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One hundred years of labour force

by Susan Crompton and Michael Vickers



Canada entered the 20th century on the crest of an economic boom and has left on a similar note. As the country enters the new century, the economy is undergoing a profound transition, just as it did at the turn of the previous century. By the early 1900s, Canadian settlers

had created an agricultural and resource-based economy; in the 1920s, workers began to shift to a manufacturing economy. By the mid-1950s, they had embarked on developing a service economy. At the outset of the 21st century, Canadians face the transition to a global information economy.

The workforce that has powered the Canadian economy through this century of change has itself undergone many transformations — from heavy reliance on European and British immigrant labourers in the early 1900s to one of heavy reliance on service sector workers, women and the well-educated in the 1990s. This article provides a brief overview of the major developments in the evolution of the labour force over the last century.

Early 1900s: The Wheat Boom

In the late 1890s and early 1900s, Canada entered a lengthy period of economic growth known as the Wheat Boom. A variety of factors contributed to the surge in activity — the completion of the transcontinental railway, the foreign demand for Canadian wheat, new metal and mineral exploration. Yet the boom was founded on the federal government's labour policy. Faced with untold potential riches in its western territories, but lacking the human capital to exploit it, the government of the day actively recruited immigrants to develop the west.

The policy was hugely successful. Between 1896 and 1913, 2.9 million immigrants arrived, dramatically increasing the total Canadian population to about 7.2 million.¹ As intended, the majority of immigrants settled in the provinces of western Canada. Between 1901 and 1911, the populations of Saskatchewan and

Alberta increased by over 400%, British Columbia by 120% and Manitoba by 80%.

The influx of immigrants had the desired effect: between 1901 and 1911, the labour force grew by 48%, or almost 1 million, rising to over 2.8 million workers. Immigrants made up nearly two-thirds of the new entrants to the labour force. The country would not experience such a phenomenon again until the 1950s.

As the new immigrants settled down to farm, wheat production soared, and rail traffic and shipping activity increased as wheat was moved to port for transport abroad. The growth of agricultural production also created new demand for machinery from factories in central Canada. Immigrants who settled in Ontario and Western cities like Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary and Vancouver became a key source of labour for the emerging industrial economy.

At about the same time that the agricultural potential of the Prairies was being realized, gold was discovered in the Yukon. Although the Klondike Goldrush of 1896 was short-lived, it spurred interest in metal and mineral exploration in British Columbia and northern Ontario. Seemingly inexhaustible metal and mineral resources, vast forests able to feed the demand for lumber and pulp and paper, and rivers to generate hydro-electricity to power new industries helped to build a modern resource-based economy in the early decades of the 20th century.

1. Newcomers came primarily from Britain and the United States, but about half a million people also came from countries in central Europe. However, the campaign attracted almost no immigrants from France. This triggered great uneasiness in Quebec, whose share of the national population was declining. McNaught, Kenneth. 1988. *The Penguin History of Canada*. 191-193.

This article draws on numerous data sources. Statistics Canada sources include the 1961 Census Monograph Series, the Labour Force Survey, the Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series, and unpublished data. Other sources include texts by historians and other academics. A full bibliography is available on the *Canadian Social Trends* website at <http://www.statcan.ca/english/ads/11-008-XIE/index.htm>

Data limitations

Current Canadian labour market concepts were introduced in 1946, when the Labour Force Survey (LFS) was first conducted. Labour force data prior to that year did not use concepts that were necessarily consistent with those of the LFS. Using data from the Census and other sources, researchers trying to “bridge the gap” between the pre-war and post-war periods have produced estimates that are broadly comparable; however, caution should be used in making comparisons between the time periods. For example, the peak Depression-era unemployment rates may represent an undercount caused by declines in union membership during those years. There also is no concept equivalent to the workforce before 1946.

Labour force: people who are employed and those who are unemployed but looking for work.

Workforce: people who are employed.

Employment rate: the percentage of people in a specified population group who are employed; for example, the number of working women aged 25 and over as a proportion of all adult women.

Unemployment rate: the percentage of people in the labour force who are without work but are looking for work and are available to work.

Earnings: income from wages and salaries from paid employment or self-employment.

Real earnings: earnings after the effects of inflation have been accounted for. In this article, real earnings are expressed in 1997 dollars.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP): the total dollar value of goods and services produced by the market economy. This measure does not include the value of unpaid work, such as volunteer work, childcare, eldercare, and so on.

Goods-producing industries: includes the following major industry groups: agriculture; forestry; fishing and trapping; mining, quarrying and oil extraction; manufacturing; and construction.

Services-producing industries: includes the following major industry groups: transportation and communication; public utilities; retail and wholesale trade; finance, insurance and real estate; community services (includes health and social services, and education), business and personal services; and public administration.

Organized labour in Canada

In the early 1900s, organized labour in Canada was still in its infancy, partly because large-scale immigration flooded the labour market with workers willing to accept low wages. Although early unions were able to exercise collective strength through strikes, they had little legal standing and were sometimes dealt with violently by employers and governments alike.

Union membership increased during the First World War, while workers' real wages were eaten away by inflation. Rising anger culminated in the 1919 Winnipeg general strike, during which 35,000 workers belonging to 50 unions paralyzed the city for six weeks. The strike ended only after a bloody clash between police and strikers that left two marchers dead and more than 30 injured.

In the 1920s, mass-production industries such as appliance manufacturing and automobile assembly grew rapidly, but workers in these industries remained difficult to organize. Union membership dropped from 16% of the non-agricultural workforce in 1920 to 14% in 1930. The Depression further weakened unions, but by the late 1930s militant new unions were having some success. They organized workers in the new mass-production industries using tactics such as sit-down strikes and factory occupations. Union membership increased considerably during the Second World War, rising to include 24% of the workforce by 1945, as unions won major concessions from labour-strapped employers.

With these underpinnings, Canadian unions were able to take advantage of the post-war economic boom. Membership nearly quadrupled between 1940 and 1956.¹ Much of the dramatic growth during this period resulted from legislation that recognized unions and enforced collective bargaining agreements. Also, the "Rand formula" provided financial security to unions by requiring that all workers in a unionized bargaining unit pay dues, whether or not they are union members.

As industrial workers came to account for a smaller share of the overall workforce (the overall unionization rate fell from 34% in 1955 to 30% in 1965), unions found new members among white-collar workers, particularly those in the public sector.

In 1999, the national unionization rate was 33%, representing 3.9 million Canadian workers. The rate for men had declined to 34%, from a peak of 41% in 1967; but for women, the rate had risen steadily from 16% in 1966 to 32%. Unionized employees earned more per hour than non-union workers did.² Unionization is highest in the public sector: three-quarters of public sector employees are unionized, versus one-fifth of employees in the private sector. Quebec and Newfoundland have the highest unionization rates (40% of the labour force is covered by a collective agreement), while Alberta has the lowest (26%).

• For more information, see C. W. Riddell, *Unionization in Canada and the United States: A tale of two countries*; I. Abella, *The Canadian labour movement, 1902-1960*; D. Galarneau, "Unionized workers," *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 75-001-XPE, Spring 1996.

1. Abella, Irving. 1975. *The Canadian labour movement, 1902-1960*.

2. Almost \$3.50 more for full-time workers (\$19.06 versus \$15.57) and almost \$7 more for part-time workers (\$16.80 versus \$9.81) in 1999. Factors in addition to unionization, such as occupation and seniority, can also influence wage rates.

The foundation of resource exploitation, however, foreshadowed a consistent theme in Canadian economic development. While the Wheat Boom brought prosperity to western and central Canada, it left the Maritime provinces almost untouched. Although fish stocks were rich, farmland was marginal and there was little other industry except forestry in New Brunswick and steel and coal mining in Nova Scotia. The tidal wave of immigration that flooded the rest of the country — providing a highly-motivated, readily available source of labour — went almost unnoticed during this period in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.²

The Great War of 1914-1918: Boom and bust

The Wheat Boom shuddered to an end in 1913 when wheat prices fell in international markets. But the looming clouds of recession were dispersed by the First World War as European demand for Canadian products soared. The value of grain and flour exports doubled, while exports of wood products (including pulp and paper), meat, livestock, and metals all reached record highs.

The Great War was followed by a period of substantial labour unrest and general popular discontent, however. Inflation had eaten away the incomes of many — prices rose about 47% between 1914 and 1918 — and unions (whose membership had doubled) took advantage of their greater numbers to issue more urgent demands for collective bargaining, better hours and improved pay. In 1919, the hours of work lost to strikes set a record unrivalled for almost 30 years.³

2. McNaught. 198-199.

3. McNaught. 224-225.

The Roaring Twenties

World War One helped to transform Canada from an agricultural to an industrial economy. Factories built to manufacture ships, guns and ammunition were now well-placed to meet the demand for consumer products. The 1920s ushered in the large-scale development of consumer markets for a wide variety of products and services from cars to holiday resorts and entertainment.

It was also during the 1920s that Canada became an urban nation. The percentage of the population living in urban areas had risen from about 35% in 1901 to 47% in 1921; by 1931, 53% of Canadians lived in cities. Rapid urban growth was enabled partly by the public financing of many elements necessary to an urban infrastructure, such as electricity supply and telephone service; governments (mainly provincial) stepped in when it became clear that the private sector alone could not build quickly enough to meet demand.⁴

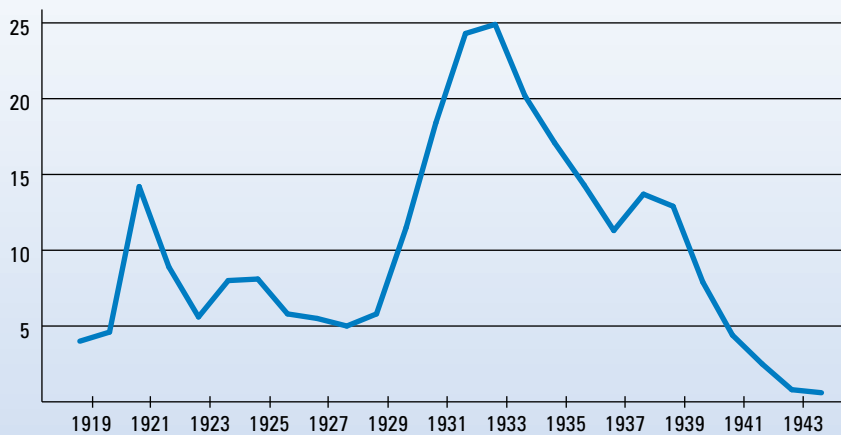
Despite its cheerful depiction in popular culture as the Roaring 20s, not everyone reaped the benefits of the economic expansion. A short-lived recession in 1921-22, during which period the commercial banks put tough restrictions on credit, saw the unemployment rate jump from about 4% in 1919 to over 14% in 1921. Although the rate dropped quickly in the recovery, it did not return to the 1919 level until 1941, two years into the Second World War.

Nor did the different regions reap equal benefits from the new

CST

Unemployment rates peaked in 1933, with over half a million unemployed

Unemployment rate (%)



Note: Equivalent to the non-agricultural labour force excluding the self-employed. Excludes Newfoundland.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71F0030XIE (forthcoming).

manufacturing and natural resource industries. On the Pacific coast, British Columbia's economy continued to grow, thanks partly to the 1914 opening of the Panama Canal; but on the Atlantic coast, mining and manufacturing were struggling.⁵

The Great Depression and the Dirty Thirties

Much of the 1920s boom was a house of cards. In the world recession that followed the stock market crash of 1929, Canada was hit harder than most countries. As a trading nation heavily dependent on exports of raw materials and imports of many finished products, it was vulnerable in a time when other countries effectively closed their borders to trade. Between 1929 and 1933, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) fell by 42%.

A 50% increase in tariffs and government support of the dollar protected some manufacturing-related jobs but worsened conditions for export industries.⁶ The Prairie region was shattered by falling demand for wheat and by drought and plagues of grasshoppers. In the Maritimes, the

fishing, coal and steel industries were violently rocked by shrinking international markets.

By 1932-33, it is estimated that the unemployment rate was about 24%. The number of people without jobs who were looking for work — over half a million — was almost four times higher than in 1929. Although deprivation was widespread following the Crash of 1929, not all Canadians suffered in equal measure. In a terrible paradox, prices for goods and services fell so low that, for those people who were employed, their purchasing power actually increased. In 1930, the value of average annual earnings in real terms was 12% higher than in 1920.

In 1934, the economic situation slowly began to improve, and by 1937, unemployment had fallen to 11%. Then jobless rates began rising again, and the recovery did not take firm hold until the early years of the Second World War.

World War II: The war builds a strong manufacturing economy

Canada declared war on Germany on September 10, 1939, seven days after

4. McNaught. 197-198.

5. For example, in 1922, the wages of the 12,000 Nova Scotia workers in the coal and steel industries were cut by one-third. Militia units broke up the resulting strike and the strike leaders were charged with sedition. McNaught. 232.

6. McNaught. 248.

Women's workforce participation during World War Two

At the outset of World War Two, as men left their jobs to enlist, the supply of workers declined and demand for labour was soon rapidly resulting in labour shortages. Once the surplus of men unemployed during the Depression was absorbed into the workforce, women were identified as the next source of labour to fill the shortfall.

Single women were already participating in the labour force to a considerable degree, so the government specifically targeted married women to fill jobs in vital war industries that had been left vacant by departing servicemen. Indeed, a report from the Dominion Statistician concluded that "the largest source of future labour supply is among married women," stating that, although approximately 2.3 million women were listed as home-makers in the National Registration of 1940, by July 1941, less than 3% of these women had joined the ranks of the industrial workforce.¹ To encourage the recruitment of married women, in 1942 the federal and several provincial governments entered into a publicly-funded daycare scheme and urged private employers to provide workplace daycare centres.

Before the war, women tended to be restricted to lower-wage occupations such as personal service, clerical work and non-durable goods manufacturing, such as textiles. Between 1941 and 1943, women's overall workforce participation increased substantially in several non-traditional industries, including manufacturing (from 19% in 1941 to 28% in 1943) and trade and finance (from 30% to 50%).

As women entered more highly-skilled and better-paid manufacturing industries such as aircraft or shipbuilding and electronics, the nature of their work changed significantly. However, the recruitment of women into the labour force was always presented as temporary — women were working because it was their patriotic duty. As soon as "Johnny came marching home," men resumed their places in the workforce. By October 1945, as industries throttled back from their wartime production levels, nearly 14% fewer women were employed than in the previous year, versus only a 5% drop for men.

The long-term impact of women's employment during the war is uncertain. Some analysts argue there was little apparent effect as unmarried women returned to low-wage industries they had previously worked in, and married women were pushed out of the paid workforce altogether. Others believe that women's wartime work experiences promoted their independence and heightened their expectations for their daughters to pursue higher education and to have careers.² However, no one disputes that women's wartime service demonstrated the implications of a large-scale influx of women into the labour force. Working women in 1940 experienced many of the same problems — poor childcare, competing demands of work and family, unequal pay and the discriminatory attitudes in the workplace — as women entering the workforce in later decades.

• For more information, see S. B. Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War and Social Change*; B. Light and R. R. Pearson, *No Easy Road: Women in Canada 1920s to 1960s*.

1. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. 1942. *Reserve of labour among Canadian women*.

2. Gluck, Sherna Berger. 1987. *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War and Social Change*.

Britain and France. And for almost two years, until the US entered the war in December 1941, Canada was

Britain's principal supplier of war materiel (France had fallen in June 1940). Over the course of the war,

Canadian factories produced motor vehicles, ships, aircraft, guns, ammunition and food.

The first year of the war reduced unemployment, although employment growth was slow. Then in late 1940, jobs began to be created at a substantial pace. Employment was about 2.5 million in 1941 and over 3.0 million in 1944, more than a 50% increase over 1939. Unemployment was virtually non-existent as the final year of the war approached: less than 1% in 1944, and fewer than 18,000 people who wanted work were jobless. Inflation was kept under control by mopping up excess cash with war bonds and similar financial measures. The plan was mainly successful: prices rose 18% from 1939 to 1945 compared with 47% during the First World War.

The long-term impact of Canada's war role was substantial. The trade disruptions caused by the war had forced Canada to manufacture many goods that it had previously imported, such as diesel engines and electronic equipment, and introduced many new synthetic materials, including plastic and other petrochemical products. Canada entered the postwar years recognized as the fourth largest industrial and trading power among the developed nations.

The postwar boom

After the war, Canada braced for an economic slump like that which had followed the First World War, but it never materialized. The expansion of consumer demand, which had been dammed up during the war to prevent inflation, allowed for a fairly smooth transition from a war to a peace economy.

The country experienced a decade of rapidly rising prosperity from 1946 to 1957, fuelled partly by a huge construction boom driven by a rapidly growing population's needs — homes,⁷ schools, hospitals and factories

to meet the mushrooming demand for consumer goods, subway systems and multilane highways to get workers to work. Domestic and new foreign capital opened up natural resources such as iron, uranium, oil and natural gas. Hydroelectric power projects and more transportation infrastructure were developed, the most famous of which was the joint Canada-U.S. St. Lawrence Seaway shipping and hydroelectric project. Rebuilding a war-ravaged Europe also helped to stimulate rapid expansion of exports thanks to European demand for Canadian manufactured and agricultural goods.

Once again, immigrants played a crucial role in meeting the surging demand for workers. From 1951 to 1961, a net total of 1.1 million immigrants entered Canada. Their arrival was largely responsible for the 1950s expansion of the labour force. Unlike the first wave of immigrants in the early 1900s, the new immigrants were much more likely to be professionals or skilled workers.

The educational profile of the new immigrants was part of the government's policy to develop the well-educated, highly skilled workforce necessary to an industrial economy. In 1951, over half (52%) of the Canadian working-age population had less than a Grade 9 education; by the end of the 1960s, over one-quarter had more than a high school completion. In the same period, the percentage of the working-age population with a university degree more than doubled from 2% to 5%. This proportion would double again between 1971 and 1991, to 11%.

Some regions of the country did not experience unqualified benefits from the boom. In western Canada, for instance, the new farm machinery increased productivity while shutting down the need for labour. In the Maritimes, there was little new growth; in fact, the St. Lawrence Seaway diverted traffic from the Atlantic ports of Halifax and Saint John to Montréal and the Great Lakes ports.⁸

Nevertheless, the post-war boom was so powerful that Canadian average annual earnings made their biggest gains of the year (in real terms) during the 1950s. From 1950

to 1960, average earnings grew almost 43% (from \$12,950 to \$18,500). The gain was larger for men (up 44%, to over \$21,250) but also substantial for women (up 36%, to more than \$11,500). Reasons for such high real wage growth include the very low level of inflation in the 1950s and the large-scale movement of men out of the agricultural sector and other primary sector jobs into professional/technical and higher-paying jobs in urban centres.

The economic boom stalled in the late 1950s. Canada's unemployment rate rose from 3.4% in 1956 to 7.1%

7. One-third of Canadians were homeowners in 1948; by 1961, two-thirds owned their homes. Douglas, Ann. 1997. *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Canadian History*.

8. McNaught. 293.

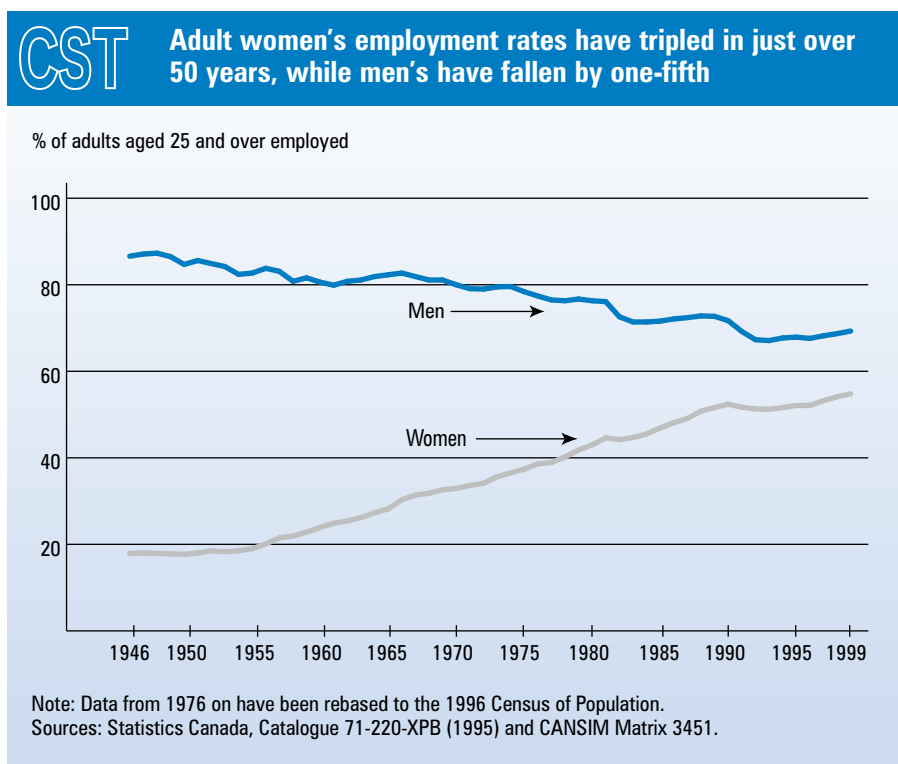
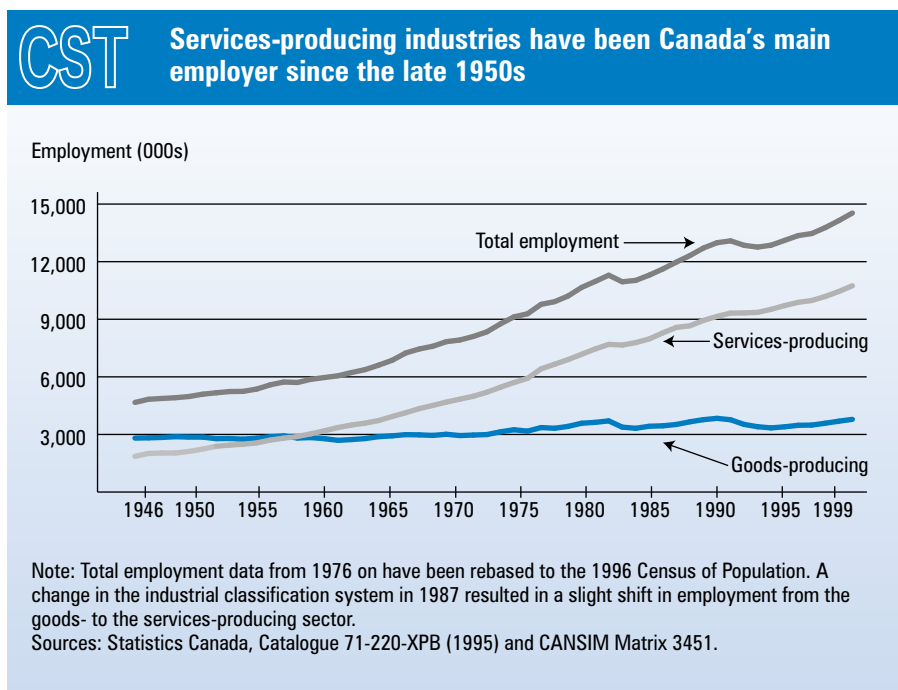
in 1961; nevertheless, almost half a million more people were working in 1961 than in 1956, reflecting the underlying power of the economy. Rising unemployment rates largely mirrored the rapid growth of the labour force.

Indicative of this power are the substantial wage gains that continued to be recorded in the 1960s. Annual average earnings were \$24,500 in 1970, up 37% from 1960. This increase was due partly to the accelerating shift away from employment in agriculture and other primary industries into the manufacturing and services sectors. It was also due in part to the rapidly improving educational levels of the workforce and to significant gains in productivity.

The modern workforce starts to emerge

One of the most notable trends in the labour force in the 1950s was the shift in employment from the goods-producing to the services-producing sector. From 1946 to 1960, employment in all industries rose 28% but employment in service-producing industries grew an astonishing 72%, to account for almost 3.2 million workers or over 53% of the workforce.⁹

It was also during the 1950s that another profound change became unmistakable: the large-scale entry of married women into the paid workforce. Working women were not a new phenomenon. In 1901, about 16% of women aged 14 and over were in the labour force; in subsequent decades, the percentage climbed steadily. The greatest relative increase, however, was among married women and the growth continued steadily throughout the latter half of the century. Fewer than 4% of married women were in the labour force in 1941; by 1951, the proportion was over 11%, and by 1961, it had doubled to 22%. By 1980, half of married women were participants in the labour force, and the proportion continued to



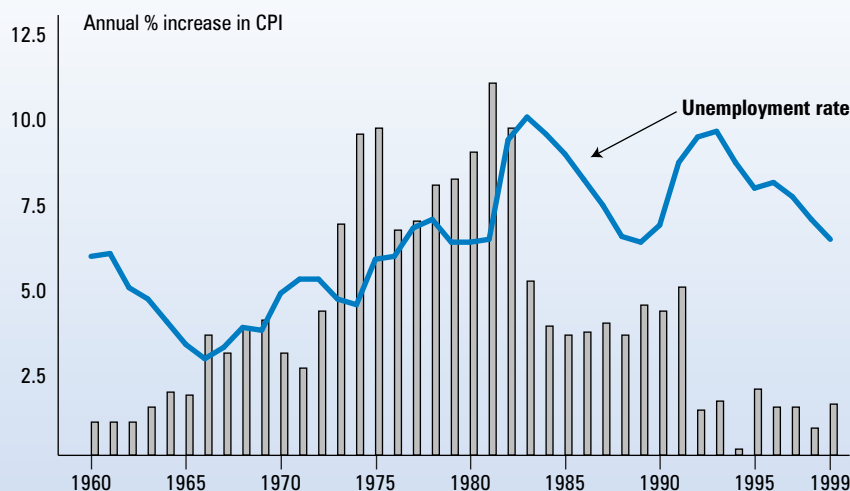
grow modestly to over 60% in the next two decades.

The 1970s: The oil crisis and stagflation

The economy began to weaken in the late 1960s. It was still creating jobs, but the pace was not fast enough to

provide employment for all the baby boomers leaving Canada's high schools, colleges and universities. As a

9. 1958 was the year in which the service sector became the main employer in the economy, accounting for 51% of total employment.



Note: Unemployment data from 1976 on have been rebased to the 1996 Census of Population.
Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-220-XPB (1995) and CANSIM Matrices 9957 and 3451.

result, unemployment rates began to rise, reaching 6.2% in 1971 and 1972. Then in 1973, the “oil shock” hit.

The oil crisis of 1973-75 was caused by a fourfold increase in the price of oil, precipitated by OPEC’s embargo on oil exports. The crisis introduced a period of simultaneous high unemployment and high inflation that came to be known as “stagflation,” a hitherto unknown situation that perplexed economists and policy-makers. From 1974 until the end of the decade, unemployment rates ranged from 5.3% to a high of 8.4%. Although employment levels continued to climb, the number of unemployed Canadians increased over twice as fast, reaching 870,000 in 1979. At the same time, the cost of living more than doubled — \$1 worth of goods and services in 1970 cost \$2.17 by 1980. In real terms, average annual earnings grew less than 9% over the decade, to \$22,800, even though the

face value of workers’ paycheques rose 135%.

Contributing to the labour market’s difficulties in adjusting to such unfamiliar conditions were the newly emerging industrial economies in Asia. They presented a serious competitive threat to manufacturers in central Canada, but new markets to resource industries in the Western provinces. Meanwhile, conditions continued to deteriorate in the Atlantic provinces. Much of the work on which Maritimers had depended in the past was seasonal — farming, fishing, forestry — and many workers moved from one industry to another as the year progressed, putting together a sequence of seasonal jobs so they could remain employed throughout the year. As the industries supporting this cycle fell on hard times, year-round employment became difficult to sustain and pockets of chronic unemployment deepened in eastern Canada.

In the 1970s, Unemployment Insurance (UI) became a mainstay for many seasonal workers in the Maritimes and Quebec. Unemployment

Insurance had been introduced in Canada in 1940 to provide financial assistance to people who were unemployed. Amendments in the 1950s expanded the system considerably, but in 1971 it underwent a major restructuring. Under the new Act, UI was to provide “adequate” income support for workers whose earnings were temporarily interrupted. This entailed substantial liberalization of the system; for example, coverage became nearly universal, eligibility requirements were made easier, and special benefits such as maternity and sickness leave were provided. In some pockets of chronic hardship in eastern Canada, whole communities relied on UI to tide them over from one season of fishing or logging to another.¹⁰

The 1981-1982 recession

By the late 1970s, the federal government had decided that stagflation could not continue. In recent years, Canada had endured several years of high inflation (increases of more than 7% a year since 1973) combined with high unemployment rates (at least 7% since 1975). Given this context of continued inflation, interest rates were increased sharply. From 11.25% in July 1979, the bank rate was pushed to 14.0% by October 1979, reaching a peak of 21.03% in August 1981. Mortgage rates and consumer loan rates followed suit: in late summer 1981, Canadians were renewing their mortgages at almost 22%, and being asked to pay about 23% for consumer loans.

Economists generally agree that the recession that followed was the most severe to date since the Depression. GDP growth dropped in the third quarter of 1981 and was stalled throughout 1982. From 1981 to 1982, employment fell by 363,000, to just over 11.0 million. But with GDP growth resuming in 1983, by 1984 the labour market was showing signs of recovery.¹¹ Jobs lost in the previous

10. McNaught. 330.

11. Labour markets tend to lag up to one year behind the business cycle as measured by GDP.

two years were regained and then employment growth accelerated, to reach almost 13.2 million jobs by 1990, a 16% increase in overall employment since the beginning of the recovery.

Job growth in 1980s mostly in services

Employment was gained in some industries but not in others. Job creation in the 1980s occurred almost exclusively in the services-producing sector, where overall employment rose by almost 24% and was strongest in the community, business and personal services industries (up 33% or 1.1 million jobs).

Manufacturing industries endured significant turbulence in the 1980s as the sector tried to weather not only a severe downturn in the business cycle, but also a substantial restructuring. The effect of restructuring can be seen in the rate of job turnover as jobs shifted from declining plants and industries to those that were growing. Job turnover rates in manufacturing were definitely higher than they had been in the 1970s, and the evidence clearly suggests that restructuring was more important than the business cycle, generating both job gains and job losses in manufacturing.¹²

Inflation persisted throughout the 1980s, although the rate of increase slowed. The Consumer Price Index (CPI) rose 38% between 1980 and 1984, but by a more moderate 19% over the next five years. Nevertheless, during the 1980s, men's average earnings fell \$400 (to \$33,450 in 1989), but women's rose by almost \$2,300 (to \$19,760). This was due partly to

12. Baldwin, John. 1995. *Restructuring in the Canadian manufacturing sector from 1970 to 1990: Industry and regional dimensions of job turnover*. Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper No. 78. Statistics Canada Catalogue 11F0019MIE95078.

Employment Insurance in the 1990s

Since 1990, the federal government has introduced a number of significant changes to Canada's Unemployment Insurance plan. The system was renamed the Employment Insurance (EI) program, and it became self-financing as employers and employees took on the cost. New regulations designed to "tighten up" the system were made. Most significantly, the entrance requirement was raised, the benefit rate was reduced and workers who quit without just cause were completely disqualified.

There has been a steady fall in EI use throughout the 1990s. A 1998 survey of EI benefits coverage found that just under half (47% or 602,000) of unemployed Canadians were not eligible for EI. Those who had not worked in the last 12 months (47% of the total) or who had never worked (20%) accounted for most of the ineligible unemployed. About 12% had quit their previous job, 12% had been self-employed or worked in a job without coverage, and 10% had quit to continue their education.

Given these reasons, it is no surprise that 68% of youths aged 15 to 24 were ineligible for EI — about two-thirds of them had never worked or had quit their last job. Just under half (47%) of unemployed adult women were ineligible, mainly because they were new or returning entrants to the job market. In contrast, only one-third (34%) of adult men were not eligible for EI, principally because they had not worked for more than a year since their last job and had exhausted their benefits.

Whether lack of EI benefits leads to hardship is an important question. Over half (53%) of the ineligible unemployed were living with their parents or had a working spouse. Almost one-quarter (23%) were receiving social assistance, and over one-tenth (12%) were living on savings and investment or had help from friends and relatives. Those unable to rely on parents or a partner were finding it especially difficult to make ends meet: just under half reported that their income met only some of their household's regular living expenses.

- For more information, see *Employment Insurance in Canada: Recent trends and policy changes*, Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper No. 125, September 1998, Statistics Canada Catalogue 11F0019MIE98125; *Report on the Main Results of the Employment Insurance Coverage Survey, 1998*, Statistics Canada Product 73F0008XPE, July 1999.

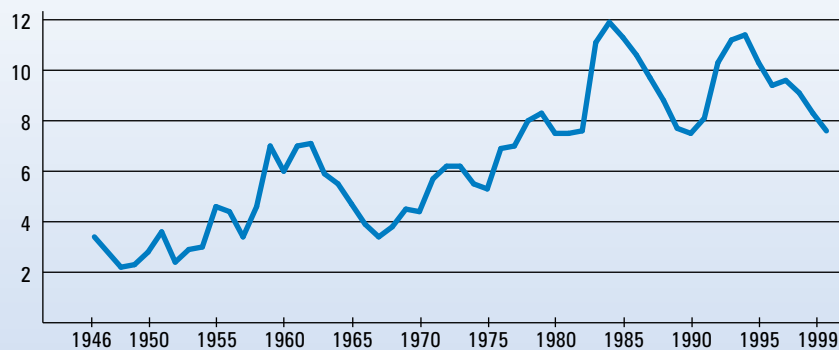
women's better levels of education, their shift to more full-time employment and their entry into better-paying occupations. But it also marked the beginning of a story that continued into the 1990s — the stagnation of men's labour force position.

The falling rate of male labour force participation has been apparent since the 1920s and 1930s, but it began to accelerate in the mid-1960s. Employment rates for adult men aged 25 and over fell below 85% in 1950, below 80% in 1971 and below 70% in 1991. In the 1970s and 1980s, the decline was probably partly due to older workers retiring early and tak-

ing advantage of special provisions available in public and private pension plans.

However, as the trend continued into the mid-1990s, concerns grew that older men were not leaving the workforce voluntarily. There is some evidence that this is true. Men aged 55 to 64 were at greater risk of permanent layoff than younger men, a likelihood that had been rising since the 1980s; they were also twice as likely to remain unemployed for more than a year after losing their job. Older men with lower education and those in regions of high unemployment (for example, Quebec and the

Unemployment rate (%)



Note: Data from 1976 on have been rebased to the 1996 Census of Population.
 Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-220-XPB (1995) and CANSIM Matrix 3451.

Atlantic Provinces) were especially vulnerable. By the 1990s, though, these job losses were concentrated in only a few major industry groups, most notably public administration.

A related trend that became noticeable in the 1980s was the worsening labour market position of workers under age 35. Since the late 1970s, the real earnings of young workers, as well as their relative earnings compared to older workers, have been falling in Canada and other industrialized nations. Young men have borne the brunt of this trend, although young women have also experienced relative declines in earnings.

The slow recovery from the 1990-1992 recession

The recovery of the 1980s was so long and sustained that some overconfident commentators began to wonder if the world was witnessing the death of the business cycle. They needn't have worried. By 1990, the economy was slowing down and 100,000 more people were jobless than in 1989. The situation worsened, and by 1993, with the unemployment rate at 11.4%, over 1.6 million Canadians were without work.

The recession of 1990-92 was not as deep as that of the previous decade, but it lasted longer. Downsizing — the permanent elimination of jobs — was significantly higher than it had been in the 1980s, especially during the recovery. Hardest hit were the public service (mainly health and government) and consumer services, each of which contributed about 40% of the increase in job destruction in the early to mid-1990s.

Ongoing “rightsizing” was not the only unfamiliar development in the post-recession period. The recovery was slow to gather momentum. GDP grew at a per capita average rate of 0.7% per year in the early to mid-1990s, less than half the yearly pace recorded in the 1980s (1.9%). Employment growth was much slower — only 1% per year compared with 2% in the 1980s — and there was not much full-time job creation until late in the decade. Although productivity increased, wages remained flat.

One reason for slow job creation was that firms organized their work, and therefore their workforces, differently. Increasing numbers of people worked on short-term contract, became self-employed, and so on.

This sort of arrangement allowed firms to control their labour costs by avoiding the hiring of new workers. This strategy greatly affected young people and recent immigrants, groups who are at a disadvantage when firms have little interest in taking on new employees. In addition, existing employees stayed put in the jobs they already had, leading to less of the “job churning” that presents new entrants with opportunities to join the workforce. Participation in the labour force fell, partly because young people stayed in school to improve their education and skills (and perhaps to avoid the hazards of the job market).

It is possible that the difficulty finding paid employment contributed to the remarkable growth of self-employment in the early and mid-1990s. Although total employment growth averaged only 1% per year, 58% of these new jobs came from self-employment; in contrast, full-time paid employment accounted for only 18%. The share had been the exact opposite in the 1980s, at 18% for self-employment and 58% for full-time jobs.

Another key development in the 1990s was women's emergence from the recession in a better position than men, relatively speaking. The gap in educational attainment between young men and women workers had virtually disappeared by the end of the decade. This contributed considerably to the rise in women's annual earnings (after accounting for industry of employment, region, full- or part-time work status) at the same time that men's were falling. Employment indicators were also better for women during most of the 1990s.

The late 1990s: Are new trends emerging?

In the last few years of the 1990s, employment growth accelerated substantially. By 1999, almost 15 million Canadians — 61% of the working-age

population — were employed. At the end of that year, the unemployment rate stood at 6.8%, its lowest level since early 1976. Furthermore, job growth was strongest in full-time employment, an important sign of economic health because full-time jobs tend to be more secure, have higher pay and better benefits. Most hiring occurred in the private sector, and much of the increased growth was in paid employment. Self-employment rose by less than 2%, one of the smallest increases in a decade.

Also suggesting a change in trends was the considerable increase in the employment levels of older workers aged 55 and over. In the three years 1997 to 1999, the number of older workers increased by almost 20%, greater than any other age group. In addition, it was men who accounted for two-thirds of the overall rise in the number of older workers.

Summary

Many new factors will influence the growth and development of the labour force in the new century. While these new developments will certainly affect some members of the labour force immediately, their impact over the longer term in the larger labour market is not easily foreseen. The last few years of the 1990s, for instance, have seen the slowing, if not the reversal, of at least two trends that had begun in the 1980s and apparently gathered strength in the 1990s: self-employment and declining employment rates among older men. The intense period of restructuring in the manufacturing sector during the 1970s and especially the 1980s — as old industries and technologies gave way to the new — suggests that while the process of change is arduous and unsettling for many, it ultimately creates employment opportunities for many more. An analogous period of transition

The declining labour market position of young workers

Real earnings of younger workers under age 35, as well as their relative earnings (compared to older workers), have been falling since the late 1970s both in Canada and other industrialized nations. In the 1980s and 1990s, expected real hourly wages and annual earnings declined for young men and women. Several theories have been presented to explain this phenomenon, mainly centred on the idea that employers feel obliged to pay higher wages to keep their experienced workforce from seeking employment elsewhere. However, an alternative reason may lie in the relative educational attainment of older versus younger workers.

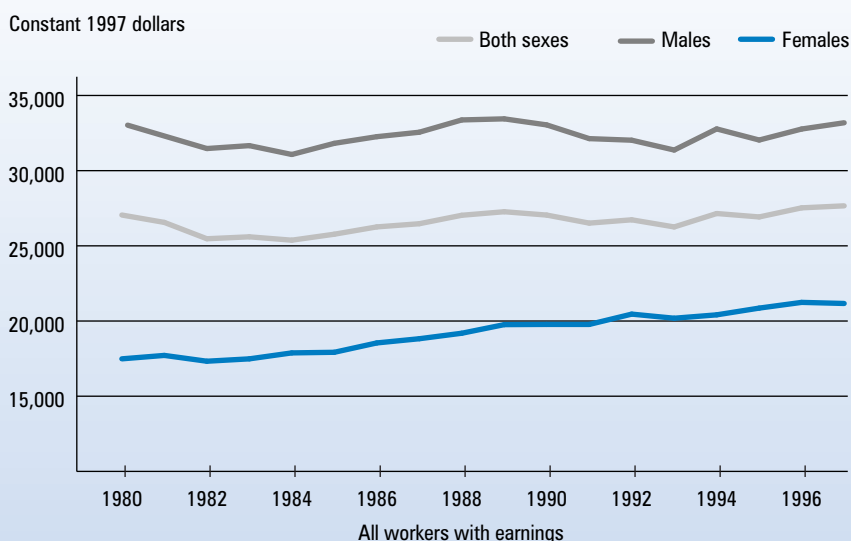
In the past, older workers have had more experience and younger workers more education. By the 1990s, though, many older workers had the same educational level as younger workers in addition to more experience. The improved human capital (the combination of education plus work experience) of older workers thus plays a role in depressing relative earnings of young workers. In the 1980s, the educational improvement of older workers accounted for about one-quarter of the gap in wages between younger and older workers. In the early 1990s, it explained an even larger proportion of that gap: almost half for men and three-quarters for women.

This phenomenon also suggests that it was not only the cost of new hires that encouraged firms to keep their experienced workforce intact. In the 1990s, the human capital of older workers outstripped that of younger workers; in other words, the existing workforce had more real and potential value to employers.

- For more information, see C. Kapsalis, R. Morissette, and G. Picot, *The return to education and the increasing wage gap between younger and older workers*, Analytical Studies Branch, Research Paper No. 131, March 1999, Statistics Canada Catalogue 11F0019MIE99131.

CST

Real average earnings of workers have been relatively flat for the last two decades



Source: Statistics Canada Catalogue 13F0022XCB.

The dynamic growth of self-employment

Self-employment was an important contributor to job growth in the 1980s, and became a veritable engine of new employment in the early to mid-1990s. During the 1980s, the percentage of people who were self-employed increased to just under 13% of the labour force, and amounted to more than two million workers. Since self-employment accounted for 18% of net employment growth, and since nearly two-thirds of new self-employed workers were business owners with paid workers, starting a firm was responsible for a considerable increase in new paid jobs.

In the 1990s, self-employment growth accounted for more than three out of four new jobs. By 1997, over 2.5 million Canadians — 16% of the labour force — were self-employed. Unlike the previous decade, though, there was very little “spin-off” into paid jobs, because about nine in 10 of the newly self-employed worked on their own.

Most of the self-employed chose this type of employment; only 12% started their own business because there was no other suitable work available. Indeed, independence is the most common reason given for opting for self-employment over paid employment (42%). But it is not a guarantee of material success. Almost half (45%) of the self-employed made less than \$20,000 in 1995, compared with 26% of paid workers; on the other hand, 4% earned over \$100,000 that year, versus only 1% of workers who were not their own boss.

- For more information, see Z. Lin, J. Yates and G. Picot, *The entry and exit dynamics of self-employment*, Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper No. 134, March 1999, Statistics Canada Catalogue 11F0019MIE99134; “The self-employed,” *Labour force update*, Catalogue 71-005-XPB, Autumn 1997.

from a goods-based to a services-based economy brought enormous benefits to most workers, as shown by the dramatic improvements in wages and salaries recorded in the 1950s and 1960s, when people moved into high-skilled jobs. Although real earnings have been comparatively flat for men since the 1980s, they have been rising for women as their workforce position improves. Over the long term, the employment rate of working-age Canadians has risen steadily, indicating that the economy is providing a sufficient number of jobs for the country’s growing population. As for the regional inequalities that have

haunted Canada for so long, the “information economy,” by rendering geographic location largely irrelevant, may help to ease the historical labour market imbalance between the Atlantic provinces and the rest of the country.



Susan Crompton is Editor-in-Chief and **Michael Vickers** is Research Officer with *Canadian Social Trends*.

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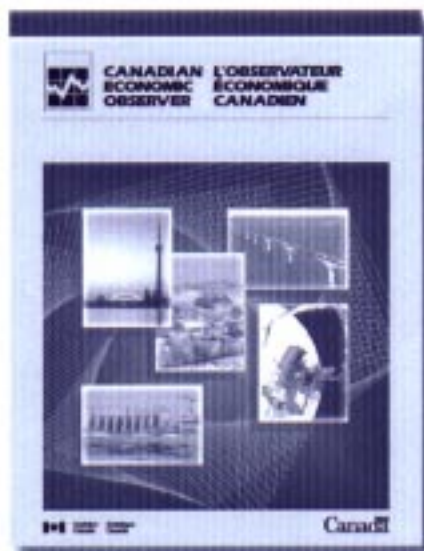
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Community involvement: The influence of early experience

by Frank Jones

The participation of citizens in their communities through involvement in civic groups, service clubs, volunteer organizations and other institutions has long been a cornerstone of society in Canada. Such activities help foster social cohesion, healthy communities and governments, and may be especially important in times of rapid economic and social change. But what sort of people contribute their time and effort to the neighbourhood community association, the school council, or a soup kitchen?

Researchers interested in the larger issue of what motivates people to be “public-spirited” propose that influences during the formative years of childhood are important. Some studies have suggested that taking part in extracurricular activities in high school can influence the participation of young adults in political activities¹ and voluntary associations.² Others have found that a person’s membership in voluntary organizations can be influenced by their parents’ attitudes toward, and involvement in, volunteer work.³ Further suggestion of the importance of the formative

years is contained in a study that reported that the “moral climate” on U.S. college campuses influenced participation in community service, having the greatest effect on students who had no clear religious commitment.⁴ A subsequent study found that a high level of participation in community projects was associated with spiritual values and, not surprisingly, with the value placed on community service.⁵

Using data from the 1997 National Survey of Volunteering, Giving and Participating (NSVGP), this article considers the degree to which organized activities in youth may influence community involvement in adulthood. Particular emphasis is placed on the role that a religious background may play in an individual’s level of activity.

Defining community involvement

Ten indicators of community involvement are identified in this article. The first four indicators are associated with what could be called “civic awareness” and include following the news regularly and voting in elec-

tions. The remaining six indicators are more demanding of people’s time and are considered to be indicative of higher levels of personal commitment, and do to some extent measure participation in shared community values. These are “intensive community commitments” and include

1. Glanville, Jennifer L. June 1999. “Political socialization or selection? Adolescent extracurricular participation and political activity in early adulthood,” *Social Science Quarterly*, 80, 2: 279-289.
2. Hanks, Michael and Bruce K. Eckland. Summer 1978. “Adult voluntary associations and adolescent socialization,” *Sociological Quarterly*, 19: 481-490.
3. The authors also found that socioeconomic status had some effect. Smith, David Horton and Burt R. Baldwin. Summer-Fall 1974. “Parental socialization, socioeconomic status, and volunteer organization participation,” *Journal of Voluntary Action Research*, 3, 3-4: 59-66.
4. Serow, Robert C. September 1989. “Community service, religious commitment, and campus climate,” *Youth and Society*, 21, 1: 105-119.
5. Serow, Robert C. Summer 1990. “Volunteering and values: an analysis of students’ participation in community service,” *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 23, 4: 198-203.

CST What you should know about this study

This article is based on data from the National Survey of Volunteering, Giving and Participating (NSVGP), conducted by Statistics Canada in partnership with several voluntary sector and government organizations¹ as a supplement to the Labour Force Survey in November and December of 1997. The survey questioned a representative sample of over 18,000 Canadians, aged 15 and over, about the ways in which they had supported friends, family and their communities during the previous 12 months.

In youth/when young: about ages 5 to 18. Respondents were asked, "Did you do any of the following things when you were in grade school or high school? Were you active in a youth group, religious organization, etc.?"

Religiously active/religious background: persons who were active in religious organizations when they were young. This characteristic is distinct from current attendance at religious services.

Community involvements: ten activities undertaken by an individual that can help to promote social cohesion and commitment to the community.

Civic awareness: following the news regularly; voting in municipal, provincial and federal elections.

Intensive community commitments: community-oriented activities that require more commitment and time than civic awareness activities. These involvements are: membership or participation in a service club or fraternal organization; membership or participation in a civic, community, neighbourhood or school organization; membership or participation in a political organization; regular attendance at religious services (at least once a month); doing unpaid work for a voluntary organization (formal volunteering); and, doing unpaid work without being a member of a voluntary organization (informal volunteering), such as helping neighbours or strangers.

Core community commitments: intensive community commitments excluding current attendance at religious services.

1. Collaborating organizations were the Canadian Centre for Philanthropy, Department of Canadian Heritage, Health Canada, Human Resources Development Canada, the Kahanoff Foundation's Non-Profit Sector Research Initiative, and Volunteer Canada.

membership or participation in service clubs, civic or community, organizations, political organizations, attendance at religious services, and doing volunteer work, either formally or informally.

6. Shields, David Lyle Light and Brenda Jo Light Bredemeier. 1995. *Character Development and Physical Activity*.

Formative experiences affect the number of involvements

Canadian adults aged 20 and over reported that they had participated in an average of 4.4 out of the 10 possible types of community involvement, in the year prior to the survey. The average number of intensive community commitments was lower, amounting to 1.6 of a possible 6 types. However, approximately 18 million Canadians — about four-fifths

of the adult population — reported that they participated in at least one of these intensive community commitments.

Analysis of the NSVGP suggests that participation in organized activities during a person's formative years may encourage them to take on more community involvements in adulthood. Membership in youth organizations, such as Guides, Scouts or the 4-H Club, was associated with being involved in a greater number of community activities as an adult. People who had been members of a youth group reported an average of 4.8 total involvements, almost one more than adults who had not belonged to a youth organization.

People were also more likely to be involved in community activities in adulthood if they had participated in organized team sports as children or adolescents; this held true for both total community involvements and intensive commitments. It has been suggested that behaviours learned in sports, such as cooperation and working toward group goals, may account for a greater concern for the larger community and hence for participation in civic activities.⁶

An important formative influence for children is the example set by their parents. With a role model in the family, those persons whose parent had volunteered had one of the highest levels of community involvement, with an average of 4.9 total involvements compared with only 4.0 for those whose parents had not volunteered.

Religiously active youth more involved in community as adults

Adults who had been active in a religious organization in their youth had higher rates of involvement than those who had not, with an average of 5.1 involvements compared with 4.1. The difference between the two groups was even greater for intensive community commitments — 2.1 versus 1.3 activities.

Since regular attendance at religious services is associated with community commitment, a fact well-documented in many studies on volunteering, it may be argued that a religious background encourages a person to be more empathetic and to engage in social action. Indeed, when the other formative factors are looked at again in terms of religious activity in youth, adults who had also been religiously active recorded consistently higher averages of community involvement than those who had not.

Current circumstances also dictate level of community involvement

Of course, a person's experiences as an adult influence the number of community activities that they participate in. Some of these factors include regular attendance at religious services, age, educational level and satisfaction with life.

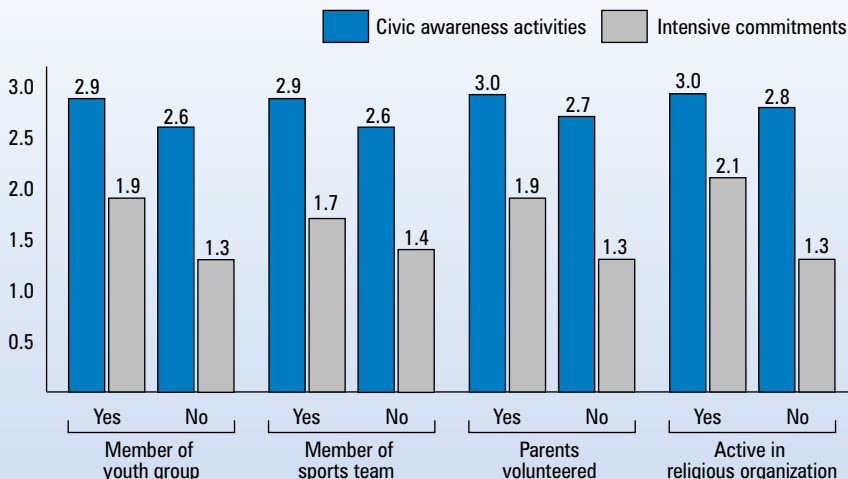
Much of the research on volunteering ties current religious practice to a higher level of community activity. The NSVGP data show that adults who regularly attended religious services had the highest number of community involvements of any group, with an average of 5.5 total involvements, or almost two more than the non-attenders. Further possible evidence of the enduring importance of childhood religious practice can be seen in those adults who, despite having no current religious affiliation, had higher rates of involvement in their communities if they had been members of a religious organization in their youth.

Age also appears to play a role, with the average number of community involvements adults reported rising steadily between the ages of 20 and 54, then peaking at 5.0 for people aged 55 to 74. Growing community involvement with increasing age may simply reflect normal changes over the course of an individual's life

CST

Adults active in their youth have a higher average number of current community involvements

Average number of community involvements

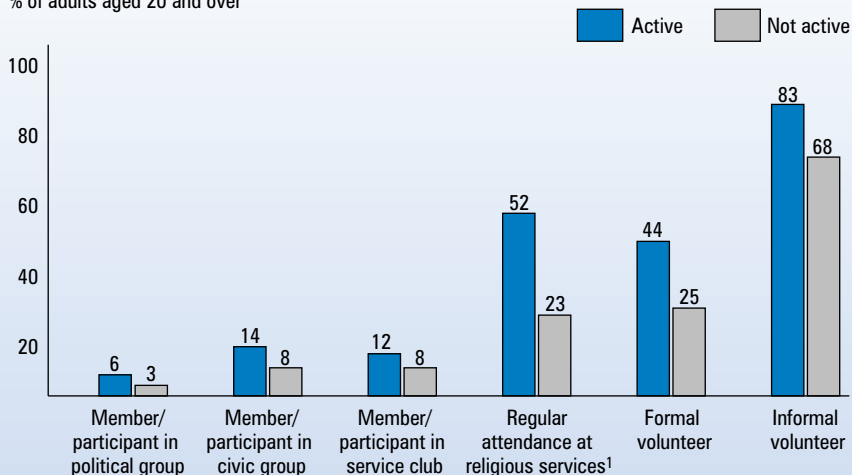


Source: Statistics Canada, National Survey of Volunteering, Giving and Participating, 1997.

CST

Adults active in religious organizations in their youth are more likely to have intensive community involvements

% of adults aged 20 and over



1. Attends at least once a month.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Survey of Volunteering, Giving and Participating, 1997.

cycle,⁷ as well as the increasing amount of free time that people have available as they reduce their work hours or retire altogether.⁸ It could also be a result of the greater likelihood that older Canadians have a religious background.

7. Jones, Frank. "Parents who volunteer," *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 75-001-XPE. (Forthcoming).

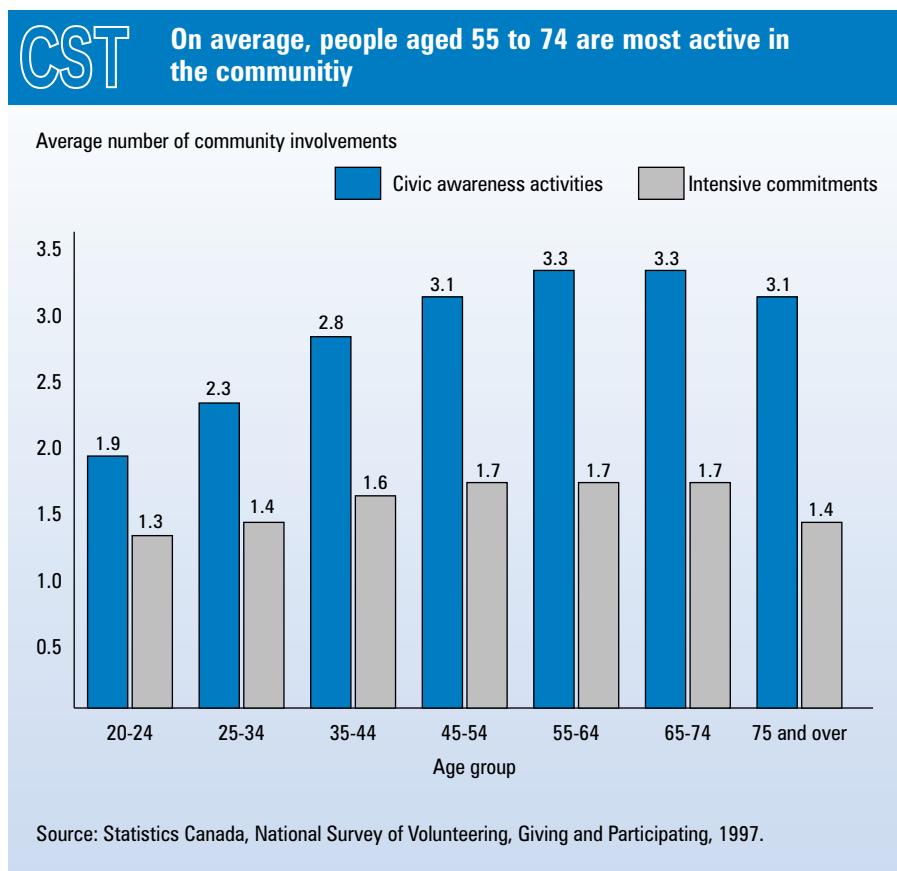
8. Jones, Frank. "Seniors who volunteer," *Perspectives on Labour and Income*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 75-001-XPE: 11, 3 (Autumn 1999).

Participation in community activities also rose with educational level. Adults who were university graduates reported the highest average number of total involvements, while those who had not completed high school had the lowest. The link between educational attainment and community activity has been well-documented, and is generally explained by the belief that teaching the value of citizenship is an indirect, if not a direct, part of most education programs. However, those with higher educational attainment had also been more active in religious organizations when young — 35% of university graduates compared with 26% of those without high school — therefore their greater community involvement could reflect their religious background as well as their education.

Another finding not easily explained is that those people who reported being “very satisfied” with their lives had more total involvements. Perhaps someone who is satisfied with their life is more active in the community because they want to help others get more out of their lives; alternatively, a person may take on a larger role in the community to enhance their own satisfaction.

Understanding the influences on community involvement

It would appear that many factors, personal and social, contribute to an individual’s level of community involvement. However, the relative importance of each factor is unclear, especially for the early experience, since those who had been religiously active when young had also been enthusiastic participants in many other organizations in their youth. A regression analysis was used to estimate the number of “core community commitments” a person might be expected to have, after the influence of various factors were controlled. Core community commitments were



the six intensive commitments excluding current religious attendance. Current religious practice was dropped from the index in order to concentrate on secular involvements.

The results show that there is a statistically significant association between organized activities in youth and community involvement in adulthood. When the other variables in the model are held constant,⁹ having a religious background during childhood or adolescence does prove to have a significant effect on the number of core community commitments. A person with a religiously active youth might be expected to have 0.14 more average core commitments than a similar person without a religious background.

However, the regression results also point to the even greater influence of other experiences in youth: having a parent who volunteered (0.27 more core commitments than someone without volunteering parents)

and being involved in youth groups (0.23). Team sports increased the expected average by 0.20.

However, the results suggest that the more important determinants of community involvement are adult experiences: having a university degree (0.39 more core involvements than those with less than high school graduation) and currently attending religious services regularly (0.31). After controlling for other factors in the model, age did not substantially increase the number of core involvements (0.04).

Summary

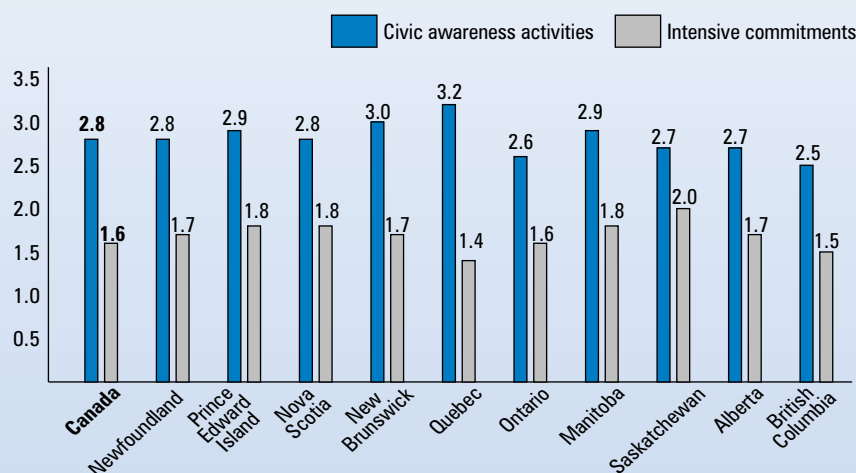
Data from the National Survey of Volunteering, Giving and Participation

9. The variables in the model were participation in religious organization when young, participation in youth groups, participation in team sports when young, parental volunteering, currently being very satisfied with life in general, age, sex, level of education, place of residence (rural or urban) and province.

CST Does geography make a difference?

The provinces with the highest rates of community involvement were Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, with an average of 4.7 out of a possible 10 total community involvements. British Columbia had the lowest rate, with 4.0 total involvements. The average number of involvements was also higher among rural, compared with urban, residents — 4.7 versus 4.3 total involvements. A closer examination of only time intensive community commitments shows a similar geographic distribution, although the gap is slightly smaller.

Average number of community involvements



Source: Statistics Canada, National Survey of Volunteering, Giving and Participating, 1997.

suggest that an adult's tendency to participate in community activities is influenced by both their childhood and adult experiences. As a youth, involvement in youth groups and having parents who volunteered influenced later community participation; as an adult, education and current religious attendance were significant predictors of involvement.

Of particular interest is the role that a religious background plays in the decisions that guide people's participation in community activities. Though association does not imply causation, for almost every indicator of community involvement, participation was higher for those with a religious background than for others. So far unexplored in community par-

ticipation research, religious background was found to be a significant predictor of the number of core commitments a person was likely to have and may prove to be an important missing link in explaining volunteer and other community behaviour.



Frank Jones is a senior analyst with Labour and Household Surveys Analysis Division, Statistics Canada.

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The other side of the fence

by Frances Kremarik

“Hello, ma’am, I’m Constable Benton Fraser of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. May I be of any assistance?” These oft-repeated lines from the Canadian television program “Due South” often brought a smile to viewers as the Mountie attempted to be friendly in the tough streets of Chicago. It evoked sentiments of a sense of community and of people being good to their neighbours that is now not considered commonplace. But is a friendly “good morning” or chat by the backyard fence a thing of the past, or is the practice still with us?

Where we live, and who we are, all influence how we interact with our neighbours. Who is more likely to say hello, the fifty-year-old family man in the suburban bungalow or the twenty-something woman living with roommates in a downtown apartment? Many geographers believe that

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What you should know about this study

This article uses data from the cross-sectional component of the 1996-97 National Population Health Survey (NPHS). The NPHS asked almost 82,000 respondents to answer in-depth health questions covering issues such as health status, use of health services, activity limitations, use of medication, risk-taking behaviour and mental and psychological well-being. Part of the component related to well-being asked respondents about the extent of their social support, as measured by their frequency of contact with other people (adult children, family, friends, neighbours) and civic institutions such as volunteer organizations and places of worship. This study draws on the information gathered from almost 66,500 respondents aged 20 and over, representing 21 million adult Canadians, about the frequency of contact with neighbours.

Contact/interaction: the respondent either talked in person or on the phone with a neighbour at least once during the preceding 12 months. Contact could include social activities, but did not include actions such as waving. *High level of contact* refers to contact at least once a week (including every day). If a respondent did not report contact at least once in the previous year, they were classified as having “no contact” with their neighbours.

An exploratory regression analysis was run to estimate the relative importance of the variables discussed in this article (housing type, family structure, etc), but it did not produce conclusive results. This suggests that factors not captured by the demographic and socio-economic variables in the survey may be key predictors of interaction.

housing design has a direct impact on how we interact with our neighbours. When a porch opened onto the street, people were likely to sit there and talk to their neighbours as they walked by. Houses with the garage attached to the front, especially those equipped with electric garage door openers,

mean that people often leave their cars and go directly into the house without having any dealings with their neighbours. In multi-unit dwellings, designs that do not emphasize a common area like a main lounge or a playground make it difficult for people to meet and

Experts have struggled during the past few decades to create a definition that fully encompasses all of the aspects of a neighbourhood; as a result, it has been difficult to define a neighbourhood's boundaries. Generally speaking, it is a district within an urban area, usually with an identifiable subculture to which a majority of the residents conform.¹ More particularly, neighbourhoods are functional areas where residents can identify with the attitudes, lifestyles and local institutions (like public libraries or places of worship) that are part of the locality.² Neighbourhoods can be established in three different ways: 1) the social acquaintance neighbourhood that consists of nearby streets; 2) the homogeneous neighbourhood that consists of residences of similar quality like a subdivision; 3) the unit neighbourhood that also includes commercial and social activities like stores and schools.³

Because there is not an agreed set of parameters to establish a neighbourhood's limits but a number of highly interpretive conditions, it is difficult to agree where a neighbourhood's boundaries are. This is mainly because the area not only has a physical existence, but a psychological one as well: the physical existence is defined by spatial limits like roads or rivers, while the psychological

boundaries are delimited by social interaction.⁴ Thus, one person's neighbourhood may be every house on the same street for one block and another person's may be his street and the next street over for three blocks. People living in apartment or townhouse complexes may see it as every building in the complex, or just their building. Not only is the 'neighbourhood' a personal definition that is as unique as each individual, it is dynamic in nature and its boundaries will normally change over time.

Although a 'neighbourhood' is considered an urban phenomenon, this does not exclude rural residents from having neighbours. Some rural inhabitants would argue that they live in neighbourhoods; however, the literature has focussed on the urban habitat.

1. Johnston, R. J., D. Gregory, and D. M. Smith, eds. 1994. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 3rd Edition. 409.
2. Hartshorn, T. A. 1992. *Interpreting the City: An Urban Geography*, 2nd Edition. 247.
3. Harries, K. D. and R. E. Norris. 1986. *Human Geography: Culture, Interaction and Economy*. 156.
4. King, L. J. and R. G. Golledge. 1978. *Cities, Space, and Behaviour: The Elements of Urban Geography*. 248.

establish social relationships within the neighbourhood.

Using data from the 1996-97 National Population Health Survey (NPHS), this article asks whether we talk to our neighbours and how often we do so. It focuses on the role that housing type, family life cycle and place of residence may play in neighbourhood interaction.¹

Changing neighbourhoods changed social interaction

The automobile, in conjunction with new building technologies, changed the Canadian urban landscapes in the 20th century. In the early 1900s, most urban residents lived in low-rise apartment buildings of less than five stories, in row housing, or in single or semi-detached houses. In an era when the main methods of transportation

were horse-drawn tramways, electric streetcars, and simply walking, people in cities tended to live close to their workplaces in order to reduce the amount of travel time.² With the explosion in automobile ownership following World War II, people could move to the edge of the city and enjoy some of the amenities of "country living" without increasing their commuting time. This development greatly enlarged the city's land area, often without a corresponding increase in population.

Meanwhile, technological advances allowed the construction of higher buildings. Initially, they were built to provide more commercial office space on expensive downtown land, but following World War II it became common to construct residential high-rises as well. These forces helped

to create suburbs filled with low-density single detached houses, and city cores with high-density multi-storied apartment buildings.

1. Previous studies of people's contact with other residents of the neighbourhood have identified the importance of the type of housing a person occupies, length of residence at that address, and the proximity of family members in the neighbourhood. Only the first can be confirmed by this study because data for the other variables are not available from the National Population Health Survey.
2. Although there was an established downtown business core, land use planning by-laws were not the norm until the early 20th century; as a result, neighbourhoods often combined both commercial and residential land uses. Leung, H. L. 1989. *Land Use Planning Made Plain*. 217-218.

Neighbourhood interaction most common among house dwellers

In 1996-97, three-quarters of Canadian adults aged 20 and over had some contact with their neighbours, either talking in person or on the phone or engaging in social activities. Just over half had a high level of contact, that is, they had some interaction at least once a week.

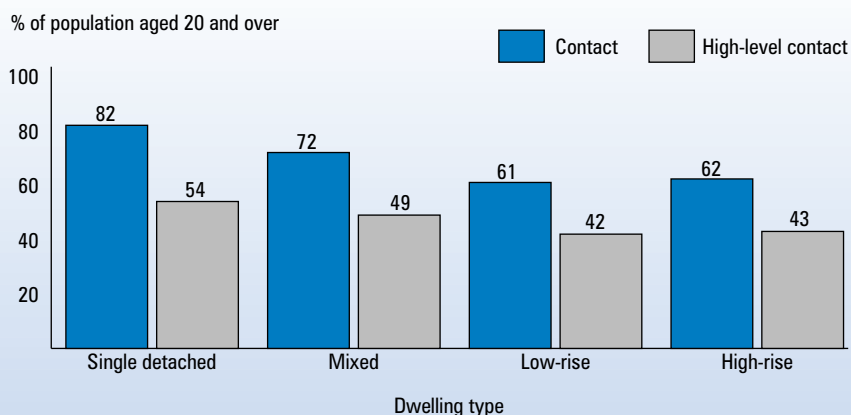
People living in single detached homes were most likely to have contact. About 82% of residents in single detached houses reported having at least some interaction with their neighbours, but less than 62% of apartment dwellers did so. In between these two extremes were people living in mixed housing — duplexes, semi-detached houses, row housing or garden homes — 72% of whom had had some contact with others in the neighbourhood.

Not just contact but the frequency of contact differed by housing type. For example, over half of residents in single detached homes had high levels of interaction, but only 42% of apartment dwellers stopped to chat to their neighbours once a week or more.

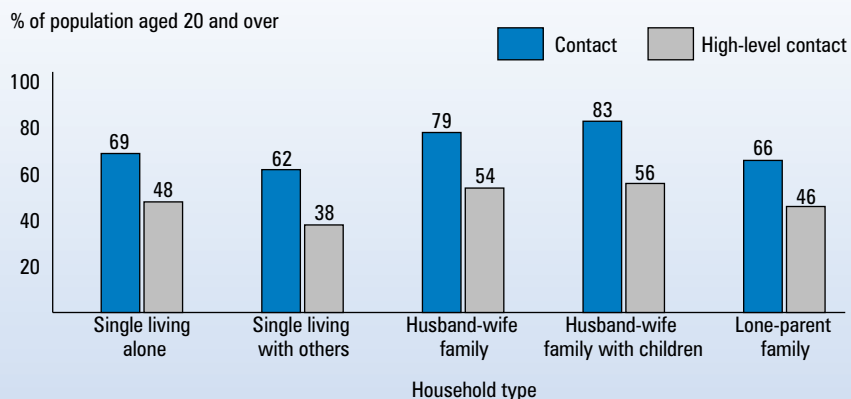
Because the type of housing people choose depends on what they can afford, income could play a role in levels of neighbourhood interaction. The data show that about three-quarters of people in each of the top four income quintiles had at least some contact, but this dropped to 59% in the lowest income quintile. The same pattern holds for high level contact: about half the respondents in the four middle and upper income quintiles reported a minimum of weekly contact with the neighbours, but people in the lowest quintile recorded significantly less (41%). However, when dwelling type is linked to income, the pattern is not as clear. People in the lowest income quintile living in single detached or mixed housing still had lower rates of contact; in contrast, the differences between income quin-

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People living in single detached homes...



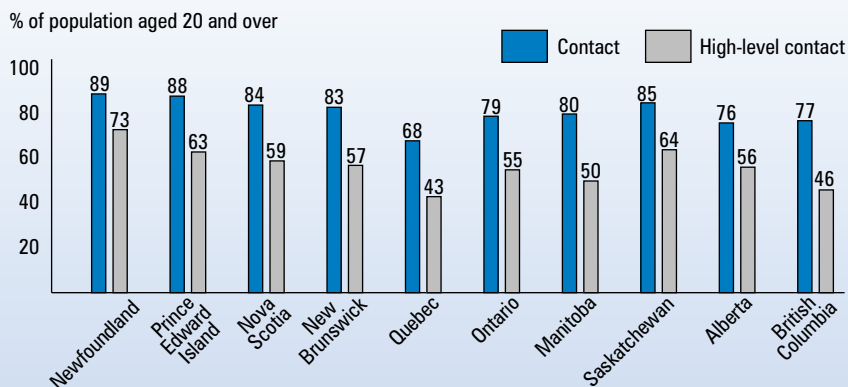
... and husband-wife families have more interaction with neighbours



Source: Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1996-97.

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People in the Atlantic provinces talk to their neighbours most often



Source: Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1996-97.

tiles were small for residents of low-rise apartments, and disappeared for residents of high-rise buildings. This finding could reflect the influence of housing design, and possibly the impact of lifestyle choices among higher income Canadians.

Families are friendlier neighbours

Interaction with one's neighbours offers a level of social support in addition to that provided by friends and family. Since it is a link formed by geographic proximity as opposed to shared interests,³ it can ensure that security and assistance are available close by. For example, a family can go away for the weekend knowing that a neighbour will keep an eye on their house, or a parent can ask the elderly couple next door to mind the baby while she goes to school to pick up a sick youngster.

The data on household structure certainly suggest that people who may have a greater need for social support interact more frequently with the neighbours. People in families with two parents and children, and families with two spouses only, had the highest rates of contact with the neighbours (83% and 79% respectively). A single person living with others was least inclined to interact (62%). In between these two extremes were single people living alone (79%) and lone parents (66%).

For the most part, a person's age has little impact upon how often an individual interacts with the neighbours. People in their twenties, however, had the lowest rate of interaction with their neighbours (65%), and the lowest rate of high level contact (39%). In contrast, as people reach their sixties, they tend to be more friendly: 82% had some contact

and about 62% had a high level of contact. When gender is considered in conjunction with age, there is no significant difference between men and women's level of interaction.

A lower rate of contact among younger Canadians probably should not be interpreted as "anti-social" behaviour; it more probably reflects their stage in life. Many people in their twenties are students or are in the process of establishing their careers, and are often transient between residences. Knowing that they are only temporary residents may lessen the need, or even the desire, to interact with the neighbours. Also, younger people may have non-standard hours, thus reducing the possibility of even meeting the neighbours. Likewise, Canadians in their sixties are often beginning retirement, and have more time available to spend at home, raising the likelihood of encountering the neighbours.

Newfoundlanders have highest rates of contact

Place of residence also affects a person's neighbourliness. While 75% of urban residents had some contact with their neighbours, over 80% of rural residents did. Furthermore, rural residents were more likely (56%) to have a high level of interaction with their neighbours than urban residents (50%).

Provincially, Newfoundlanders are the most friendly: 89% had at least some contact with their neighbours, 73% had weekly and over 43% had daily contact. Quebecois had the lowest rates: only 68% had any interaction, although 43% talked to their neighbours at least once a week.

Other social factors can certainly influence a person's tendency to be a friendly neighbour. For example, people who have lived in the same home for a long time are obviously more familiar with their neighbours than somebody who has recently moved

into the area. Data from the 1996 Census suggest that the provincial rates of contact may be reflecting this "rootedness." About two-thirds or more of people in eastern Canada lived in the same house that they had occupied five years previously, while in Alberta and British Columbia the proportion was 50% or less.

The same type of reason probably lies behind the importance of immigrant status. Recent immigrants may be less willing to interact with neighbours until they are more familiar with Canadian social norms and expectations. Indeed, immigrants who had been in Canada for less than 10 years had a noticeably lower level of contact with their neighbours (65%) than people had been born in Canada (77%) and immigrants who had lived in Canada for 10 or more years (75%).

Since churches, temples and synagogues are often a fundamental part of a neighbourhood, attendance at religious services tends to expand a person's social bonds by increasing regular interaction with other community members. This familiarity then results in more interactions outside the religious setting, and can grow to include neighbours who are not members of the same congregation. The NPHS data show that the more often that people attend religious services, the more frequently they have contact with their neighbours, and the more often they do so every day. This pattern is notable among all age groups.

Summary

We do not know whether Canadians are the good neighbours we believe we were in days gone by. However, it is certain that many factors that influence social interaction within the neighbourhood have changed. Society is distinctly more mobile: ties to our neighbourhoods may not be as strong, because we have not lived

3. Jakle, J. A., S. Brunn, and C. C. Roseman. 1976. *Human Spatial Behaviour: A Social Geography*. 49, 54.

there for a significant length of time, and because we are living in more self-contained homes.

This study has found that Canadians, especially husband-wife families, have contact with their neighbours, but the extent and frequency of such interaction depends strongly upon their type of dwelling. Apartment dwellers are less neighbourly compared to residents of single detached homes or mixed housing. Yet apartments are built in urban areas because land costs are high and planning mandates promote mixed housing types. Another strong influence is the province of residence: eastern Canadians, especially Newfoundlanders, are the friendliest neighbours in the country.



Frances Kremarik is an analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

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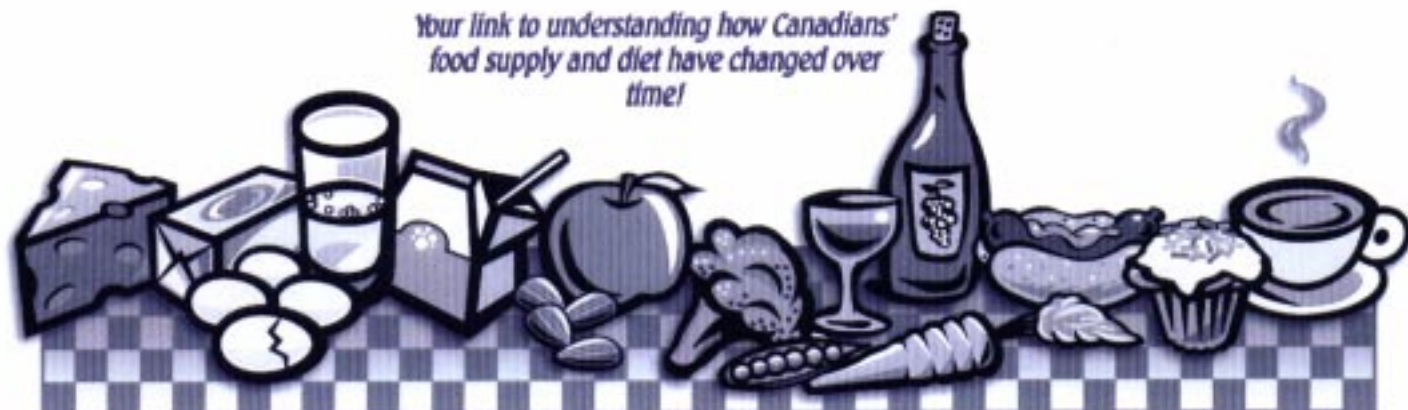
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Being there: The time dual-earner couples spend with their children

by Cynthia Silver

In the majority of Canadian families with children, both parents now work outside the home and an increasing number of them have full-time paid employment. This phenomenon is not likely to change: over three-quarters of parents employed full-time with children under 15 agree that “both the man and the woman should contribute to the household income.” The new attitude to sharing financial responsibility for the family has been accompanied by an overwhelming opinion that raising the children is also a shared responsibility.¹

This article uses the 1998 General Social Survey to examine the time parents spend with their children in families where both mother and father are employed full-time, with particular emphasis on the father's time. “Time with children” encompasses both time devoted explicitly to childcare and time spent in the child's presence. The analysis is restricted to intact families — those in which the children are the natural children of both parents — to avoid any possible

effect of stepparenting on differences between women's and men's time with children.

Fewer full-time employed parents among those with young children

About two-thirds of full-time employed parents with children were dissatisfied with the balance between their job and home life. Fathers and mothers alike blamed their dissatisfaction on not having enough time for family, but many also complained of spending too much time on the job.

Families can theoretically make more time available to young children by working fewer hours for pay. In fact, this is what many Canadian mothers do. In families with young children where mothers are employed full-time outside the home, they report fewer hours of paid work on average than either their spouses or women with older children.

Working fewer hours for pay allows mothers to devote much more time than fathers to their small children. Mothers employed full-time and with a child under 5 spent almost six and

one-half hours each day with their child, and fathers over two hours less.² The gap narrows for parents of older children. Mothers with a child aged 5 to 8 were with their children about 1.5 hours more than fathers, and 50 minutes more if the child was aged 9 to 12. When children reach age 13 to 14, the time gap between parents has closed, mainly because the mother's time has fallen substantially. Both mothers and fathers spent about 2 hours and 40 minutes a day with young teens.

Of course, both parents are often with their children at the same time, usually because they are engaged in the same activities. For about half the time that fathers spent with their kids, the mothers were also present. Mothers were less likely to be with their husbands when they had

1. Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1995.

2. These estimates of hours per day are averaged over a seven-day week. Parents tend to spend more time with their children on weekends than on weekdays.

younger children with them; 40% of mothers' time with pre-schoolers was spent in their husband's company, compared with 63% of their time with young teens. Fewer average hours of employment among mothers with very young children may underlie this difference.

What are parents and children doing together?

Time with their children does not necessarily mean that the child is the central focus of the parents' activity. A parent may be accompanied by a child while grocery shopping or shoveling the driveway. And in fact, dual-earner couples employed full-time were very often doing some form of household work when they were with their children. This household work certainly encompassed childcare but it also included activities like shopping, cleaning and household maintenance.

For example, fathers of pre-schoolers engaged in 2.2 hours per day of household work while they were with their children, of which only 1.5 hours was solely dedicated to childcare. The figures for mothers were 3.7 hours and 2.5 hours per day, respectively. The time on household activities while with the children dropped steadily for parents of older children, partly because less childcare was necessary and partly because a parent was less likely to be with an older child while doing other kinds of household work.

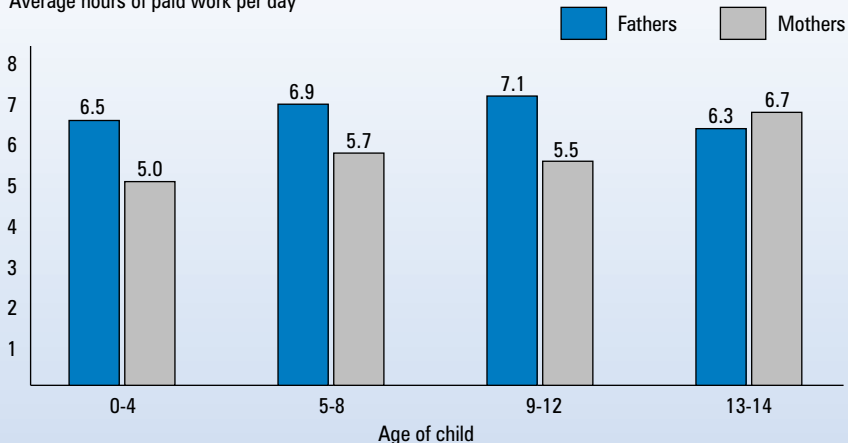
Nature of childcare shifts as child gets older

Taking care of children under age 5 can be very intensive because it is characterized by personal care (such as feeding, washing, dressing, medical care) and also by playing. Personal care is the more time-consuming activity for both parents: mothers devoted 91 minutes and fathers 47 minutes to these tasks.³ On the other

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Fathers of young children reported more hours of paid work than mothers

Average hours of paid work per day

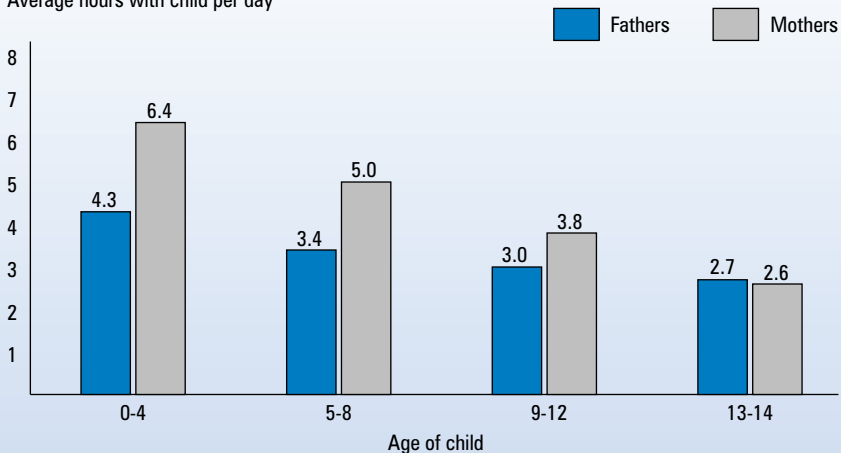


Note: Both parents are employed full time.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

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The gap in time spent by mothers and fathers with their children narrows as the child grows older

Average hours with child per day



Note: Both parents are employed full time.
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

hand, both parents each spent about 30 minutes per day playing with their preschool children.

When children are between age 5 and 8, childcare time with them drops to about an hour for fathers and one and one-half hours for mothers. At this age, other forms of childcare emerge: helping and teaching, reading and talking, and travel. This

leaves fathers spending 18 minutes providing personal care to their children, and mothers 48 minutes on average.

3. Note that this is the time parents spent "in person," that is, in the child's presence. Parents actually dedicated more time to many childcare functions because some of these events take place when the child is not there.

With children aged 9 to 12, fathers spent 34 minutes per day providing childcare and mothers 54 minutes. Fathers dedicated only about 10 of these minutes to personal care, while mothers spent 19. As one would expect, less childcare time was reported for children in their early teens, and even then the most prevalent childcare activity was chauffeuring them to various places.⁴

Mealtime brings the family together

After childcare, having meals together is the most common activity shared by parents and their children. Dual-earner couples spent about an hour a day sharing meals with their preschoolers — fathers averaged 50 minutes and mothers an hour and 15 minutes — either eating at home, in restaurants, or socializing over a meal with friends or family. This average dropped for older children, to less than 40 minutes for parents of teens. Younger children were often close by when meals were being prepared or cleaned up, mainly with their mother, while teens were less likely to be around when these tasks were being done.

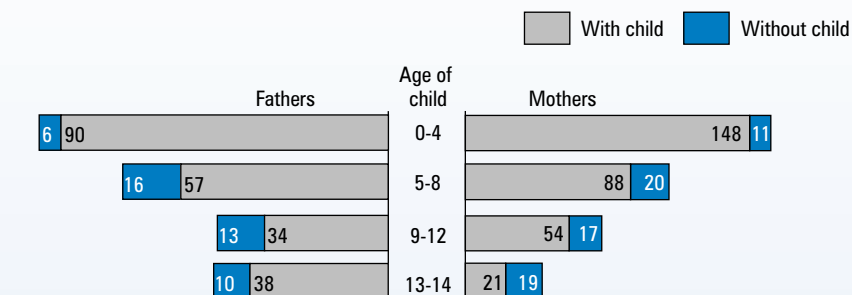
Fathers generally spend less of their leisure time with their children

When parents employed full time reported their leisure time — including such things as reading, watching television, socializing,⁵ participating in sports, doing hobbies, or playing games — it was apparent that mothers had less leisure time than fathers. They also devoted a larger proportion of that time to their children. For

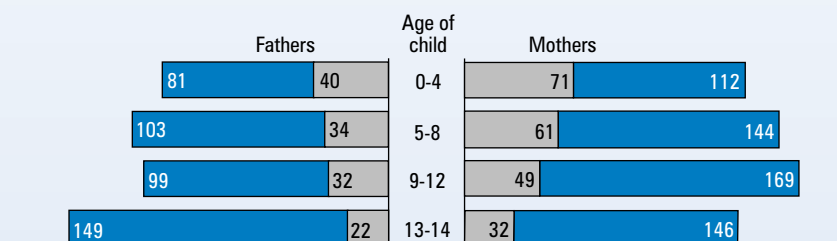
4. See Clark, Warren. "Traffic report: Week-day commuting patterns," *Canadian Social Trends*, Spring 2000.

5. Excludes eating in restaurants and socializing over meals in private homes.

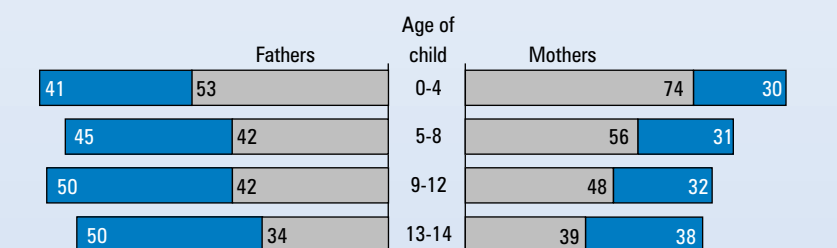
Average minutes per day spent by parents on childcare



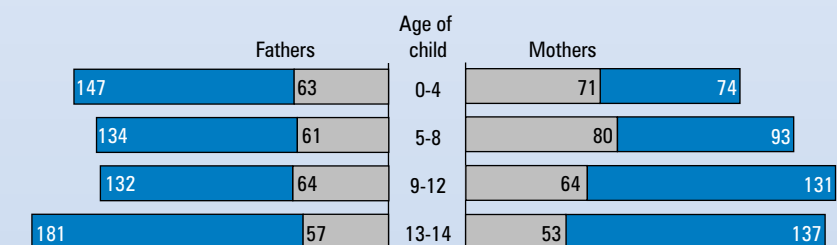
... on other household work and shopping



...at mealtime¹



... on leisure time²



1. Meal time includes restaurant meals and socializing with meals in homes.

2. Leisure time excludes restaurant meals and socializing with meals in homes.

Note: Both parents are employed full time.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

This article is based on data from the 1998 General Social Survey on time use. The survey interviewed almost 11,000 Canadians aged 15 and over in the 10 provinces; it provides information about how people spent their time and who was with them during one day's activities. This information allows examination of how parents spent time with their children. To keep this article brief, the study population is restricted to families in which both parents worked full-time for pay (that is, 30 hours or more per week), and in which the children are the biological offspring of both husband and wife. Both married and common-law partners are included among the dual-earner couples studied here.

The "time with children" concept used in this study is broader than the time dedicated explicitly to childcare. For example, a respondent may be preparing a meal while their child is snacking in the kitchen. In this survey, any children under 15 present in the same room were reported as spending time with the respondent, even if they were not participating in the same activity. By focussing on all time spent in the presence of one's own children, this article avoids parents' subjective assessments about what constitutes "childcare" time and who is minding the kids.

Average time spent with children in a given age group: the total sum of minutes when one or more children in a given age range was with the parent, divided by the number of parents who have a child that age. The average time estimates should not be interpreted as the amount of time a parent spends with a single child; this is because parents may have more than one child in the same age group, or may have children in other age groups such that some activities may be due to the presence of these other children. Although it does not isolate time devoted exclusively to one child, this approach does allow for an examination of the effect of a child's age on parental time use.

Childcare: The childcare time described in this study is restricted to the primary activity reported by a parent. The four basic categories of childcare activities are: personal and medical care; playing; helping, teaching; reading and talking; and travel for the child. For example, bathing or dressing a small child, reading to an older child, or driving a child to dance lessons would constitute childcare. In addition, a parent may be providing care for a child while the child is not present, for example, going to pick them up at the babysitter's or checking over their homework.

example, fathers of preschoolers recorded over an hour more leisure per day (3.5 hours) than mothers (2.4 hours). And although fathers spent almost as much leisure time with their preschoolers (1.0 hours) as did mothers (1.2 hours), it amounted to less than one-third of their available leisure time compared with almost half of mothers'. A similar gap was

observed among parents of children aged 5 to 8. The gender gap was small for parents with older children.

Summary

While gender roles have some impact on how dual-earner couples with full-time employment spend time with their children, the child's age appears to have the largest impact on how a

parent's time is allocated. Both parents spent more time with younger children than with older children, although it is true that fathers were with them for less time than mothers. Much, but not all, of this difference is related to fathers' longer hours of paid work. As the children grow older, parents devote less time to them and more to paid work.

Indeed, gender differences appear to be transitory among parents working full time, disappearing as the children get older. The differences in time spent with young children appear symptomatic of the degree to which mothers in dual-earner couples have retained the primary responsibility for keeping house, recording about one hour per day more than fathers on household work other than childcare. Nonetheless, the amount of time fathers spend with their children reveals a high level of paternal involvement in family life that should not be overlooked.



Cynthia Silver is a senior analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.



PEI leads in charitable donations

Residents of Prince Edward Island were the most generous donors to charities in 1998, reporting a median donation (half donated less, half more) of \$280. Newfoundlanders, who since 1991 had previously had the highest median donation, fell to second place (\$270), followed by residents of New Brunswick and Nunavut (tied with \$260). Nationally, 5.4 million Canadians reported charitable donations on their income tax returns, an increase of 2% over 1997; the total value of donations increased by almost 8%, to \$4.6 billion dollars.

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More self-employed couples working together

Self-employment is increasingly common among dual-earner couples, with one-third of 3.6 million such couples having at least one spouse who was self-employed. In half of these couples it was the husband who was self-employed and the wife a paid worker, in one-fifth of the couples it was the wife who was self-employed and in the remainder both spouses were self-employed. Where both spouses were self-employed, 68% of the couples were running a business together: 28% of these

couples were operating in the agricultural sector, 15% in retail businesses, 9% in professional services and 8% in accommodation and food services. On average, self-employed husband-and-wife teams worked a combined 87 hours per week, about 13 hours more than dual-earner couples with paid jobs. Couples running food, beverage and accommodation businesses put in more than 100 hours per week combined; those in management, administration and financial services reported the shortest working hours, about 70 per week.

Perspectives on Labour and Income

Winter 1999

Catalogue 75-001-XPE



Cooler drinkers refresh spirits sales

In 1997-98, thirsty cooler drinkers fuelled the first increase in overall sales of spirits in a decade. The total volume sold increased 6% over 1996-97 to 138 million litres, due in large part to an 81% increase in purchases of spirit-based cooler drinks. Beer was Canadians' drink of choice however, with more than 2 billion litres sold. Although domestic brewers accounted for 96% of sales, they lost some ground to imports, whose sales grew by 12%. Wine was the second most popular tittle, with sales up 3% to 260 million litres; imported wines, with sales of 140 million litres, were slightly more popular than domestic wines, which sold 120 million litres. Although white

wines were slightly more popular than red, sales of white wines declined 2% over the previous year whereas sales of red wines increased by 10%.

Control and sale of alcoholic beverages in Canada

Catalogue 63-202-XIB

(613) 951-0767



Film and video exports grow

Exports of Canadian-produced films and videos by distributors in Canada exceeded \$100 million for the first time in 1997-98. When sales of non-Canadian films and videos by domestic distributors are included, the total value of sales abroad was more than \$130 million, or more than four times the sales in 1991-92. More than half (57%) of the distribution revenues for Canadian-content productions come from licensing fees and sales abroad, compared with only one-third at the beginning of the 1990s. However, revenues from foreign sales accounted for only a small part of the Canadian film and video industry's total income of \$1.8 billion for 1997-98; and the film and video market in Canada itself is still almost completely dominated by foreign productions, which accounted for about 90% of total sales.

Film and Video Distribution and Wholesaling Survey

Culture, Tourism and the Centre for Education Statistics

(613) 951-1569



Working longer hours puts health at risk

Switching from a standard work-week of 35 to 40 hours to a longer one increases the risk of weight gain, smoking and alcohol consumption, according to the National Population Health Survey. Between 1994-95 and 1996-97, 21% of men and 8% of women workers started working longer hours. About 16% of men who began working more than standard hours experienced an unhealthy weight gain, versus about 8% for those who maintained a standard schedule; for women there was no association between longer hours and unhealthy weight gain. For both sexes, moving to longer hours resulted in increased smoking; 14% of men increased their daily smoking habit, and 16% of women smoked more, versus 8% and 6% among those who did not increase their hours. Men who increased their cigarette consumption smoked on average 10 more cigarettes a day, and women smoked eight more per day. Alcohol consumption also increased among 36% of women workers who worked additional hours, compared with 23% for those who maintained standard hours, with those whose alcohol consumption increased consuming an average of three more drinks per week; however, working more hours was not significantly related to increased drinking among men.

Health Reports

Autumn 1999

Catalogue 82-003-XPB

(Internet: 82-003-XIE)

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

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
LABOUR FORCE								
<i>Labour force ('000)</i>	14,362.2	14,504.5	14,626.7	14,750.1	14,899.5	15,153.0	15,417.7	15,721.2
<i>Total employed ('000)</i>	12,760.0	12,857.5	13,111.7	13,356.9	13,462.6	13,774.4	14,140.4	14,531.2
Men	6,970.4	7,029.9	7,177.5	7,298.5	7,346.0	7,508.3	7,661.4	7,865.8
Women	5,789.6	5,827.5	5,934.2	6,058.4	6,116.6	6,266.2	6,479.0	6,665.3
<i>Workers employed part-time (%)</i>	18.7	19.3	19.0	18.9	19.2	19.1	18.9	18.5
Men	10.6	11.2	10.8	10.8	10.8	10.5	10.6	10.3
Women	28.4	29.0	28.9	28.6	29.2	29.4	28.8	28.0
<i>Involuntary part-time¹</i>	29.2	31.9	31.4	31.5	34.5	31.1	29.2	26.7
<i>Looked for full-time work</i>	--	--	--	--	--	10.6	10.0	9.0
<i>% of women employed whose youngest child is under 6</i>	15.8	16.1	16.0	15.9	15.9	15.6	15.0	14.7
<i>% of workers who were self-employed</i>	15.0	15.8	15.5	15.7	16.1	17.1	17.2	16.9
<i>% of employed working over 40 hours per week²</i>	20.3	21.0	21.7	21.7	21.2	18.9	18.9	18.4
<i>% of workers employed in temporary/contract positions</i>	--	--	--	--	--	9.4	9.8	10.0
<i>% of full-time students employed in summer</i>	52.4	49.9	50.3	50.2	47.9	45.7	47.2	48.8
<i>Unemployment rate (%)</i>	11.2	11.4	10.4	9.4	9.6	9.1	8.3	7.6
Men aged 15-24	19.6	19.6	17.9	16.3	16.9	17.1	16.6	15.3
25-54	10.7	10.6	9.6	8.7	8.9	8.0	7.2	6.5
Women aged 15-24	14.3	14.3	13.5	13.0	13.7	15.2	13.6	12.6
25-54	9.2	9.9	9.0	8.2	8.5	7.6	6.9	6.3
<i>Population with high school or less</i>	14.0	14.2	13.1	12.2	12.4	12.1	11.2	10.3
<i>Population with post-secondary completion</i>	9.3	9.6	8.9	7.9	8.1	7.4	6.5	5.9
<i>Population with university degree</i>	5.5	5.9	5.4	4.9	5.2	4.8	4.4	4.3
EDUCATION								
<i>Total enrolment in elementary/secondary schools ('000)</i>	5,284.1	5,327.8	5,362.8	5,440.3	5,414.6	5,459.5	5,497.0	--
<i>Secondary school graduation rate (%)</i>	73.2	74.6	71.5	74.8	74.4	72.0	--	--
<i>Post-secondary enrolment ('000)</i>								
Community college, full time	364.7	369.2	380.0	391.3	397.3	398.6	409.8 ⁵	--
Community college, part-time	103.6	98.4	90.8	87.7	87.1	91.6	--	--
University, full time ³	569.5	574.3	575.7	573.2	573.6	573.1	580.4	--
University, part time ³	274.1	258.4	283.3	273.2	256.1	249.7	246.0	--
<i>Community college diplomas granted ('000)</i>	92.5	95.2	97.2	101.0	105.0	105.9 ⁶	--	--
<i>Bachelor's and first professional degrees granted ('000)⁴</i>	120.7	123.2	126.5	127.3	127.0	125.0	-	--
Agriculture and biological sciences	7,485	7,722	8,121	8,399	9,288	9,664	10,079	--
Arts and sciences, field of study unknown	2,941	3,135	3,705	3,684	3,774	3,558	3,537	--
Education	21,454	21,064	21,123	21,277	21,421	20,638	19,374	--
Engineering and applied sciences	8,244	8,309	8,799	9,098	9,415	9,138	9,255	--
Fine and applied arts	3,960	4,049	4,189	4,194	4,142	4,105	4,276	--
Health professions and occupations	7,770	7,778	7,970	8,375	8,633	8,837	8,620	--
Humanities and related	15,937	16,721	16,643	16,127	15,889	15,014	14,721	--
Mathematics and physical sciences	6,429	6,580	6,816	7,142	7,005	7,091	7,239	--
Social sciences and related	46,525	47,844	49,172	49,035	48,422	47,751	47,760	--
<i>Master's degrees granted ('000)</i>	19.4	20.8	21.3	21.4	21.6	21.0	--	--
<i>Doctoral degrees granted ('000)</i>	3.1	3.4 ⁶	3.6	3.7	3.9	3.9	--	--

-- Data not available.

1. 1996 is an eight-month average (January to August). Data after 1996 are not comparable with previous years.

2. Hours usually worked in their main job by workers aged 25 and over.

3. Includes undergraduate and graduate.

4. Includes field of study not reported.

5. Preliminary figure.

6. Estimate only.

EDUCATORS' NOTEBOOK

Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom

Lesson plan for “Being there: The time dual-earner couples spend with their children”

Objectives

- ☐ To develop familiarity with the applications of data on time use.
- ☐ To understand gender differences in the tasks associated with raising children.

Method

1. Provide each student with a copy of the article “Being there: The time dual-earner couples spend with their children”. Have them read the article as a homework or in-class assignment and write brief answers to each of the questions below.
 - a) Fathers with children under 5 spend just as much time as mothers playing with their kids, but only half as much time on personal care. One of the reasons is that, although their wives are also working full-time, fathers are working more hours. What are some other reasons?
 - b) One trend the time use data shows is the growing independence of children as they become older. Is there a way for parents to spend more time with their teenage children without compromising or jeopardizing their children’s ability to assume responsibility for themselves?
 - c) How much time did your mother and father spend with you yesterday? Calculate the class average and compare it with the national results.
 - d) The article looked only at families in which both parents worked full time for pay. This was mainly to keep the comparisons between time use of mothers and fathers as straightforward as possible. How might the story differ for couples with another type of working arrangement? How might the story differ for lone-parent families?
 - e) Suggest some of the reasons why the author chose to exclude stepfamilies from the analysis.
2. As a class discuss some of the highlights of the article and summarize some of differences involved in caring for children at different ages.

Using other resources

- ☐ Access Statistics Canada’s E-STAT site at <http://estat.statcan.ca/ESTAT.HTM>. Click on your province of residence, select 1996 Census, then Census of Population (Provinces, Census Divisions, Municipalities), and select the Profile for “Labour force activities, occupation and industry, place of work, mode of transportation to work, unpaid work”. Then look at the distribution of males and females by the number of hours of unpaid childcare they spend for your community.

To keep up-to-date on the latest resources for educators, why not subscribe to Statistics Canada's educator discussion forum? To subscribe, send an email to listproc@statcan.ca Leave the subject line blank and in the body of the message enter subscribe geoghist yourfirstname yourlastname

Share your ideas!

Do you have lessons using CST that you would like to share with other educators? Send us your ideas and we will ship you lessons using CST received from other educators. For further information, contact Joel Yan, Dissemination Division, Statistics Canada, Ottawa K1A 0T6, 1 800 465-1222; fax (613) 951-4513 or Internet e-mail: yanjoel@statcan.ca.

Educators

You may photocopy “Educators’ Notebook” and any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.

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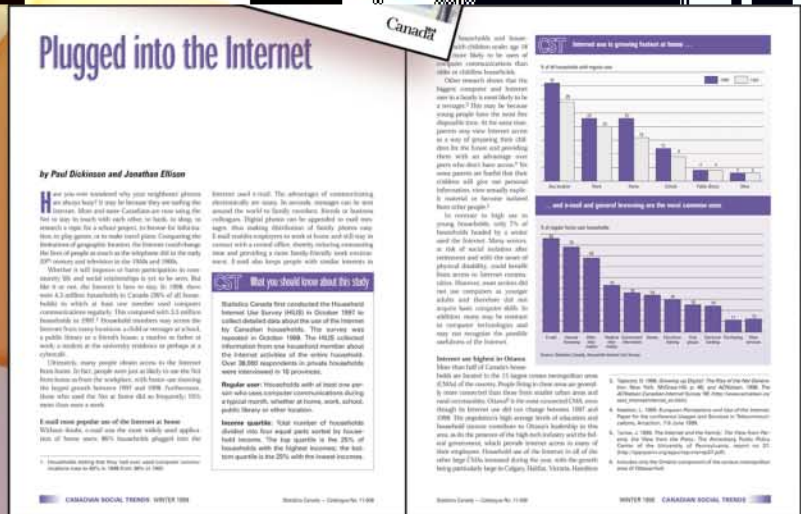
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