and Environmental Medicine* reports that health care expenditures are nearly 50% greater for workers who report high levels of stress.² Stress can also be costly to employers because, if prolonged, it can result in increased absenteeism or a decline in productivity. The Canadian Policy Research Networks estimates that stress-related absences cost employers about \$3.5 billion each year.³

Using data from the 1994 and 2000 General Social Surveys (GSS), this article examines triggers of workplace stress among employed Canadians. With focus on the most recent period, it highlights some of the differences between self-employed and employed workers, full-time and part-time employees and various occupation groups. The article also looks at certain demographic characteristics and their association with stress triggers at work.

Workers less worried about layoffs in 2000

The Canadian Centre for Occupational Health and Safety defines workplace stress as "the harmful physical and emotional responses that can happen when there is conflict between job demands on the employee and the amount of control an employee has over meeting these demands."⁴ Specifically, the most commonly cited source of stress in the workplace is lack of time or excessive

1. Wilkins, K. and M. Beaudet. Winter 1998. "Work stress and health." *Health Reports* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003) 10, 3: 47-52.
2. As cited on the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health Web site. www.cdc.gov/niosh/stresswk.html (accessed May 8, 2002).
3. For more information, see Duxbury, L. and C. Higgins. October 2001. "Work-life balance in the new millennium: Where are we? Where do we need to go?" Canadian Policy Research Networks discussion paper no. W/12.
4. See www.ccohs.ca/oshanswers/psycho-social/stress.html (accessed May 8, 2002).

CST What you should know about this study

Most of the data in this article come from the 2000 General Social Survey (GSS) on access to and use of information technologies. The GSS is an annual telephone survey covering the population aged 15 and over living in private residences in the 10 provinces. Data were collected over a 12-month period from approximately 25,100 respondents. The question on work stress was asked only of people who had worked at some time during this period. These individuals represented 16.9 million Canadians.

Full-time workers: individuals who generally worked 30 or more hours each week.

Part-time workers: individuals who generally worked less than 30 hours per week.

Work stress questions:

Has the following thing in your work environment caused you excess worry or stress in the past 12 months?

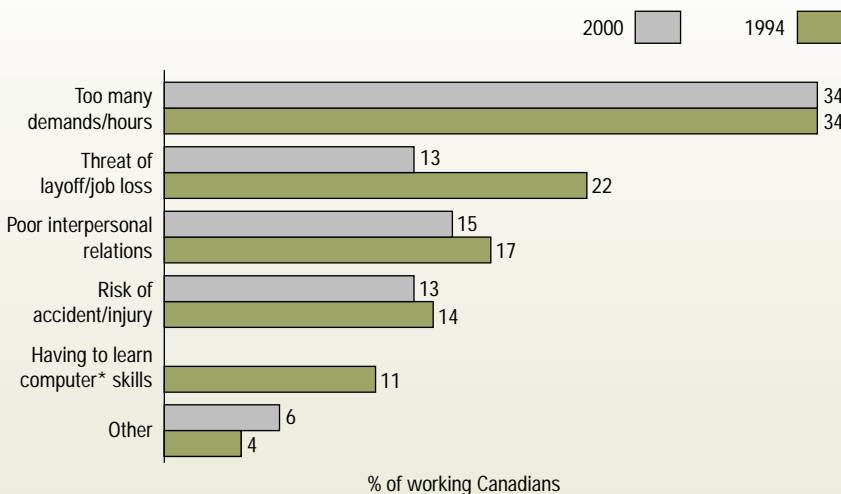
- Too many demands or too many hours
- Risk of accident or injury

- Poor interpersonal relations
- Threat of layoff or job loss
- Having to learn new computer skills
- Anything else

The article also uses the 1994 General Social Survey on education, work and retirement. Data were collected over a 12-month period from about 11,900 individuals. Respondents were asked about their work stress if they held a job at the time of the survey. This resulted in a weighted count of about 8.9 million individuals. The workplace stress questions asked in 1994 were the same as those asked in 2000, excluding the question on having to learn new computer skills.

Data from the 1999 Workplace and Employee Survey (WES) was used to determine the percentage of employees with access to an Employee Assistance Program. WES, conducted during the 12-month period ending March 1999, is designed to explore a broad range of issues relating to employers and their employees.

CST Over one-third of Canadians cited excessive demands as the most common source of workplace stress



* 1994 data are not available for the computer skills category.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey.

workload demands. Other triggers include fear of accident or injury, poor interpersonal relationships with co-workers or supervisors, the threat of layoff or job loss or having to learn computer skills.

Despite different economic circumstances, most triggers of workplace stress were similar in both 1994 and 2000. For example, risk of accident or injury was cited by 14% of workers in 1994 and 13% in 2000, while too many demands or hours was reported by 34% of working Canadians in both years as a source of workplace stress. Threat of layoff or job loss was the exception. During the expanding economy of 2000, when jobs were relatively plentiful, only 13% of workers cited fear of job loss or layoff as a source of workplace stress compared with 22%

in 1994, a period following prolonged recession and high unemployment.

Too many demands and long hours most common source of workplace stress

Heavy workloads and long hours at work can infringe on personal time. New technologies such as the Internet and e-mail have “permanently wired employees to their jobs.”⁵ Thus it is not surprising that in 2000, the most common source of stress was too many demands and/or too many hours at work, reported by about one-third

(34%) of workers. Some 15% of respondents cited poor interpersonal relations, 13% stated risk of accident or injury and about 11% reported that having to learn new computer skills was a source of work stress. Fear of job loss or layoff was considered the cause of workplace stress by 13% of workers; of these, more than 4 in 10 felt that it was somewhat or very likely that they would lose their job or be laid off sometime in the next year.

Individuals may experience stress in their work environment from more than a single source. For example, while about 26% of employees felt

stress from one trigger and 16% of paid employees had two triggers, more than 10% cited three or more sources of stress in their work environment. This relatively high incidence of multiple stressors may be one of the reasons that employee assistance programs are becoming a popular way for

5. MacBride-King, J. and K. Bachmann. August 1999. *Solutions for the Stressed-out Worker*. Ottawa: The Conference Board of Canada.

CST One in four rotating shift employees worry about the risk of accident or injury

	Total '000	Too many demands/ hours	Risk of accident/ injury	Poor interpersonal relations	Threat of layoff/ job loss %	Having to learn computer skills	Other
Work arrangements							
Class of worker							
All workers	16,800	34	13	15	13	11	6
Self-employed	2,800	37	12	10	8	11	10
Employees	14,000	34	13	16	14	11	6
Employees only							
Hours of work							
All employees ¹	14,000	34	13	16	14	11	6
Full-time	11,500	37	14	17	15	12	6
30-35 hours/week	1,900	29	11	15	15	11	6
36-40 hours/week	6,100	33	14	17	16	12	6
41 or more hours/week	3,600	47	16	18	13	13	6
Part-time	2,300	20	9	11	10	7	5
1-15 hours/week	900	16	6	10	8	4 ^E	4 ^E
16-29 hours/week	1,400	22	11	12	11	9	5
Work schedules							
Regular daytime	9,500	35	11	15	14	12	6
Rotating shift	1,800	35	24	20	16	11	5
Regular evening or night	1,400	27	16	16	12	5	4
Irregular/split shift	900	35	17	16	13	11	5 ^E
Other/on call	300	21	11 ^E	15 ^E	13 ^E	F	9 ^E

1. Full-time and part-time employees.

^E High sampling variability.

F Sample too small to provide reliable estimate.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2000.

employers to help their employees deal with stress.

Self-employed Canadians report different workplace stresses

Canadians often look to self-employment as an alternative to the traditional employee–employer relationship. Indeed, 2000 GSS data indicate that about 2.8 million Canadians were their own boss sometime during the year. The reasons for choosing self-employment vary from individual to individual. Some might do so because they are unable to find other work, while others may be motivated by the entrepreneurial pull. Whatever the reason, self-employment offers a different environment in which to work.

Data from the 2000 GSS show that, perhaps because they choose the people they work with, self-employed individuals are significantly less likely than employees to report poor interpersonal relationships (10% versus 16%) as a source of workplace stress. And while self-employed Canadians are also less likely to cite fear of job loss (8% versus 14%), they are slightly more likely to feel stress as a result of too many demands or excessively long hours at work (37% versus 34%).

Full-time workers more likely to report workplace stress

The majority of workers in Canada work full-time, that is, 30 or more hours in a week. Of the 14 million employees aged 15 and older who had worked sometime in the last 12 months, more than 80% regularly worked full-time. Perhaps because they spend more time at paid work, full-time employees were significantly more likely than their part-time counterparts to cite workplace stresses such as working too many hours, fear of injury, fear of layoff, poor interpersonal relationships, or having to learn new computer skills. Nearly half (47%) of full-time workers who worked more

than 40 hours per week reported stress from too many demands or too many hours in their work environment compared with 22% of part-timers who worked 16 to 29 hours a week.

Rotating shift workers more likely to worry about accidents at work

Research has shown that shift workers are more likely to have accidents or on the job injuries. Indeed, many of the largest industrial accidents have occurred in the early morning hours and have been attributed to staff falling asleep, making impaired judgments or having delayed reaction times as a result of not getting enough sleep.⁶ Even though many shift workers work a “typical” 8-hour day, they do so at different times, something that may interfere with their sleep and wake cycles. Many are never able to catch up on sleep and are more likely than others to have sleep problems.⁷ While virtually all types of shift workers were more likely than daytime workers to worry about accidents and injury on the job, rotating workers had the highest likelihood: 24% versus 11%.

Most shift workers were just as likely as daytime workers to cite too many demands or hours in the work environment as causes of stress (35%). The exceptions were regular evening or night shift workers (27%) and those who worked “other” types of schedules, including on-call (21%), who were slightly less likely to feel that way.

Managers stress over hours, while primary industry workers worry about safety

Individuals in management and professional occupations⁸ tended to cite too many demands or long hours, while workers in the trades, transport and primary occupations reported the risk of accident or injury as sources of stress. Workers in health related occupations were the most likely to

complain of excessive demands and long hours — fully 50%. In addition, one-third of these individuals also felt that the risk of accident or injury was a source of workplace stress, possibly because of risk of infection, long hours and irregular shifts. Workers in health related occupations were also much more likely than employees in general to cite multiple sources of workplace stress (42% versus 26%).

The advent of new technologies has facilitated communications and enabled firms to grow and evolve. However, the continuous change, which accompanies technological advances, requires constant skills upgrading, something that many Canadians find stressful. While in general only about 11% of employees feel stress as a result of having to learn computer skills, 20% of workers in the social sciences or education related occupations felt this way. Occupations in the sciences, education, health and professional fields have the highest use of computers (86%) and primary occupations the lowest (24%).⁹

Poor interpersonal relationships at work can be a major source of stress. This is especially true in today’s workplace where employees are often expected to work in groups or as part

6. For more information on the sleep patterns of shift workers see Williams, C. Spring 2001. “You snooze, you lose? — Sleep patterns in Canada.” *Canadian Social Trends*: 10-14.

7. According to the 2000 GSS, about one-quarter of regular night shift workers and one-third of those who worked split shifts had problems going to sleep, compared with 14% of regular daytime workers.

8. Includes occupations in business, financial, administrative, health, sciences and education fields.

9. For more information, see Marshall, K. Summer 2001. “Working with computers.” *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE) 13, 2: 9-15.

	Total number of employees '000	Too many demands/hours	Risk of accident/injury	Poor interpersonal relations %	Threat of layoff/job loss	Having to learn computer skills	Other
All	14,000	34	13	16	14	11	6
Occupation type							
Management	900	48	5	17	12	13	6
Business, financial, administrative	2,600	38	6	17	16	17	6
Natural and applied sciences	1,000	45	8	16	18	17	7
Health	600	50	33	21	15	16	9
Social sciences/education	1,000	48	10	17	11	20	10
Art/culture/sport	300	25	10 ^E	16	13 ^E	12 ^E	7 ^E
Sales and services	3,600	28	13	16	12	7	4
Trades, transport and equipment	1,800	26	24	16	16	6	5
Primary industries	400	24	20	10 ^E	12 ^E	7 ^E	F
Manufacturing and processing	1,200	24	17	15	18	8	5

^E High sampling variability.

F Sample too small to provide reliable estimate.

Note: Percentages will not add to 100 because multiple responses were allowed.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2000.

of a team. But even professions where team work is not required include potentially stressful relationships with co-workers, supervisors, subordinates or clients. On average, 16% of employees felt that poor interpersonal relations were a source of stress at work. This compares with about 10% of primary industry workers and 21% of workers in health occupations who felt this way. The likelihood of feeling stressed at work as a result of poor interpersonal relationships did not vary significantly from the average in most other occupations.

Workplace stress varies with age and sex

Both age and sex can be a factor in the type of workplace stress an individual experiences. For example, young

workers just entering the labour market may not be subject to the same pressures that workers in mid-career feel, and older workers may have yet other sources of stress to contend with. Along the same lines, stress triggers may differ for men and women.

Age makes a big difference when it comes to dealing with technological advances, particularly the computer. Young Canadians have grown up with computers in their homes and schools and are comfortable with nearly every aspect of this technology. Older workers, however, are more likely to find computer technology to be an intimidating necessity that causes stress. Data from the 2000 GSS support this notion. About 16% of workers age 45 and over felt that having to learn computer skills was a source of stress

at work, compared with only 8% of 15- to 24-year-old employees.

Young workers between the ages of 15 and 24 were also significantly less likely than their older counterparts to cite too many hours or too many demands as a source of stress (25% versus 37%). This is not surprising given that young employees are new in the workforce, often work only part-time and are not as likely to have the often-conflicting demands of work and family.

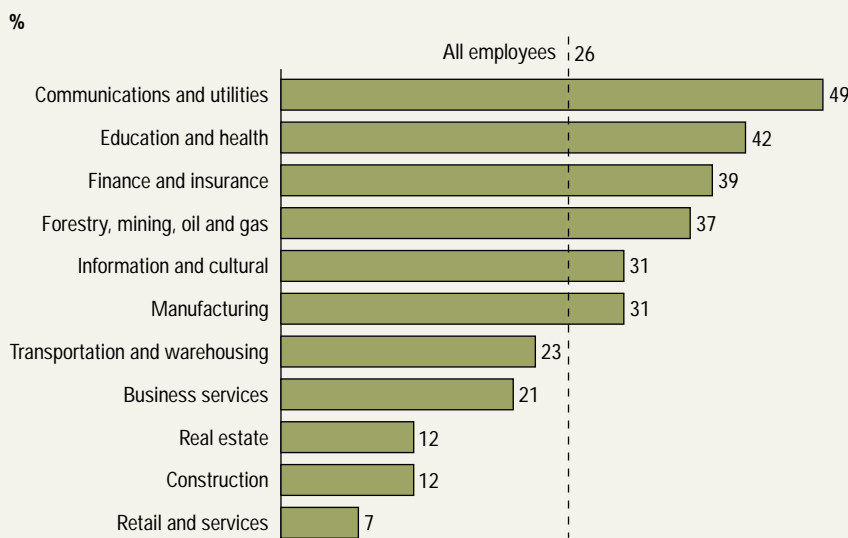
On the other hand, young Canadians do have their own work stress triggers. For example, 22% of 15- to 24-year-old male workers felt that accident or injury was a source of stress in their work environment, compared with about 15% of older men. This may be due to young workers' relative

Incidence of stress in the workplace is common. According to the 2001 Canadian Mental Health Survey,¹ 51% of respondents felt that work was a major or moderate source of stress. But not all stress is negative and research has shown that individuals function best in a work setting that places reasonable demands on them. In fact, many Canadians view stress in a positive light. About 4 in 10 respondents of the Canadian Mental Health Survey said that workplace stress had a positive impact on their performance, while about 3 in 10 reported that it had a negative effect.

To minimize stress for those who suffer its consequences, many employers have instituted programs and policies that are designed to reduce stress or deal with it before it becomes a problem. Indeed, data from the 1999 Workplace and Employee Survey indicate that slightly more than one-quarter (26%) of employees surveyed in Canada had access to some type of employee assistance plan. Rates varied from 49% of employees in the communication and utilities industries to about 7% in the retail and services industries. However, recently these programs have come under fire for only dealing with the symptoms of stress and not taking the extra step of addressing its causes.²

1. The 2001 Canadian Mental Health Survey was conducted by COMPAS on behalf of the Canadian Mental Health Association.
2. Rosolen, D. February 2002. "Stress test." *Benefits Canada*. www.benefitscanada.com/Content/2002/02-02/stress.html (accessed May 8, 2002).

Employees in the communications and utilities industries had most access to Employee Assistance Programs



Source: Statistics Canada, Workplace Employee Survey, 1999.

inexperience and the fact that they are more likely to have jobs in the industries where accidents and injuries are more prevalent.

Both men and women had a similar likelihood of feeling stress because of poor interpersonal relationships, threat of job loss or having to learn computer skills. However, women between the ages of 45 and 64 were significantly more likely than men this age to report feeling stressed as a result of too many demands or too many hours. Women's traditional role as principal caregivers to children and their propensity to do much of the unpaid housework may account for this. However, regardless of their family structure (whether they lived alone, with a child, with a partner or with a partner and a child), too many demands or hours stressed out women more than men. On the other hand, at virtually all ages, men were more likely to cite fear of accident or injury as a source of stress.

Occupation and work schedule strong predictors of workplace stress

Logistic regression was used to examine the relationship between a number of explanatory variables¹⁰ and stress in the workplace stemming from too many demands or hours, and from fear of accident or injury. Not surprisingly, work status, occupation, work schedule, age and sex were each strong predictors of workplace stress. For example, the odds of feeling stress because of fear of accident or injury were 7.2 times higher for employees working in health occupations than for those in the management, business, finance or sciences fields. On the other hand, marital status and the

10. Certain variables were excluded and other categories, such as occupation, were re-grouped into larger groups for the regression analysis.

Odds ratio	Sources of workplace stress	
	Too many demands/hours	Risk of accident or injury
Sex		
Male	0.9*	1.3*
<i>Female</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
Age		
Under 35	1.4*	1.3*
35 to 54	1.6*	1.2*
<i>55 and over</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
Children 14 and under in household		
Yes	1.1	1.0
<i>No</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
Marital status		
Married or common-law	1.0	0.9
Divorced, widowed, separated	1.0	1.0
<i>Single, never-married</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
Work status		
Part-time	0.4*	0.6*
<i>Full-time</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
Work schedule		
Regular daytime	0.9*	0.6*
<i>Shift work</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
Occupation		
<i>Management, business, finance, sciences</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>
Health related	1.6*	7.2*
Social sciences, sales, culture	0.9*	2.0*
Trades, primary, processing and manufacturing	0.5*	3.5*

* Significantly different from benchmark group (p < 0.05).

Note: This table presents the odds of working Canadians with various characteristics feeling stress in the workplace as a result of too many demands/hours or fear of accident or injury, relative to the odds of a benchmark group, when all other variables in the model are held constant (odds ratio). The benchmark group is shown in italics for each characteristic. A logistic regression was used to isolate the effect of selected variables on feeling stressed.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 2000.

presence of children 14 years and under did not significantly contribute to feelings of being stressed at work because of too many demands or hours.

Summary

The effects of stress are well documented. Research has shown that

while occasional bouts of stress are not likely to have lasting adverse effects, regular or constant doses of it tend to lead to negative health implications.

The most common source of workplace stress cited by working Canadians is too many demands or

excessively long hours on the job. Self-employed and full-time workers are most likely to feel the time crunch of too many demands or hours, while shift workers and employees in the health occupations tend to worry more about the risk of accident or injury. Women 45 and older feel stressed about hours and demands, while men of all ages worry more about accident or injury on the job. Finally, older workers worry much more than their younger counterparts about computer technology in the workplace. In an attempt to address the human and financial costs associated with stress, many employers have implemented employee assistance programs into the workplace.



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Unpaid informal caregiving

by Nancy Zukewich

Caregiving encompasses a wide range of activities involved in looking after, responding to and supporting others. While some of these activities are done for pay by care providers such as child care workers, nurses, home care workers and physicians, they are also undertaken on an unpaid basis by volunteers, friends or relatives. Family members have traditionally been the main source of unpaid care and support, since caregiving frequently involves an emotional or psychological connection between caregiver and care receiver. And despite the fact that most women work in the labour force, they continue to undertake the majority of unpaid work, including caring for children, elders, people who are ill or those with disabilities.¹

Trends such as the aging of the population and the increased presence of women in the labour force have led to a growing interest in issues related to unpaid caregiving. The Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada states that “Informal caregivers play an essential role in the delivery of home care services and in the health and care of their families and friends.” Thus, it is

1. Statistics Canada. 2000. *Women in Canada 2000: A Gender-based Statistical Report* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-503-XPE); Coleman, R. 1998. *The Economic Value of Unpaid Housework and Child Care in Nova Scotia*. Module two of *Measuring Sustainable Development: An Application of the Genuine Progress Index to Nova Scotia*. Halifax: GPI Atlantic; Keating, N., J. Fast, J. Frederick, K. Cranswick and C. Perrier. 1999. *Eldercare in Canada: Context, Content and Consequences* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-570-XPE).

CST What you should know about this study

Data in this article come from the 1998 General Social Survey (GSS) on time use. Although other Statistics Canada surveys collect data on unpaid work,¹ the time use survey is the source of official estimates of the value of unpaid household work in a national accounting framework. The survey uses the diary method, a collection technique widely considered to provide the most accurate and detailed information on daily activities.²

Respondents were asked the start and end time of each of their daily activities, which were assigned to one of 177 activity codes. Interviews were conducted over a 12-month period with more than 10,700 Canadians aged 15 and over living in private households in the 10 provinces. This analysis focuses on the volume and value of labour inputs to unpaid work as measured by time. The value of labour is derived from the Census of Population.³

There is no internationally recognized definition of unpaid work.⁴ In this study, unpaid work includes activities used by Statistics Canada in a national accounting framework.⁵ These include domestic work (such as cooking, housekeeping and household maintenance), shopping, help and care to household members, other help and care provided to people not living in the same household, volunteer work done through organizations and travel related to unpaid work.⁶

Unpaid informal help and caregiving includes activities that entail help and care provided informally to individuals by individuals and, as such, explicitly excludes volunteer work done through organizations. Reported differences in the mean time devoted to activities per participant are significant at the 95% level.

1. Macredie, I. and D. Sewell. 1999. *Statistics Canada's Measurement and Valuation of Unpaid Work* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 71F0023XIE).

2. Paillé, B. 1994. *Estimating the volume of unpaid work in Canada, 1992: An evaluation of data from the General Social Survey*. General Social Survey working paper.

3. Hamdad, M. 2003. *Valuing Households' Unpaid Work: Comparisons between 1992 and 1998*. Technical working paper. Income and Expenditure Accounts Division, Statistics Canada.

4. Statistics Canada. 1995. *Households' Unpaid Work: Measurement and Valuation* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 13-603-MPE1995003).

5. This group of activity codes is more restrictive than the definition of unpaid work suggested in *General Social Survey, Cycle 12: Time Use (1998) - Public Use Microdata File Documentation and User's Guide* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 12M0012GPE).

6. Statistics Canada. 1995.

important to differentiate caregiving from the broader category of unpaid work because caregiving has a value to society in addition to its personal value to caregivers and care receivers.² For instance, if care is not provided informally by family and friends, in many instances society takes over the provision of these services. Measuring and assigning value to unpaid informal caregiving is a key step in the creation of tools to better understand how the social and economic costs of sustaining ourselves and our dependents, and of maintaining our capacity to engage in productive activities, are shared among individuals, family households, communities, the market and government.³

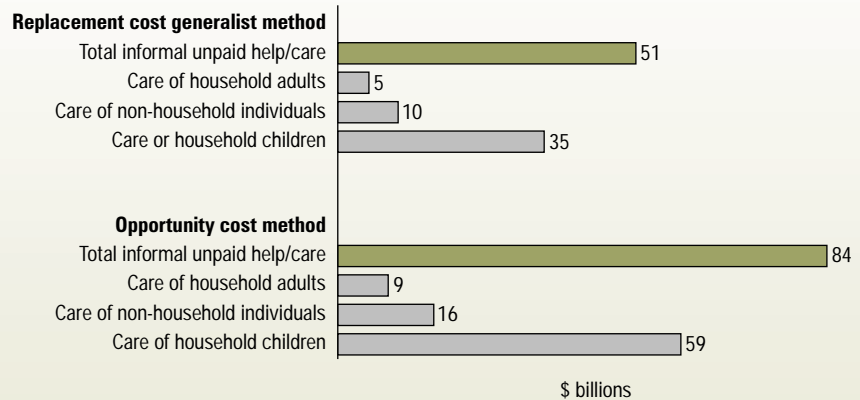
Using data from the 1998 General Social Survey (GSS), this study examines the time devoted to unpaid informal care, the sex and age of caregivers, their relationship to care receivers, and the market value of this form of unpaid work. For the purposes of this article, informal unpaid caregiving is defined as help and care provided by individuals to members of their household and to people who reside in other households as well as travel related to the provision of this help and care. It excludes time spent helping others through volunteer organizations.

Most informal care goes to household members

Unpaid informal help and care accounts for a considerable share of all time devoted to unpaid work. In 1998, Canadians aged 15 and over performed a total of 30 billion hours⁴ of unpaid work, of which 5 billion hours (18%) consisted of informal help and care. In total, 8 in 10 hours of unpaid help were provided by and for someone in the household (mostly a family member), with 70% going to the care of children⁵ and 10% to the care of adults, including adolescents aged 15 and over.⁶

In 1998, more than 6 in 10 (64%) hours of informal caregiving were carried out by women, due largely

CST Child care accounts for over half the value of unpaid informal help and care



Sources: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998 and wage estimates, Income and Expenditures Accounts Division.

to their disproportionate share of responsibility for unpaid child care work. The most common form of child care is physical, personal care (44% of hours). Women's shares of time devoted to routine daily education and physical personal care activities (helping, teaching, reprimanding, etc.) were especially high.

Driving people to various activities and appointments, which includes waiting time related to travel, accounted for a large proportion of time (55% of hours) spent helping household adults. In contrast, medical care made up just 10% of adult care time. About one-third (35%) of all hours, was accounted for by "other help and care," which encompasses a wide variety of routine non-medical activities, such as washing a disabled spouse's hair, helping a spouse grade his students' exam papers or talking with the educator of a handicapped 17-year-old son.

Babysitting most common way of helping other household members

Overall, about 20% of hours devoted to informal caregiving benefited someone who did not reside in the household. In 1998, Canadians spent about three times as many hours providing informal care to people in

other households (1 billion hours) as they did on formal volunteer work done through organizations (300 million hours), as measured by the GSS.

- Vincent, C. and F. Woolley. 2000. "Taxing Canadian families: What's fair, what's not." *Choices* 6, 5; Eichler, M. 1985. "And the work never ends: Feminist contributions." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 22: 619-644.
- Cheal, D., F. Woolley and M. Luxton. 1998. "How families cope and why policy-makers need to know." *Canadian Policy Research Networks* study no. F02.
- To obtain the annual volume of unpaid work, the sum of hours per day was multiplied by 365.
- The time use survey measures only primary activities, that is, the main activity of the respondent. Thus, this figure includes only time when caring for children was the respondent's main activity, and therefore underestimates total time spent caring for children. Primary-activity child care represents about one-quarter of total time spent caring for children (including time when the respondent was doing other things in addition to child care) as estimated from the supplementary child care diary, variable C6DUR.
- In 1998 nearly 3 in 10 (29%) individuals who provided informal care to an adult household member had at least one child between the ages of 15 and 18 living at home.

Unpaid babysitting accounted for the greatest share of time spent on informal help and care provided to individuals not living in the same household. Looking after children made up 32% of care time in this category. Time spent helping others with transportation needs, such as driving a neighbour to the airport, made up 26%. Assistance with house maintenance and repair and other kinds of unpaid help (not classified elsewhere) accounted for 15% and 14%, respectively, and the remaining time was spent providing housework and cooking assistance (5%), care for disabled or ill people (4%) and travel related to the provision of help and care activities, such as driving to a relative's home to help with housework (4%).

Some of the informal help and care activities that are provided to non-household members are not counted as care when done for someone in the household. For example, cleaning the house, cooking a meal or fixing a broken appliance are categorised as "help" if done for individuals in other households, but not when performed in one's own home.

More informal caregiving carried out by women

Both the share of the population that engages in an activity (participation rate) and the time that participants spend on it affect the total hours spent on the activity.

While almost everyone does some unpaid work on a typical day, unpaid informal caregiving is a much less common activity. Overall, 9 out of 10 people performed some form of unpaid work on a given day in 1998, but only 1 in 3 provided informal help or care. Women were somewhat more likely than men to undertake unpaid work and its informal caregiving component, and when they did, they spent more time on these activities.

For example, 34% of women participated in some form of informal help or caregiving on an average day, compared

with 25% of men, and these female caregivers devoted 2.1 hours per day to care activities, compared with 1.8 hours for their male counterparts. These differences were largely related to the fact that a significantly higher proportion of women provided unpaid informal child care: 24% versus 16% of men. In addition, female child care providers devoted over half an hour more per day to these activities than male caregivers.

Mothers more likely to provide physical care for children

Mothers are more likely than fathers to provide routine daily care and physical care. For example, mothers were twice as likely as fathers to take care of children's physical care, to transport them from place to place, and to help with their educational activities. However, fathers and mothers were equally likely to engage in play and "other" types of help and child care.

Mothers also spent at least as much time as fathers on all forms of child care. For example, women who provided physical care to children spent nearly half an hour more a day on this task than men (1.4 hours versus 1.0 hour). While women who administered medical care to their child did so for an average 1.4 hours a day, the number of men involved in this task was not large enough to produce a statistically reliable estimate. The average times spent on educational activities, child-related travel, and other help and care to children were not significantly different for male and female caregivers.

Fewer Canadians provide informal care to adults

The proportion of Canadians who provide assistance to adults (regardless of whether they lived in the household or not) is much lower than the proportion that takes care of children. On a typical day in 1998, only 6% of men and 6% of women provided care for

adults in their household, while 8% of women and 6% of men helped adults who did not live with them. In contrast, 24% of women and 16% of men provided unpaid care to children.

Travel related to helping either household or non-household adults was the most common activity, engaging 4% of Canadians. On an average day, just 2% of people helped with personal care and only 1% provided medical assistance for a household adult. Men and women caregivers spent about the same number of hours each day on these activities.

However, men spent more time on "male-dominated" activities and women, on "female-dominated" ones. For example, men who carried out household maintenance tasks for adults outside the household spent 3.0 hours per day on these tasks, compared with 2.0 hours spent by women.

With respect to "female-dominated" activities, women who did housework or cooking for non-household individuals spent 1.6 hours on these activities, while those who cared for disabled or ill people devoted 1.3 hours to the task. Too few men participated in these activities to produce statistically reliable estimates of average time per participant. Finally, although it is overwhelmingly women who babysit for free in other households, the amount of time spent by women and men who do babysit was not significantly different: 3.0 hours and 2.7 hours, respectively.

Four in 10 informal caregivers are women aged 25 to 44

The responsibility of informal caregiving falls heavily on people aged 25 to 44, women in particular, at an age when people are most likely to be in the labour force. Women in this age group accounted for nearly 40% of informal help and care providers; men in this age group made up about 25%.

In fact, women aged 25 to 44 made up the largest share of providers of most

		Number of hours/year (millions)	Distribution of hours by sex (%)	Participation rate (%)	Mean hours/day ¹ per participant	
Help and care for household children	Both sexes	3,870	100	20	2.2	
	Women	2,630	68	24	2.4	
	Men	1,240	32	16	1.8*	
	Physical care	Both sexes	1,750	100	16	1.3
		Women	1,280	73	21	1.4
	Education	Men	470	27	11	1.0*
		Both sexes	540	100	7	0.9
	Medical care	Women	400	75	10	1.0
		Men	130	25	4	0.8*
	Play and other help and care	Both sexes	60	100	1	1.4
Women		50	77	1	1.4	
Men		10	23	F	F	
Related travel	Both sexes	1,060	100	8	1.4	
	Women	600	57	10	1.4	
	Men	450	43	7	1.4	
Help and care for household adults	Both sexes	460	100	8	0.7	
	Women	300	65	10	0.6	
	Men	160	35	5	0.7	
Help and care for non-household individuals	Both sexes	540	100	5.7	1.1	
	Women	280	52	5.7	1.1	
	Men	260	48	5.8	1.0	
	Personal and other care	Both sexes	190	100	2.1	1.0
		Women	120	65	2.6	1.1
		Men	70	35	1.7	0.9
	Medical care	Both sexes	60	100	0.5	1.2
		Women	30	57	0.6	1.2
		Men	20	43	0.4	1.3
	Related travel	Both sexes	300	100	4.0	0.8
Women		130	42	3.6	0.8	
Men		170	58	4.4	0.9	
Help and care for non-household individuals	Both sexes	1,050	100	7.0	1.7	
	Women	580	56	7.8	1.7	
	Men	470	44	6.2	1.7	
	Housework/cooking	Both sexes	60	100	0.3	2.0
		Women	30	57	0.5	1.6
		Men	30	43	F	F
	House maintenance	Both sexes	170	100	0.7	2.6
		Women	50	32	0.6	2.0
		Men	110	68	0.9	3.0*
	Transportation assistance	Both sexes	280	100	4.3	0.8
Women		20	51	4.3	0.7	
Men		140	49	4.0	0.8	
Care for disabled/ill	Both sexes	40	100	0.4	1.5	
	Women	20	63	0.4	1.3	
	Men	10	37	F	F	
Unpaid babysitting	Both sexes	340	100	1.9	2.9	
	Women	260	76	1.9	3.0	
	Men	80	24	0.7	2.7	
Other unpaid help	Both sexes	60	100	1.5	1.3	
	Women	30	43	1.5	1.0	
	Men	20	57	1.2	1.7	

* Significantly different from women (p<0.05).

F Amount too small to produce a reliable estimate.

¹ Averaged over a seven-day week.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

types of care, including all forms of child care, personal care to household adults, as well as transportation assistance, housework and cooking, and other unpaid help to adults in other households. While many of these are typically “female” forms of work, just as many women this age as men aged 25 to 44 and 45 to 64 provided transportation for household adults and household maintenance for non-household individuals (both traditionally “male” activities). Unpaid babysitting and care for ill or disabled people in other households was mainly done by women aged 45 to 64.

Most care recipients in other households are family members

Not surprisingly, family members are the beneficiaries of most of the help and care extended to members of other households. Overall, 60% of all time devoted to helping and caring for persons in other households was directed at family members. This holds true for all types of help and care. For example, 80% of time spent babysitting and 73% of time spent on caring for ill and disabled people was done for family, reflecting the personal, physical and emotional nature of these forms of care. However, the difference in time devoted to family and non-family members is less dramatic for the other activities.

What is it worth?⁷

One of the methods of measuring the value of unpaid work is the replacement cost generalist valuation

7. Due to the level of aggregation at which valuation rates are applied, value estimates cited in this study differ slightly from those included in Hamdad, M. 2003. *Valuing Households' Unpaid Work: Comparisons between 1992 and 1998*. Technical working paper. Income and Expenditure Accounts Division, Statistics Canada.

method,⁸ which refers to the hourly earnings of domestic workers employed full-time, full-year. Using this method, the value of unpaid informal caregiving was \$50.9 billion in 1998. This is more than the labour income⁹ generated by the health care and social assistance industry (\$42.1 billion), education services (\$40.1 billion) or the finance, insurance and real estate industry (\$43.4 billion). The child care component of unpaid informal caregiving work was worth \$35.3 billion, just slightly less than the labour income of public administration (\$36.3 billion), the retail trade industry (\$36.7 billion) or the construction industry (\$36.8 billion). Help and care to non-household members was valued at \$10.3 billion, just slightly more than the labour income generated by agriculture (\$9.3 billion) or mining industries (\$9.5 billion). Help and care to household adults was worth \$5.3 billion, close to the value of labour income of the arts, entertainment and recreation industry (\$5.8 billion).

Since there are only 24 hours in a day, time spent on unpaid informal caregiving is time that cannot be spent on paid work or other activities. Thus, another way to measure unpaid work is the opportunity cost valuation method, which values a caregiver's time at the hourly wage the individual could earn in the labour market. Because women earn less on average

than men, the opportunity cost method assigns a lower monetary value to the same activity when it is done by a woman, effectively "reproducing the difference in women's and men's earnings in the valuation of unpaid work."¹⁰ Using this method, in 1998, an hour of women's time was worth \$13.88 compared with \$17.96 for men.¹¹

Informal help and care is worth more when valued by the opportunity cost method than the replacement cost generalist method. According to the opportunity cost method, in 1998, informal care was worth \$83.7 billion, close to the value of labour income in the manufacturing industry (\$84.9 billion). The value of help and care for household children was estimated at \$58.7 billion, help and care for adult household members was \$8.6 billion and help and care provided to other households was \$16.4 billion.

Regardless of the valuation method used, many hours are devoted annually to unpaid informal caregiving. If even a small portion of these hours of informal care were shifted from the non-market to the market sector — for example, the 156 million annual hours devoted to medical care¹² — this would be equivalent to approximately 77,000 full-time jobs.¹³

Summary

In 1998, Canadians performed an estimated 5.5 billion hours of unpaid

informal caregiving for household members and individuals not residing with them. This caregiving work accounted for 18% of total unpaid work (30.3 billion hours). Not only are women more likely to perform unpaid caregiving, but they also spend more time doing so. Furthermore, female caregivers are more likely than their male counterparts to provide routine, personal types of care.

The vast majority of time devoted to unpaid informal help and care is done for family members. However, informal help and care provided to other households represents a substantial share of unpaid work; nearly three times as many hours are devoted to providing informal care to people in other households than to volunteer work through organizations. Nor is care provided to non-relatives inconsequential, as about 40% of all hours devoted to helping an individual in another household benefited a friend, neighbour, co-worker or other acquaintance.

Finally, if parallel services were purchased on the market, informal caregiving work would be worth approximately \$50.9 billion in 1998 based on the generalist replacement cost valuation method, slightly more than the value of labour income generated by the health care and social assistance industry. Using the currency of time and money clearly demonstrates the magnitude of unpaid informal caregiving, but still provides only a partial picture of the socio-economic costs and benefits to caregivers, care receivers and society as a whole.



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8. Statistics Canada features the replacement cost generalist method for valuing households' unpaid work because it is most consistent with national accounts principles of economic value. For more information on the pros and cons of this and alternative valuation methods, see Statistics Canada. 1995. *Households' Unpaid Work: Measurement and Valuation* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 13-603-MPE1995003).

9. See CANSIM II Table 383-0009, available at www.statcan.ca.

10. Statistics Canada. 1995. p. 49.

11. Hamdad, M. 2003. *Valuation of Households' Unpaid Work Using the Time-use Microdata Base*. Unpublished working paper. Income and Expenditure Accounts Division, Statistics Canada.

12. Includes medical care of household members and care for disabled or ill non-household members.

13. Based on 40 hours of paid work per week, 52 weeks per year.

Update on cultural diversity

This article is adapted from *Canada's ethnocultural portrait: The changing mosaic*, published as part of the January 21, 2003 data release on immigration and ethnocultural background from the 2001 Census. The data release is available from the Statistics Canada Web site at: www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/etoimm/contents.cfm?



Canada has become increasingly multiethnic and multicultural. Immigration over the past 100 years has shaped the country and each new wave of immigrants has added to the nation's ethnic and cultural diversity.

In recent years, immigration has become an increasingly important component of population growth in Canada. In 2001, 5.4 million people, or 18% of the total population, reported that they were born outside the country, the highest level in 70 years. Canada is second to Australia (22%) in the percentage of its foreign-born population. In contrast, only 11% of the population in the United States was born outside the country in 2000.

Visible minorities

“Visible minority” refers to groups identified under the *Employment Equity Act* as “persons, other than Aboriginals, who are non-Caucasian in race and non-white in colour.” The 2001 and 1996 Censuses identified visible minorities using the following question with instructions for people belonging to more than one group to mark all circles that apply. Prior to 1996, data on visible minorities were derived from other census questions, such as ethnic origin, birthplace, language and religion.

<p>19 Is this person:</p> <p>Mark “⊗” more than one or specify, if applicable.</p> <p><i>This information is collected to support programs that promote equal opportunity for everyone to share in the social, cultural and economic life of Canada.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="radio"/> White <input type="radio"/> Chinese <input type="radio"/> South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.) <input type="radio"/> Black <input type="radio"/> Filipino <input type="radio"/> Latin American <input type="radio"/> Southeast Asian (e.g., Cambodian, Indonesian, Laotian, Vietnamese, etc.) <input type="radio"/> Arab <input type="radio"/> West Asian (e.g., Afghan, Iranian, etc.) <input type="radio"/> Japanese <input type="radio"/> Korean Other – Specify <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 15px; margin-top: 5px;"></div>
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Ethnic origin

“Ethnic origin” refers to the ethnic or cultural group(s) to which the respondent’s ancestors belong. The comparability of ethnic origin data from

the 1996 and 2001 Censuses with previous censuses is affected by changes in the format and examples provided on the questionnaire. The change in format to an open-ended question in 1996 and the presence of examples such as “Canadian,” which were not included in previous censuses, likely affect response patterns.

In addition, the measurement of ethnicity is affected by changes in the respondent’s understanding or views about the topic. Awareness of family background or length of time since immigration can affect response to the ethnic origin question, as can confusion with other concepts such as citizenship, nationality, language or cultural identity. Ethnic origin response patterns may be influenced by both social and personal considerations, which in turn can have an impact on the comparability of data between censuses.

The 2001 Census ethnic origin question was:

<p><i>While most people in Canada view themselves as Canadians, information on their ancestral origins has been collected since 1901 Census to capture the changing composition of Canada’s diverse population. Therefore, this question refers to the origins of the person’s ancestors.</i></p> <p>17 To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person’s ancestors belong?</p> <p><i>For example, Canadian, French, English, Chinese, Italian, German, Scottish, Irish, Cree, Micmac, Métis, Inuit (Eskimo), East Indian, Ukrainian, Dutch, Polish, Portuguese, Filipino, Jewish, Greek, Jamaican, Vietnamese, Lebanese, Chilean, Somali, etc.</i></p>	<p>Specify as many groups as applicable</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 20px;"></div>
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Immigrants come increasingly from Asia

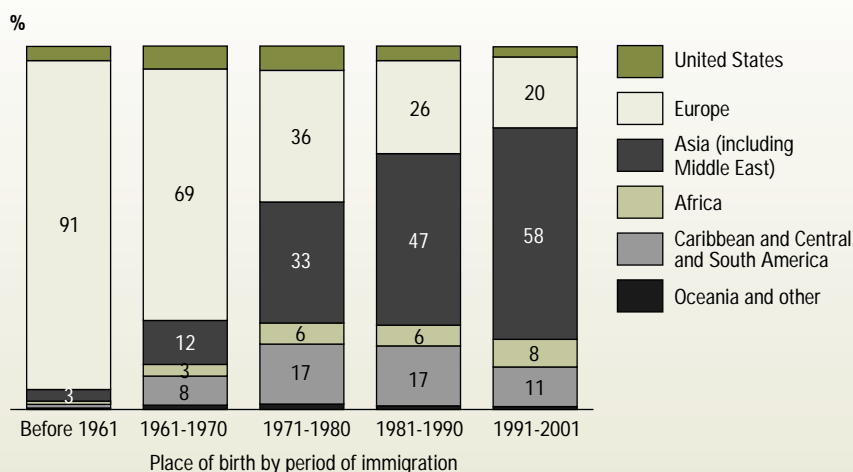
For the first 60 years of the 20th century, European nations such as the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands, as well as the United States, were the primary sources of immigrants to Canada. Today, immigrants are most likely to come from

Asian countries. This is partly the result of changes in government policies in the 1960s, when national origin was removed as criteria for entry, and partly the result of changes in the international movement of migrants.

In 2001, about 1.8 million people living in Canada were immigrants who arrived during the previous

10 years. Of these, 58% were born in Asia (including the Middle East); 20% in Europe; 11% in the Caribbean, Central and South America; 8% in Africa; and 3% in the United States. In comparison, people born in Asia represented 47% of immigrants who arrived during the 1980s, 33% of those who arrived during the 1970s

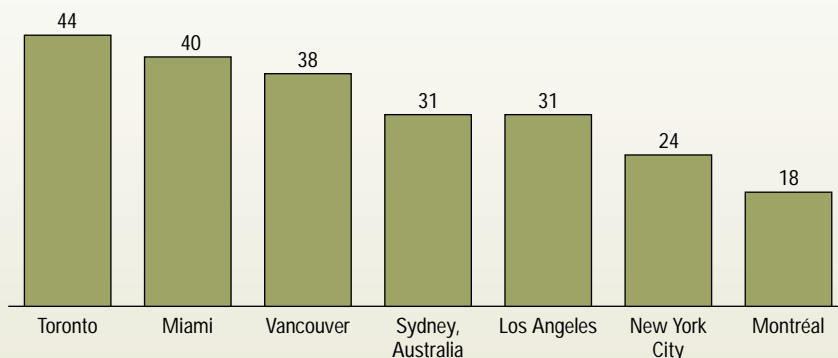
Immigrants come increasingly from Asia and the Middle East



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

Toronto has proportionally more foreign-born residents than other multicultural cities

% foreign-born



Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001, and U.S. Census Bureau, 2000.

and just 3% of individuals who came to Canada before 1961. Of the immigrants arriving in the 1990s, the People's Republic of China was the leading source country, followed by India, the Philippines and Hong Kong.

Immigrants attracted to Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver

Over the past 30 years, recent immigrants have been increasingly drawn to settle in Canada's three largest

urban areas. For example, according to the 2001 Census, about three in five immigrants (58%) who entered Canada in the 1970s settled in the census metropolitan areas (CMAs) of Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal. Among immigrants who arrived in the 1990s, however, nearly three-quarters (73%) lived in these three CMAs. In contrast to immigrants, just over one-third of Canada's total population lived in these urban centres

in 2001. Consequently, immigrants accounted for an increasingly larger proportion of the population in these areas. In 2001, more than 2 million people in the Toronto CMA were foreign-born, representing 44% of the total population of this area. This proportion surpassed those of cities around the world known for their cultural diversity such as New York, Miami, Sydney (Australia) and Los Angeles.

Toronto attracted the largest share of new immigrants who arrived in Canada during the 1990s (43%), followed by Vancouver (18%) and Montréal (12%). Only 6% of new immigrants settled in areas outside census metropolitan areas.

Most immigrants arriving in the 1990s were of working age. About 46% were 25 to 44 years old, while 17% were aged 45 to 64. About 310,000 of new immigrants (17%) were children between the ages of 5 and 16. In Toronto and Vancouver, nearly 1 in 5 (17%) school-age children had immigrated within the past 10 years, as did about 7% in Montréal. About half of school-age children in Toronto who arrived in the 1990s spoke a language other than English or French most often at home in 2001, compared with 61% in Vancouver and 43% in Montréal. This may place special demands on school systems in Canada's largest cities.

Allophone immigrants increasing

In the past 30 years there has been a dramatic change in the linguistic composition of immigrants entering Canada, a reflection of changing source countries. Increasing proportions of immigrants were allophones — individuals whose mother tongue is other than English or French. According to the 2001 Census, over three-quarters (79%) of immigrants who came in the 1990s were allophones, up from one-half (49%) of those who arrived in the 1970s. In Montréal, 74% of immigrants entering

in the 1990s were allophones; in Toronto the proportion was 79%, and in Vancouver, 88%.

At the same time, the proportion of immigrants arriving with an English mother tongue has decreased from 45% of individuals who arrived in the 1970s to 18% of those who came in the 1990s. The proportion arriving with French mother tongue has remained stable over the past 30 years at around 4% to 5%.

Many immigrants speak languages other than English or French at home

With a growing percentage of allophones entering the country, the proportion of immigrants who speak a language other than English or French at home is on the rise. In 2001, 61% of the immigrants who came in the 1990s used a non-official language at home, up from 1991, when 56% of those who arrived in the previous decade did so.

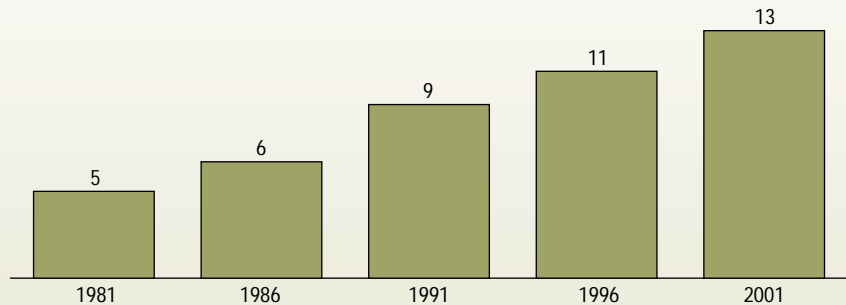
However, most newcomers reported being able to have a conversation in English and/or French. In 2001, three-quarters of immigrants who arrived in the past 10 years were able to speak English, 4% reported abilities in French, while 11% could carry on a conversation in both official languages. Only 1 in 10 of those who came in the 1990s had no knowledge of either official language.

Knowledge of one of the official languages is beneficial to immigrants in the labour market. Yet many allophone immigrants (about 24%) worked using a non-official language.¹ Since most allophone immigrants settle in Toronto, Vancouver or Montréal, a significant proportion of those who live there use their mother tongue at work. In Vancouver, 36% of

1. Used a non-official language at work most often or on a regular basis.

CST Visible minority populations have grown steadily over the past 20 years

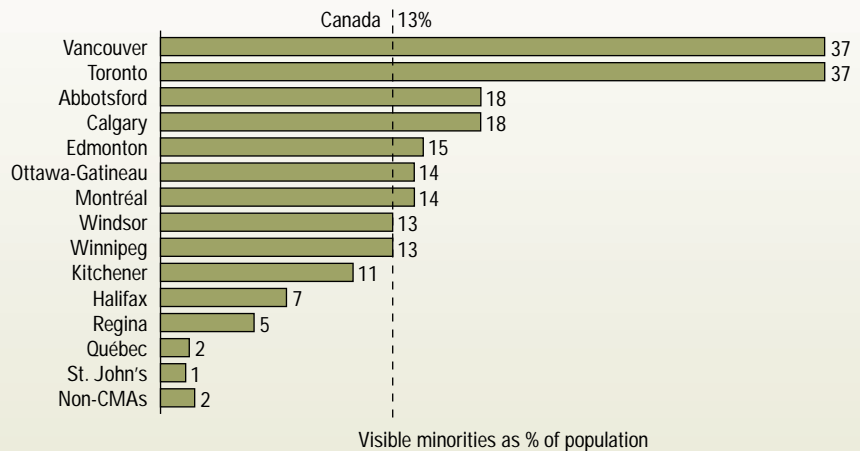
% visible minorities



Sources: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1981-2001.

CST Nearly 4 in 10 residents in Vancouver and Toronto belong to a visible minority group

Selected census metropolitan areas (CMAs)



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

allophone immigrants used a language other than English or French at work, compared with 25% in Toronto and 21% in Montréal.

Visible minority population grows

The growth in the foreign-born population and the shift from European to Asian immigrants have contributed to dramatic growth in the visible minority population over the last two decades. In 2001, 13% of Canada's population — 4.0 million people —

identified themselves as members of a visible minority group, up from 5% (1.1 million) in 1981. About 7 in 10 individuals who identified themselves as visible minorities were immigrants. However, some visible minority groups such as Japanese and Blacks have long histories in this country, and were more likely to be Canadian-born.

The visible minority population is growing nearly six times faster than the total population. Between 1991 and 2001, the total population of

Canada increased by 10% while the visible minority population grew by 58%.

Like the foreign-born population, Canada's visible minorities are clustered in the largest urban areas. About 37% of the population in Toronto and Vancouver and 14% in Montréal are visible minorities. In contrast, only 2% of the population outside Canada's CMAs belonged to a visible minority group.

Visible minorities made up even larger proportions of the population of some municipalities. They represented more than half the population of Richmond, British Columbia (59%) and Markham, Ontario (55%) and nearly half of the cities of Vancouver and Burnaby, British Columbia (49% each).

Chinese are the largest visible minority group

Chinese, South Asians and Blacks accounted for two-thirds of the visible minority population of Canada. Chinese was the largest group, surpassing one million in 2001 and representing 3.5% of the total population and 26% of the visible minority population. Between 1996 and 2001, the number of Chinese Canadians increased by 20%.

South Asians, the second largest visible minority group — numbering 917,000 in 2001 — grew by 37% between 1996 and 2001. This group accounted for 3.1% of the total and 23% of the visible minority population in 2001. That same year, the census enumerated 662,000 Blacks, the third largest visible minority group, up by 15% since 1996. They represented 2.2% of the total and 17% of the visible minority population.

Other visible minority groups in 2001 included Filipinos (8% of the visible minority population), Arabs and West Asians (8%), Latin Americans (5%), Southeast Asians (5%), Koreans (3%) and Japanese (2%). In total these groups numbered about 1.2 million, representing about one-third of all visible minorities in Canada.

More people report they are "Canadian"

More than 200 different ethnic origins were reported in the 2001 Census. Ethnic origin refers to the ethnic or cultural group to which an individual's ancestors belonged. The changing sources of immigrants to Canada and the increasing intermarriage among ethnic groups have resulted in a broader range of ethnic origins and a growing number of people reporting multiple ethnic ancestries.

In 2001, the most frequently reported ethnic origin was Canadian, either alone or in combination with other origins. It was reported by 11.7 million people, or 39% of the population.² English (6.0 million), French (4.7 million), Scottish (4.2 million), Irish (3.8 million), German (2.7 million), Italian (1.3 million), Chinese (1.1 million), Ukrainian (1.1 million) and North American Indian (1.0 million) rounded out the top 10 ethnic origins in Canada.

More people report multiple ethnic ancestries

A growing number of people report multiple ethnic ancestries, probably because of intermarriage. In 2001, 11.3 million or 38% of the population reported multiple ethnic origins, up from 10.2 million, or 36%, in 1996 and 7.0 million in 1986.

People with European background, whose ancestors have lived in Canada for several generations, were most likely to report multiple origins, especially Irish, Scottish, English, French and Scandinavian groups. Those with more recent histories in Canada, such as Polynesians, Indonesians and Paraguayans, also were more likely to report multiple origins because they originated from multicultural countries. In contrast, recent arrivals to Canada such as Koreans, Afghans and Eritreans tended to report single ethnic origins.

Summary

At the time of the 2001 census, immigrants represented the highest proportion of the population in 70 years and immigration accounted for more than two-thirds of the population growth in that year. The shifts in the countries of origin of recent immigrants have contributed to Canada's increasing cultural diversity. While immigrants entering Canada in the 1960s were predominantly European, today's immigrants are more likely to be Asian.

Today's immigrants are concentrated overwhelmingly in Canada's three largest urban areas: Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver. These centres, with their sizable populations of foreign-born individuals, have also seen large increases in their visible minority populations.

An important goal of Canada's immigration policy is to assist in the country's economic performance. Immigrants have contributed to Canada's population and labour force growth, diversified the ethnic and linguistic composition of the country and have contributed valuable human resources to the economy. With increasing economic globalization, Canada's growing cultural diversity may be to its advantage in the international marketplace.

2. Changes to the ethnic origin question in the 1996 and 2001 Censuses resulted in an increase in the number of people reporting "Canadian" as part of their ethnic heritage in both 1996 and 2001. "Canadian" was included as an example on the questionnaire in both censuses. In 2001, about 6.7 million people reported Canadian as their only ethnic origin. An additional 5 million reported Canadian along with other origins.

Earnings of immigrants in the 1990s

by Tina Chui and Danielle Zietsma

Immigrants have made notable contributions to Canada's population growth, diversity and economy, and now account for an increasing proportion of the country's population. But starting life over in a new country is not always easy. After entering Canada, immigrants go through a period of adjustment while they look for work, master a new language, and learn to deal with medical, educational or government services. With time their prospects of getting a job and earning a living improve. However, initial experiences are important and may influence immigrants' decisions with respect to settling permanently in a country. Newcomers who have difficulty finding work that matches their skills and education may return to their country of origin or seek residence elsewhere.

About 2.2 million immigrants came to Canada in the 1990s, accounting for over half the population growth during that period, and representing the largest number of entrants for any decade in the past century. Nearly half (46%) of those who arrived in the 1990s (1.0 million people) were aged 25 to 44, not surprising when considering that most people move from one country to another when they are young adults.¹ This group contributed much to the growth of Canada's labour force during the decade.

Using data from the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB), this article examines the early employment experiences of 25- to 44-year-old immigrants arriving in Canada in 1991 and 1996 and compares them to the 1981 cohort. More specifically, the integration of immigrants into the labour

market is studied through three separate but related measures. First, what level of earnings did immigrants have and what factors influenced earnings? Second, how soon after arrival did immigrants enter the labour market and first report earnings? And third, how many years of earnings did immigrants have during their first five years in Canada?

1990s immigrants earn less than their 1980s counterparts

The 1990s saw a shift in job creation from full-time paid jobs to self-employment, a process that was accompanied by falling labour force participation rates, especially for the young. The growth in income (measured by gross domestic product per capita) slowed and median family earnings showed no improvement.² Immigrants arriving during this period encountered difficulty in the labour market, as did other new workers. This was particularly true for those lacking local connections and experience.^{3,4} Immigrants who came during the second half of the 1990s, a period characterized by economic recovery, fared better, but still did not reach the earnings levels of the 1981 cohort.⁵

Immigrant men who arrived in 1991 earned substantially less in their second year in Canada (\$18,800) than did the 1981 cohort (\$32,600).⁶ Although the earnings of the 1991 group grew more quickly, after five years in Canada they still lagged behind those of their 1981 counterparts.

Those arriving in 1996, however, fared somewhat better. Their second-year earnings (\$20,900) were still lower than the earnings of the 1981 entrants,

but were slightly above those of the 1991 group. In addition, earnings in the second half of the 1990s improved more quickly than in the first half. By their fifth year in Canada, the average earnings of men who arrived in 1996 had increased to \$33,100, up 58% from the second year. This compares with a 34% rise between the second and fifth years for the 1991 cohort.

A different story emerged for immigrant women. On average, second-year earnings differed less between the

1. In 1996, 32% of the Canadian-born population were aged 25 to 44. About 39% of immigrants who arrived during the 1980s were this age.
2. Picot, G. and A. Heisz. 2000. "The performance of the 1990s Canadian labour market." *Canadian Public Policy* XXVI, Supplement 1: S21-S22.
3. Reitz, J.G. 2002. "Immigration and Canadian nation-building in the transition to a knowledge economy." In *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, 2nd edition. Edited by W.A. Cornelius, P.L. Martin and J.F. Hollifield. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. p. 18-19. www.utoronto.ca/ethnicstudies/Reitz_June2002.pdf (accessed March 11, 2003).
4. Badets, J. and L. Howatson-Leo. Spring 1999. "Recent immigrants in the workforce." *Canadian Social Trends*: 16-22.
5. Other researchers have found that immigrants start at an earnings disadvantage relative to the Canadian-born population, but the gap narrows over time. See Green, D.A. and C. Worswick. 2002. "Earnings of immigrant men in Canada: The roles of labour market entry effects and returns to foreign experience." Prepared for Citizenship and Immigration Canada. www.cic.gc.ca
6. Earnings are shown in 2000 constant dollars.

This study uses data from the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB). The IMDB is an administrative database containing information on income tax and landing characteristics of immigrants who entered Canada between 1980 and 2000, and who filed at least one income tax return during this period.

Employment earnings

Earnings are the portion of income derived exclusively from employment activities for the given tax year, including earned wages and salaries and other employment income reported on the T1 tax form.¹ Self-employed earnings are not included in this definition. In their fifth year in Canada, 11% of the 1981 cohort had self-employed earnings, as did 12% of the 1991 and 14% of the 1996 cohort. Throughout this article, “earnings” is used to refer to “wages and salaries plus other employment income.” Extreme values of earnings were excluded from the analysis.

Educational level at landing

Educational attainment of immigrants upon entry to Canada is divided into four levels of education: less than 10 years of schooling; 10 to 12 years of schooling; trade, community college or university certificate or diploma (including some postsecondary education); or a university degree.

Admission category

Immigrants are admitted to Canada under one of the following admission categories: skilled worker, business, other economic, family, refugee and other class.

Skilled workers are people whose education and work experience is expected to help them find work and become permanent residents in Canada.

Business immigrants are people who can invest in, or start, businesses in Canada and are expected to support the development of a strong and prosperous Canadian economy. Because this category includes entrepreneurs, investors and self-employed persons, people in this group are more likely to have self-employment earnings than other classes of immigrants. In their fifth year, 44% of 1981 business class immigrants had self-employment earnings, compared with 25% and 26% of the 1991 and 1996 cohorts, respectively. However, even more business class immigrants reported employment earnings: 56% of the 1981, 52% of the 1991 and 43% of the 1996 cohorts.

Family class immigrants are sponsored by close relatives or family members in Canada who have promised to support them for a period while they settle in the country.

Other class immigrants are admitted into the country under the administrative review program and backlog clearance program designed to clear a large number of refugee claims.

1. “Other employment income” includes employment income not reported on T4 slips such as tips, occasional earnings (e.g. babysitting, delivering newspapers or flyers), net research grants, foreign-employment income, income-maintenance insurance plan benefits, certain GST/HST and Quebec sales tax rebates for employment expenses, some royalties and employee profit-sharing plans.

cohorts than they did for men. Women who arrived in 1981 earned the most, followed closely by the 1991 and 1996 groups. After five years in Canada, the 1996 cohort showed the largest increase in earnings; they earned \$20,500 on average, slightly higher than 1981 (\$18,500) and 1991 (\$18,000) immigrant groups. While the early 1990s recession undoubtedly affected earnings, in the case of immigrant women some other factor may have been at work to offset these effects.

Good times, bad times: the effect of economic conditions

All new entrants to the labour market — whether they are immigrants or youth just out of school — take time to

become fully integrated into the workforce. For immigrants, full integration may involve gaining Canadian work experience, establishing work relationships and, at times, obtaining further training. Due to economic restructuring and a prolonged recession, 1991 immigrants experienced more difficulty securing jobs than did either the 1981 or the 1996 cohorts. Although the economy in the early 1980s had also gone through a slow-down, its impact on the labour market was not as far-reaching as that experienced in the 1990s.⁷

Do landing characteristics make a difference?

In addition to economic conditions, educational levels, official language

skills, admission category and region of last permanent residence, other characteristics may also influence the initial labour market experiences of immigrants, including their earnings. Landing characteristics were different for each group of immigrants. For example, while the majority of 1981 entrants were European or North American, most of those arriving in 1996 were Asian. As well, 1996 immigrants had higher levels of education and were more likely to speak an official language than either of the two earlier cohorts. Finally, 1991 immigrants were more

7. Picot and Heisz. 2000. p. S7-S25.

	1981	1991	1996
	% of 25- to 44-year-old immigrants		
Landing characteristics			
Education level			
Less than 10 years of schooling	16	16	9
10 to 12 years of schooling	23	26	22
Some postsecondary, trade certificate, community college or university diploma	37	36	30
University degree	23	23	39
Self-assessed knowledge of official languages			
No knowledge of English or French	29	31	23
Knowledge of at least one official language	71	69	77
Last permanent residence (region)			
North America	9	3	2
Europe	43	22	21
Asia	26	43	53
Middle East	3	7	7
Africa	5	9	8
Caribbean and Guyana	8	7	5
Central and South America	3	9	2
Australia and Oceania	2	1	1
Admission category			
Family	24	28	22
Economic			
Skilled worker	31	15	25
Business	3	2	3
Other economic	29	16	29
Refugee	13	19	15
Other	0	20	6

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database.

likely to be refugees or part of the “other” category of immigrants, which included the backlog clearance program for refugee claimants.

After accounting for differences in landing characteristics,⁸ the second-year earnings of 1991 immigrants were still 32% less than the corresponding earnings of the 1981 group; the gap decreased to 20% in the fifth year. In contrast, the 1996 cohort earned 39% less than their 1981 counterparts in their second year, but the gap dwindled to about 9% by their fifth year in Canada. The fact that earnings differences between these groups of entrants

persisted even after holding landing characteristics constant confirms that other factors — most likely economic conditions — must also be at work.⁹

Education and earnings go hand in hand

Although Canada attempts to attract and integrate skilled professionals and trades persons into the labour market, foreign-trained immigrants may experience barriers in having their skills and credentials fully recognized. In some cases, employers have difficulty assessing credentials, especially from countries where the education system

differs substantially from Canada’s. In others, skills may be perceived as lower quality or not relevant to Canadian conditions.¹⁰ As well, immigrants entering for humanitarian or family reunification reasons may be less experienced in the labour market than those assessed on the basis of skills and occupational demand.¹¹

Despite these barriers, a model using multivariate analysis¹² of each immigrant group shows that higher earnings go hand in hand with high levels of education. Regardless of when they arrived, immigrants with a university degree earned more than did those with less education. What’s more, the effect of education on earnings was stronger after five years. For example, during their second year in Canada, 1996 immigrants with 10 to 12 years of schooling earned 10% less than those with a university degree. By the fifth year the difference had increased to 33%. A similar pattern was observed for 1991 immigrants: those with 10 to 12 years of schooling earned 11% less in their second year in Canada and 28% less in their fifth year than did immigrants with a university degree.

8. Landing characteristics of immigrants included: age, sex, education level and self-assessed knowledge of official languages, region of last permanent residence and admission category.
9. For further information on the impact of economic conditions, see Green and Worswick. 2002.
10. Reitz. 2002. p. 20.
11. Prefontaine, J.P. and A. Benson. 1999. *Barriers to Canadian Immigrants’ Economic Integration: Government Response to Market Failure*. Presentation given January 1999 in Vancouver, British Columbia at Third National Metropolis Conference. p. 2. www.rim.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/1998/NC/Benson.pdf (accessed February 25, 2003).
12. A technique that considers multiple factors simultaneously to investigate how earnings change after the effects of differences in landing characteristics have been removed.

	Year of entry to Canada		
	1981	1991	1996
	Average employment earnings ('000s of constant 2000 dollars)		
Men			
2 nd year	32.6	18.8	20.9
3 rd year	33.6	21.0	26.1
4 th year	35.8	25.2	29.8
5 th year	37.5	25.1	33.1
Women			
2 nd year	15.5	14.2	13.3
3 rd year	16.7	15.7	16.4
4 th year	17.8	18.3	18.5
5 th year	18.5	18.0	20.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database.

	Both sexes		Men		Women	
	1991	1996	1991	1996	1991	1996
	% gap in earnings with 1981 cohort					
2 nd year	-32	-39	-44	-46	-13	-27
3 rd year	-27	-21	-36	-26	-12	-13
4 th year	-22	-15	-31	-20	-9	-7
5 th year	-20	-9	-30	-16	-6	1*

* No statistically significant difference from 1981.

Note: The model accounts for age, sex, education level and knowledge of official language at landing, region of last permanent residence and admission class. The earnings gaps in the table reflect differences in economic conditions experienced by immigrants and differences in the characteristics of immigrants not accounted for in the model.

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database.

Knowledge of English or French associated with higher earnings

Immigrants of the 1990s who were able to speak either English or French upon arrival had a head start over those who could not converse in either language. However, the effect of initial language skills decreased over time, as individuals who did not know an official language learned one in the following years. After accounting for all other factors, knowledge of English or French raised

earnings in the first year by 30% among 1991 immigrants and by 28% among the 1996 group over those who spoke neither. By the fifth year, the language advantage for the two cohorts dipped to 22% and 21%, respectively.

The recession of the early 1990s hit immigrants from some regions harder than others. While holding all other factors constant, the fifth-year earnings of 1991 immigrants were lowest for those from the Middle East (55% lower

than North American immigrants),¹³ Africa, Central and South America (about 42% lower) and, to a certain extent, Asia (29% lower). Among 1996 immigrants, earnings for individuals from all these regions were about 30% below North American immigrants' earnings.

Immigrants who landed as skilled workers generally earned more than those in other admission categories because they were admitted as workers who on the basis of their skills were in strong demand. However, skilled workers from the 1991 cohort enjoyed a smaller earnings advantage than their 1981 and 1996 counterparts. For example, in their fifth year, 1991 skilled immigrant workers earned 26% more than family class immigrants. In comparison, the 1981 skilled group earned 38% more and the 1996 group, 28% more than their family class counterparts.

1991 immigrants report earnings later

Comparing employment earnings over the first five years in Canada is one way to measure the integration of immigrants into the labour market. Another is to look at how long it took them to find paid work. This can be measured by the average number of years it took to first report earnings during their first five years. Finally, the average number of years of earnings during the first five years is another indicator of the labour market integration of immigrants.¹⁴

13. North American immigrants were primarily from the United States.

14. The introduction of the Federal Sales Tax Credit in 1986 and the Goods and Sales Tax Credit in 1989 and child tax credits and benefits in 1978 and 1993 provided more incentive for low-income earners to file a tax return. These changes in tax credits resulted in more people filing tax returns after the tax reforms to receive the tax credits. This affects the comparability of the measures shown in the analysis.

	Years having earnings	Number of years to first earnings
Landing cohort (compared to 1981 cohort)		
1991	-0.23	0.06
1996	-0.36	0.36
Additional year of age at landing	0.00	0.01
Men (compared to women)	0.28	-0.26
Educational level at landing (compared to university degree)		
Less than 10 years of schooling	0.06	-0.08
10 to 12 years of schooling	-0.02	-0.02
Some postsecondary, trade, community college or university certificate or diploma	0.01*	-0.06
Knowledge of at least one official language (compared to no knowledge of an official language)	0.16	-0.12
Region of last permanent residence (compared to North America)		
Europe	0.24	0.07
Asia	0.27	0.10
Middle East	-0.11	0.28
Africa	0.03*	0.19
Caribbean and Guyana	0.40	-0.01*
Central and South America	0.01*	0.25
Australia and Oceania	0.21	0.00*
Admission category (Reference group: Skilled worker)		
Family	-0.06	0.12
Business principal applicant	-0.83	0.67
Other economic	-0.16	0.26
Refugee	-0.33	0.29
Other	0.12	-0.18

* No statistically significant difference from the comparison group.

Note: The introduction of sales taxes credits and the child tax benefit during the 1980s and 1990s provided more incentive for low-income earners to file a tax return. This affects the comparability of the results before and after these tax reforms. The results in this table should be interpreted with caution.

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database.

Most 25- to 44-year-old immigrants did find employment during their first five years in Canada, and many reported earnings for all five years. But their success in finding a job varied with their year of entry. By the fifth year, 20% of men who landed in 1991 had yet to report earnings, compared with 7% of men arriving in 1981 and 13% in 1996. Similarly, 30% of 1991 immigrant women had yet to report employment earnings after five years, compared with 22% of 1981 and 24% of 1996 female entrants.

After controlling for landing characteristics, knowledge of at least one official language helped immigrants to integrate into the Canadian labour market. For all three groups, those who knew at least one official language reported earnings sooner after landing and had more years of earnings during the first five years. However, educational level had a small or non-existent effect on how long it took to first report earnings and on the number of years of earnings during the first five years in the country.

Immigrants from the Middle East, Central and South America and Africa took longer to first report employment earnings than North American immigrants. But while North American immigrants reported earnings sooner, they had fewer years of earnings during their first five years than other immigrants except for those from the Middle East, Central and South America and Africa.

In general, immigrants admitted under the skilled worker category entered the labour market faster and had more years of earnings than those in other admission classes.

Summary

Both economic conditions and immigrants' characteristics at the time of landing influenced their integration into the labour market and their earnings patterns. Immigrants who entered Canada in 1996 had more education and were more likely to have official language skills than those who arrived earlier. The 1991 cohort, who arrived during a period of economic recession and who were more likely to be refugees than the other cohorts, had lower earnings and took longer to report having them than the 1981 group. Even after accounting for differences in landing characteristics, 1991 entrants had lower earnings than the 1981 cohort, but the gap narrowed with time. Those who arrived in 1996 fared somewhat better than their 1991 counterparts, but earnings for men were still lower than those of their 1981 counterparts.



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May–December: Canadians in age-discrepant relationships

by **Monica Boyd and Anne Li**

North Americans often assume that most married or common-law partners are close in age to each other and this, in fact, tends to be the case most of the time. There are, however, exceptions, couples with substantial age gaps between them. Although the typical pattern for age-discrepant marriages is the so-called “May–December” relationship, in which the woman is much younger than the man, the reverse also may hold.

Until recently, much of the attention given to age-discrepant unions was negative. Textbooks of the 1960s and 1970s interpreted couples with large age differences as having father–daughter or mother–son emotional needs. Research portrayed these unions as fraught with problems and pointed to issues of power imbalances and clashing values as a result of being born and raised in different times. Age-discrepant couples were also viewed as having higher levels of marital dissatisfaction and being more prone to marital dissolution.¹

CST What you should know about this study

This article uses data from the 2001 Census of Population.

Census family: Refers to a married couple (with or without children of either or both spouses), a couple living common-law (with or without children of either or both partners) or a lone parent of any marital status, with at least one child living in the same dwelling.

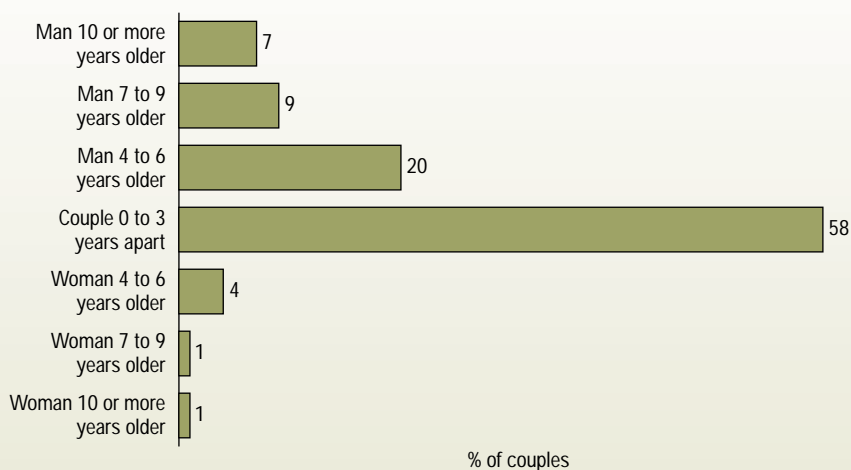
Economic family: Refers to a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption.

The relatively small number of same-sex unions reported on the Census does not allow a detailed analysis of the characteristics of these couples in age-discrepant unions. Therefore, this article can only describe the characteristics of those in male-female relationships. However, male same-sex couples are the most likely to be in age-discrepant unions. Compared to 42% of male-female couples and 59% of female same-sex couples, 64% of men who reported being in same-sex relationships are in unions where the age gap is 4 or more years. One-quarter (26%) of men in male same-sex couples are in relationships where the age gap between partners is 10 or more years, compared with 18% of women in female same-sex unions and 8% of women and men in male-female unions.

Today, many of these views are discarded, debated or reversed. It is recognized that instead of reflecting the influence of age discrepancy, some issues are associated with other characteristics such as poverty or ethnic differences between partners.

1. Berardo, F.M., J. Appel and D. Berardo. 1993. “Age dissimilar marriages: Review and assessment.” *Journal of Aging Studies* 7, 1: 93-106; Vera, H., D. Berardo and F.M. Berardo. 1985. “Age heterogamy in marriage.” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 47, 3: 553-566.

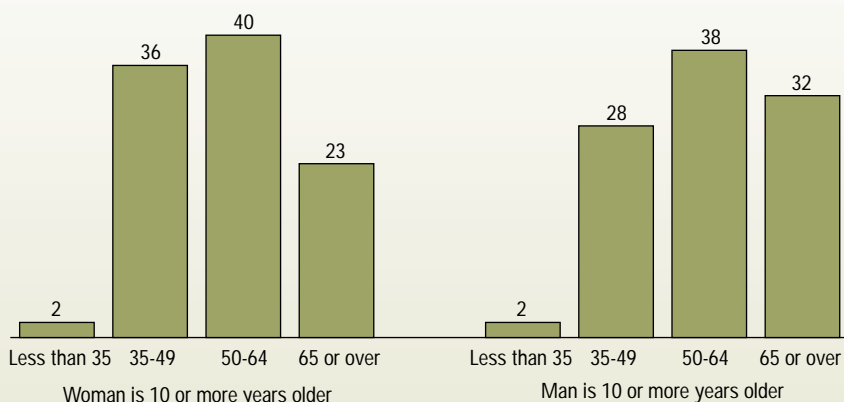
CST Over 40% of couples are 4 or more years apart in age



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

CST Among older partners, men are more likely than women to be 65 years or over

% of older partner in age category



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

Studies that take these characteristics into account find that age differences have no impact on levels of marital dissatisfaction.² And while some studies do find that marriages between partners who are substantially different in age are more prone to divorce, others do not support this conclusion.³ Recent research has focused on messages such as “older wives, better lives” and “younger wives, longer lives.” The first claims that older

women with younger men tend to live in more balanced and equal relationships, and the second that older men with younger women live longer than expected.⁴

To what extent are couples in Canada involved in age-discrepant relationships? What are the characteristics of these men and women, and do they differ from couples who are close in age to each other? Using data from the 2001 Census, this article

addresses these questions by examining the demographic, social and economic differences that exist between couples who are far apart and those who are close together in age.

Departing from the usual

Of the 3.5 million couples living in a census family in 2001, most consist of partners quite close in age to each other. Nearly 6 out of 10 couples (58%) are no more than 3 years older or younger than each other, reflecting societal beliefs and expectations about appropriate age gaps.

Although those who are close in age are the majority, about 2.9 million couples, or approximately 5.8 million individuals, have partners who are 4 or more years younger or older than themselves. According to the 2001 Census, men were 4 to 6 years older than women in 20% of unions, 7 to 9 years older in 9%, and 10 or more years older in 7%. It is this pattern of “older man–younger woman” that dominates among couples with large age gaps. Although relationships do, of course, exist where women are older than men, their numbers are substantially lower. For example, the percentage of couples where women were at least 10 years older than their partners was 1% in 2001.

The higher proportions of older man–younger woman unions reflect the notion that if one of the partners is older, it should be the man. This expectation is a legacy of an earlier time, when marriage occurred only

2. Vera, Berardo and Berardo. 1985.
 3. Berardo, Appel and Berardo. 1993; Gentleman, J.F. and E. Park. 1994. “Age differences of married and divorcing couples.” *Health Reports* (Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003-XPB) 6, 2: 225-240.
 4. Fischman, J. September 1984. “The sexes: Crosstalk.” *Psychology Today*: 12-13; Gentleman and Park. 1994.

after a man had economically established himself enough to support a family. In such circumstances, it would not be unusual for men to be older than their partners and gradually the older man-younger woman pattern came to be viewed as the acceptable "norm." Researchers also suggest that the expectation of men being older than their partners is part of a double standard where the value and acceptability of aging men is higher than that of aging women.⁵

Among couples with substantial age differences, men have an older age profile than women. For example, about 32% of men who are at least 10 years older than their partners are aged 65 or over. In comparison, 23% of women 10 or more years ahead of their spouses in age are 65 years or over. Conversely, a larger proportion of women are in younger age groups; 36% of women in these relationships are between the ages of 35 and 49 compared with 28% of men.

Although the age profiles of male and female spouses who are at least 10 or more years older are different, the age gap between partners is quite similar: 14 years on average regardless of whether the man or the woman is older. Couples with very large age differences are rare. Among those with at least a 10-year gap, and where the man is 65 years or older, only 1% include a female partner who is 35 years or younger; where the man is 50 to 64 years old, 7% include a woman aged 35 or younger.⁶

Age gaps and other differences

Researchers suggest that individuals who depart from the expected age profile of couples are likely to diverge from other societal norms as well, whether it be the legal nature of the union⁷ or the racial or birthplace backgrounds of the partners.

For example, people in age-discrepant unions are far more likely to be in common-law relationships



Relationships in which men are at least 7 years older than their spouse are most likely to include partners who are both foreign-born

	Man is older than woman by			Age gap is	Woman is older than man by		
	10 or more years	7 to 9 years	4 to 6 years		0 to 3 years	4 to 9 years	7 to 9 years
	'000						
Number of couples	506	617	1,396	4,076	263	97	71
	%						
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Both partners foreign-born	27	27	22	17	16	14	15
Man foreign-born, woman not	9	7	6	5	6	7	7
Woman foreign-born, man not	6	5	4	5	8	9	9
Neither foreign-born	58	61	67	73	70	71	68

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

than those who are close together in age. In fact, as the age gap between partners grows, so does the likelihood of living common-law. And age-discrepant couples where women are older are much more likely to live in common-law unions than where men are older. For example, common-law relationships characterize nearly 4 out of 10 (39%) couples where women are at least 10 years older than their partners compared with just less than one-quarter (24%) of those where men are 10 or more years older.

Compared to age-homogenous unions, age-discrepant couples are also more likely to include one partner who is a member of a visible minority group and one who is not. Although percentages are not large, this situation tends to occur most frequently in relationships where men and women are at least 10 years older than their spouse. A similar pattern exists for unions that include one foreign-born and one Canadian-born partner. As the age gap increases, the percentage of couples with one

Canadian-born and one foreign-born member increases, and peaks when one partner is 10 or more years older than the other. Researchers observe that the absence of potential partners within a particular age range can cause people to enlarge the pool of potential partners with respect to age, race and other characteristics.⁸

Unions in which men are substantially older than their partners

5. Cowan, G. 1984. "The double standard in age-discrepant relationships." *Sex Roles* 11, 1-2: 17-23; Vera, Berardo and Berardo. 1985.

6. The number of relationships where women aged 50 and over have spouses who are 35 years or younger is too small to provide reliable estimates.

7. Wu, Z., K.H. Burch, R. Hart and J.E. Veivers. 2000. "Age-heterogamy and Canadian unions." *Social Biology* 47, 3-4: 277-293.

8. Shehan, C.L., F.M. Berardo, H. Vera and S.M. Carley. 1991. "Women in age-discrepant marriages." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 53, 4: 928-940.

	Man is older than woman by			Age gap is	Woman is older than man by		
	10 or more years	7 to 9 years	4 to 6 years		0 to 3 years	4 to 9 years	7 to 9 years
Common-law couples	'000						
Total number	123	110	200	562	69	33	28
Current legal marital status	%						
Men	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Never-married	34	53	67	69	68	68	74
Married, legally separated	12	8	6	6	6	6	5
Divorced	48	36	25	24	25	24	20
Widowed	6	3	2	2	2	2	1
Women	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Never married	64	68	73	39	46	35	25
Married, legally separated	6	5	4	9	8	10	12
Divorced	27	24	20	44	40	48	52
Widowed	4	4	3	8	6	7	11

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

contain the highest proportion of individuals who are both members of visible minority groups (this is less likely to be the case when women are substantially older than their partners). Both partners were members of visible minority groups in 16% of unions where the man was older by 10 or more years compared with 9% of relationships where partners were the same age or where women were at least 10 years older. Relationships in which men are substantially older are also more likely than other unions to include partners who are both foreign-born. Likewise, the home use of languages other than English or French also increases with the age gap for couples where men are older. Marriages where men are much older may in these cases reflect the norms and practices found in these individuals' countries of origin.

Older partners have often been married before

Couples who are far apart in age were born in different time periods and had experienced life course events earlier (or later) than their partner.⁹ Age-discrepant unions that are reconstituted from previous marriages will experience this time warp with respect to events such as dates of marriage and births of children.

According to the General Social Survey, age-discrepant unions often include at least one partner who was previously married to someone else. The census does not ask legally married couples about earlier marriages, but available information about the marital status of persons in common-law unions suggests that many older partners had indeed been previously married. Among men in common-law unions, nearly 7 in 10 (66%) of those

who are at least 10 years older than their partners are divorced, widowed or currently married but separated, compared with 2 in 10 of those who are within 3 years of the age of their partners. The comparable statistics for women who are at least 10 years older than their partners are nearly 8 in 10 (75%) versus 1 in 4 for those who are close in age. Partly because they are younger, many of the partners for these older men and women have not yet been legally married.

Because, in many cases, family building would have occurred earlier, age-discrepant couples are less likely to have children in the home than those within 3 years of each other. In some cases, younger women married to older men still may be in the family building stages, but not all such unions will have children present,¹¹ particularly if children from an earlier partner are not living with the couple. In unions where women are at least 10 years older, the co-residence of children is low: just slightly more than one-third (34%) of these couples reported at least one child present. In addition to children opting out of a blended family arrangement,¹² the lower percentage could also reflect the fact that many of these women are nearing the end of, or in some cases are beyond, their reproductive period.

For richer or for poorer?

Tabloids and newspaper stories on Hollywood couples help create the image that many age-discrepant couples are financially well-off. There also is a belief that age-discrepant unions

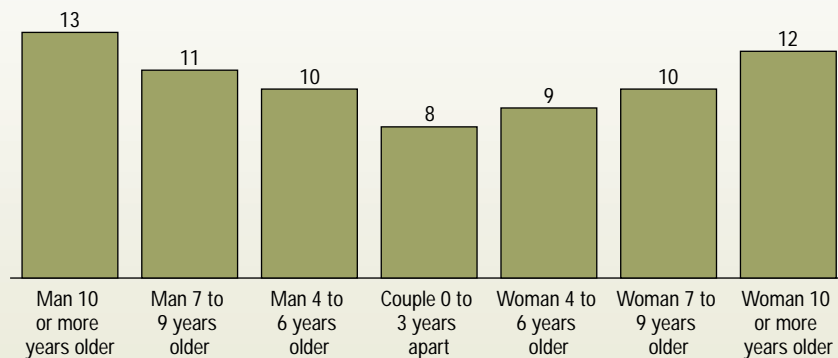
9. Vera, Berardo and Berardo. 1985.

10. Wu, Burch, Hart and Veevers. 2000.

11. Discussions of children at home refer to children who have never been married.

12. Boyd, M. and D. Norris. Autumn 1995. "Leaving the nest: The impact of family structure." *Canadian Social Trends* p. 14-17.

% of couples in families below low income cut-offs



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

are more likely to occur among better educated partners or between those who are in the upper middle classes. This view rests on two additional beliefs: first, that persons who obtain high levels of education delay marriage and then may have difficulty finding partners close in age; and second, that the upper-middle classes are more willing to engage in less conventional behaviours.¹³

In fact, for the most part, such images and beliefs are unfounded. Media stars and public persons are few in number and do not have the same experiences as most people. According to the 2001 Census, age-discrepant couples are more likely than others to have at least one partner with less than grade 11 education. Where men are 10 or more years older than women, nearly 3 out of 10 (27%) have less than grade 11 education, as do 1 in 5 of the women in these unions. In couples where women are at least 10 years older than their partners, one-quarter (25%) of women and 1 in 5 (21%) men have less than grade 11 education.

Similarly, according to Census data, rather than being wealthy, most couples in age-discrepant relationships have lower combined incomes than do couples who are similar in age. The

average combined incomes of couples within 3 years of each other are about 5% higher than the average for all unions. Couples where men are at least 10 years older have combined incomes that are about 91% of the overall average for all couples. Unions in which women are substantially older than their partners fare the least well, with average combined incomes at 83% of the overall average.

Age-discrepant couples are also more likely than others to be below the low income cut-offs. The proportion of couples (in economic families) below the low income cut-offs is highest for those with an age gap of at least 10 years, particularly if there is at least one child present in the union. In these relationships, about 1 in 7 of both men-older and women-older couples are in families below the low income cut-offs compared with approximately 1 in 12 of couples within three years of age to each other who have at least one child.

Summary

Although most married spouses and common-law partners in Canada are close in age to each other, some are substantially younger or older than their mates. Among couples with large

age gaps, men are much more likely than women to be the older partner, a situation that reflects society's expectations of appropriate age differences. People in age-discrepant unions are more likely to live common-law, particularly when the woman is substantially older. Unions in which men are at least 10 years older than their partners contain the highest proportion of individuals who both belong to visible minority groups.

The phenomenon of age-discrepant couples has existed throughout the world for centuries. However, in recent years, this phenomenon has attracted renewed attention, despite only small growth in the share of these relationships since the 1980s. Current focus is part of the larger interest in changing and evolving family forms. Today, Canadian families differ in size and composition. First marriages are occurring later in life, remarriages are not unusual, and many unions are common-law. Age difference between couples is yet one more indicator of the complexity and diversity of family life.

13. Shehan, Berardo, Vera and Carley. 1991; Vera, Berardo and Berardo. 1985; Wu, Burch, Hart and Veevers. 2000.

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Canadians better educated than ever

According to the 2001 Census, 28% of all individuals aged 25 to 34 had university qualifications that year and 21% held a college diploma. Another 12% had trade credentials. In all, 61% of people in this age group had some type of education beyond high school. In comparison, at the time of the 1991 Census, 49% of those aged 25 to 34 had postsecondary credentials.

Education levels rose for both men and women. In 2001, 21% of men aged 25 and over were university graduates, up from 17% in 1991. The proportion of male college graduates increased from 10% to 13% over the decade. The growth among women was even greater. The proportion of university graduates among adult women jumped from 14% in 1991 to 20% in 2001; about 18% had college credentials in 2001, up from 14% in 1991.

**Education in Canada:
Raising the Standard**
Catalogue no.
96F0030XIE2001012



The retirement wave

Managers and professionals, particularly those in education and health care, will lead the coming retirement wave. However, while the crest of the baby boom will pass the typical retirement age in 20 years, some industries and occupations will be hit much sooner.

Education will likely be one of the first industries to feel the retirement crunch. The average age of the education workforce is high at 44 years; it is particularly high for managers, at 48. At 56 years, education also has a low median retirement age. Accordingly, about half the education workforce is likely to retire within 12 years and half its managers within 9 years. In 1999, the retirement rate in education was already more than double the economy-wide average.

The health care industry also has an older workforce, with an average age of 42 years in 1999, but its median retirement age of 62 is about 5 years later than the retirement age in the education sector. Thus, in health care, 20 years separates the median age of employees from the median retirement age. Education and health care are particularly vulnerable because these sectors also have a higher proportion of managers and professionals.

**Perspectives on Labour
and Income**
vol. 4, no. 2
Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE



New maternity and parental benefits

The average number of parents who received maternity benefits had increased substantially between 2000 and 2002. For example, the average number of women receiving maternity benefits rose by 8.5% during this period. A drop in the number of hours (from 700 in 2000 to 600 in 2002) required to qualify for insurable employment was responsible for the increase.

Women in the labour market work fewer hours on average than men. However, once women reach the threshold of 600 insurable hours, they are entitled to the full maternity and parental benefits of 50 weeks.

Adoptive parents are not eligible for maternity benefits, but they qualify for 35 weeks of adoption benefits. As with parental benefits, these weeks can be shared between the mother and the father. The average number of adoptive parents receiving benefits each month nearly quadrupled between 2000 and 2002, rising from 400 to 1400 per month.

**Perspectives on Labour
and Income**
vol. 4, no. 3
Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE



Life after welfare

Many Canadians left the welfare rolls during the 1990s as economic conditions improved and welfare reform was introduced. For example, from 1994 to 1997, the proportion of the population collecting social assistance dropped from 11% to 9%. The declines were highest in Alberta and, to a much lesser extent, Ontario.

Family incomes rose for the majority of people who stopped receiving welfare benefits during the 1990s. About 6 in 10 people saw their after-tax family income improve substantially from the level of income they received when they were on welfare. Such gains are to be expected, as they are often the reason for leaving welfare.

People who married or formed a common-law relationship were two to three times more likely to leave welfare than others. This was primarily the result of employment earnings brought to the family through the marriage. However, marriage had a much stronger impact for single women on welfare. Single women on welfare were about three times more likely to leave welfare if they married than if they did not.

**Life after Welfare:
The Economic Well-being
of Welfare Leavers
in Canada during the 1990s**
Catalogue no.
11F0019MIE2003192

S O C I A L I N D I C A T O R S

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
ECONOMY								
<i>Annual % change</i>								
Real gross domestic product ¹	2.8	1.6	4.2	4.1	5.4	4.5	1.5	3.4
Wages, salaries and SLI	3.4	2.4	5.7	4.9	5.8	8.4	4.4	4.6
Personal expenditures on goods and services ¹	2.1	2.6	4.6	2.8	3.9	3.7	2.6	2.9
Consumer Price Index	2.2	1.6	1.6	0.9	1.7	2.7	2.6	2.2
Savings rate (%)	9.2	7.0	4.9	4.8	4.1	4.8	4.6	4.4
Prime lending rate	8.65	6.06	4.96	6.6	6.44	7.27	5.81	4.21
5-year mortgage rate	9.16	7.93	7.07	6.93	7.56	8.35	7.40	7.02
Exchange rate (with U.S. dollar)	1.372	1.364	1.385	1.484	1.486	1.485	1.549	1.570
ENVIRONMENT								
Consolidated ² government expenditures on the environment ³ (\$ millions)	8,398	8,666	8,381	8,703	8,566	8,690	9,064	9,223
Consolidated ² government expenditures ⁴ (\$ millions)	373,760	381,158	371,693	372,695	387,438	400,069	423,730	430,313
Consolidated ² government expenditures on the environment ^{3,4} (% of total expenditures)	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1
Greenhouse gas emissions (kilotonnes of carbon dioxide equivalents)	658,000	672,000	682,000	689,000	699,000	703,060	726,000	..
Billions of public transit passengers	1.37	1.35	1.38	1.41	1.43	1.49	..	..
Total consumption of refined petroleum products ⁵ used for transportation (thousand m ³)	49,596	51,062	52,574	54,182	55,711	55,894	55,344	..
JUSTICE								
<i>Rate per 100,000 population⁶</i>								
Total <i>Criminal Code</i> offences	8,993	8,914	8,453	8,137	7,728	7,646	7,747	..
Property offences	5,283	5,264	4,867	4,556	4,263	4,070	4,047	..
Violent offences	1,007	1,000	990	979	955	982	994	..
Other <i>Criminal Code</i> offences	2,702	2,650	2,596	2,602	2,510	2,603	2,706	..
<i>Average days to process Criminal Code case through courts</i>								
Adults ⁷	144	151	159	152	153	158	..	..
Youths ⁸	119	118	108	108	115	110	..	..
<i>Average length of sentence per Criminal Code case</i>								
Adults (days in prison)	128	133	137	131	126	122	..	..
Youths (days of open and secure custody)	87	85	81	81	79	77	..	..
CIVIC SOCIETY								
Government expenditures on culture ⁹ (\$ millions)	5,438	5,253	5,105	5,187	5,266	..	..	..
Households reporting expenditure on newspapers (%)	..	71.0	71.0	69.0	66.9	65.0	..	..
Households reporting expenditure on live performing arts ¹⁰ (%)	..	36.0	38.0	37.0	35.0	35.9	..	..
Households reporting expenditure on admission to museums and other heritage activities ¹⁰ (%)	..	26.0	36.0	35.0	34.8	33.9	..	..

.. Data not available.

1. Data in chained (1997) dollars.

2. Does not include CPP and QPP.

3. Includes expenditures on water purification and supply.

4. Expenditures for fiscal year ending March 31.

5. Refers to diesel oils, light heating oils, residual fuel oils, aviation gasoline, fuel for gas turbines and motor fuel.

6. Revised rates based on updated population estimates.

7. Excludes New Brunswick, Manitoba, British Columbia, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut.

8. Alberta is excluded.

9. Excludes intergovernmental transfers. Data in 1991 dollars. Municipal spending is on a calendar year basis.

10. A definitional change occurred in the categories of Live Staged Performances and Admissions to museums, zoos, historic sites, etc. in 1996, reducing the size of these two categories.

Sources: Statistics Canada, National Income and Expenditure Accounts, CANSIM II Tables: 385-0001, 380-0002, 380-0001, 380-0004, 380-0024, 326-0002, 176-0043 and 176-0049, *Canadian Crime Statistics, 2001*, Catalogue no. 85-205, *Government Expenditure on Culture*, Catalogue no. 87F0001XPE, and Environment Canada, *Canada's Greenhouse Gas Inventory, 1990-2000*, Catalogue no. EN 49-5-5/5-2000E.

LESSON PLAN

Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom

Lesson plan for “Would you live common-law?”

Objectives

- To understand that individuals have different views about common-law unions.
- To examine why living common-law has increased over time, and if there are any possible consequences for the future of the family.

Classroom instructions

1. Have your students discuss why some people choose marriage and others common-law unions. How does social acceptance of common-law unions today compare to 30 years ago? What are the ways in which social disapproval might be expressed?
2. Have your students examine how a common-law relationship might differ from marriage. Consider such activities as leisure, labour force participation, the division of household labour, attendance at religious services, presence of children, and attitudes of family and community.
3. Literature suggests that individuals who live common-law before marriage have higher divorce rates than couples who do not live common-law. Discuss reasons for this pattern.
4. Throughout the article, men are more willing to live common-law than women. Have your students explore reasons why this might be the case.
5. Engage the class in a discussion of what an increase in common-law living means for Canadian society.

Using other resources

Profile of Canadian families and households: Diversification continues

(www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/fam/contents.cfm)

Changing conjugal life in Canada

(www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-576-XIE/free.htm)

Le Bourdais, Céline, Ghyslaine Neil, and Pierre Turcotte. Spring 2000. “The changing face of conjugal relationships.” *Canadian Social Trends*. p. 14-17.

- To find other lessons for home economics and family studies, check out our Statistics Canada Web site at www.statcan.ca/english/kits/teach.htm. There are more than 30 lesson plans for secondary home economics and family studies.
- See the Family studies kit at www.statcan.ca/english/kits/Family/intro.htm for detailed graphs that you can use to make overheads for your class.

Educators

You may photocopy “Lesson plan” or any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.

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