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Canadian Social Trends (Catalogue no. 11-008-XPE; aussi disponible en français, n° 11-008-XPF au catalogue) is published quarterly as a standard product. The cost is CDN \$11.00 per issue and CDN \$36.00 for a one-year subscription (PLUS applicable taxes in Canada OR shipping charges outside Canada). Students 30% discount. Please order by mail, at Statistics Canada, Dissemination Division, Circulation Management, 120 Parkdale Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0T6; by phone at (613) 951-7277 or 1 800 700-1033; by fax, at (613) 951-1584 or 1 800 889-9734; or by internet, at order@statcan.ca. For changes of address, please provide both old and new addresses. Statistics Canada products may also be purchased from authorized agents, bookstores and local Statistics Canada offices. This product is also available on the Internet as Catalogue no. 11-008-XIE for CDN \$8.00 per issue or CDN \$27.00 for a one-year subscription (PLUS applicable taxes in Canada). Users can obtain single issues or subscribe at <http://www.statcan.ca/cgi-bin/downpub/feepub.cgi>. Correspondence may be addressed to the Editor-in-Chief, **Canadian Social Trends**, 7th floor, Jean Talon Building, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0T6. Fax number (613) 951-0387. **Internet e-mail:** cstsc@statcan.ca. **Canadian Social Trends** is not responsible for unsolicited materials. Published by authority of the Minister responsible for Statistics Canada. © Minister of Industry, 2001. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without prior written permission from Licence Services, Marketing Division, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1A 0T6.

Indexed in the **Canadian Magazine Index, Public Affairs Information Service, Inc.** and available on-line in the **Canadian Business and Current Affairs Database.**

ISSN 0831-5698
(Print)

ISSN 1481-1634
(Electronic)

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Patterns of volunteering over the life cycle

by L. Kevin Selbee and Paul B. Reed

This article has been adapted from *Patterns of volunteering over the life cycle*, one in a series of reports from Statistics Canada's Nonprofit Sector Knowledge Base Project.

A teenager working in a hospital gift shop after school, a parent coaching their child's soccer team, a senior sitting on the board of directors of a community social service agency — these are some of the faces of volunteering in Canada today. A significant proportion of

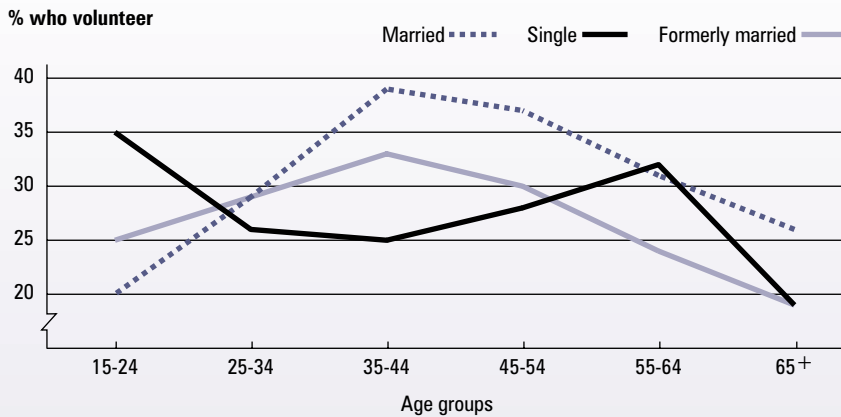
Canadian adults offer their time and energy to work as volunteers.

Volunteering varies in orderly patterns as people move through the different circumstances of their lives. Generally, it rises from a low in teenage years through early adulthood to a peak in the late 40s and 50s and declines thereafter. However, these overall, age-specific rates mask some important differences, which emerge when such life events as getting married, having children and working are considered. Using data from the 1997 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating (NSGVP), this article probes how different mixes of social factors increase or diminish the likelihood that a person will be a volunteer at different stages of the life cycle. It also considers the relationship between social connectivity and volunteering.

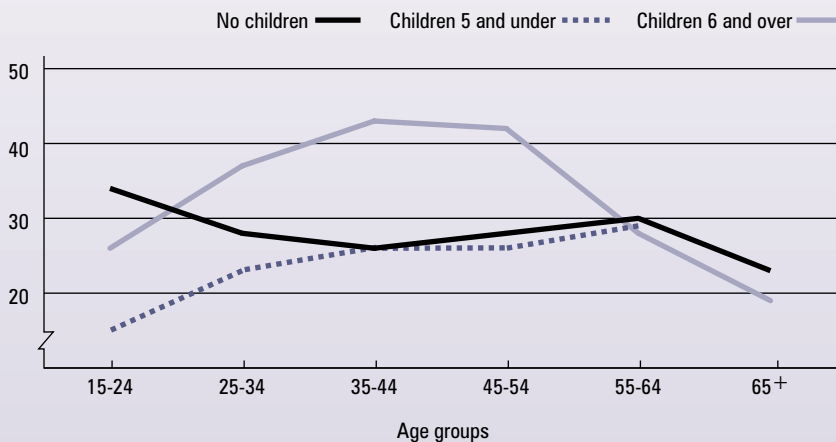
Marriage and children are key influences on volunteering

The formation and dissolution of partnerships are important parts of the life cycle that affect many of the subsequent choices people make. In general, married individuals tend to volunteer more than those who are single or formerly married. The only exceptions occur in the 15- to 24-year-old group, in which singles were more likely to volunteer than married individuals (35% compared with 20% in





... as are those with children 6 years and over in the home



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

1997) and in the 25- to 34-year-old group, in which people volunteered at equal rates regardless of their marital status. While married and formerly married people volunteer most between the ages of 35 and 44, singles this age tend to volunteer the least.

Perhaps even more than getting married, having children brings changes with far-reaching consequences. Once people become parents, their obligations, expectations, roles and outlook on life often change quite dramatically. Not surprisingly, then, the presence and age of children also affect the likelihood that individuals will volunteer. Overall,

having young children (age 5 and under) reduces, while having older children (age 6 and over) increases, the probability of volunteering.

People without children volunteer at the same rate as singles, and those with older children volunteer at the same rate as married individuals. Of course, married people may volunteer at higher rates than singles because they are more likely to have children, whose various educational and recreational activities get parents involved. Indeed, when the presence and age of children are held constant, there are no significant differences in volunteering rates for marital groups at most ages.

Three important exceptions do, however, exist. Among people with no children in the home, single 15- to 24-year-olds and married seniors were significantly more likely to volunteer than other marital groups. And among people with older children, married parents between 25 and 64 were consistently leaders in volunteering.

Over one-third of 15- to 24-year-olds without children volunteer

Multi-dimensional cross-tabulations were used to further identify factors that influence rates of volunteering.¹ The first question addressed was why single childless 15- to 24-year-olds volunteer more than their married counterparts. Results indicated that religion was the only factor that could explain the difference in rates. Furthermore, the results were significant only for Protestants (51% of singles and 24% of married individuals volunteered) and Catholics (31% versus 20%, respectively). Among people with no religious affiliation, rates of volunteering were the same regardless of marital status. Results were inconclusive for those of other religions.

It could be that these young married Protestants and Catholics volunteer less than their single counterparts because, being at an early stage of their marriage, they are more focused on their own lives than the affairs of the larger community. Indeed, when 15-to 24-year-olds' involvement in the community is examined, it becomes clear that single Protestants and Catholics tended to have higher community participation

1. The variables examined included education (high school or less, some postsecondary, and university or more), labour force status (working full-time, part-time, or not in the labour force), religion (no religion, Catholic, Protestant and other religions), gender, and student status.

Data for the analysis in this article come from the 1997 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating (NSGVP) that was conducted in private households in the 10 provinces. The NSGVP interviewed 18,301 Canadians aged 15 years and over, of whom 31% reported that they had given time as an unpaid volunteer to a non-profit organization at least once during the preceding 12 months.

Multi-dimensional cross-tabulations were used to arrive at rates of volunteering across age groups and a method called analysis of variance was employed to test for differences between groups.

Single: never married.

Married: legal marriage or common-law union.

Formerly married: individuals who are widowed, divorced or separated.

Individuals with older children: those who have at least one child aged 6 or over. Younger children may or

may not be present in these homes.

Indices of community participation

Civic participation: membership in political organizations, religious groups, service clubs and other community organizations.

Social participation: the frequency with which a person interacts with family and friends in various social settings.

Frequency of church attendance: the number of times per year the individual attends religious services.

Number of organizations: the number of organizations a person belongs to.

Years of residence in the community: proxy for the extent to which a person becomes integrated into or connected with their community over time.

Informal helping: supporting others in ways that do not involve organizations.

rates than those who were married.² Singles were equally, or more, active in community organizations than their married counterparts: they were more active socially with family and friends, went to church much more often, volunteered for twice as many organizations, and had lived longer in their communities.

Research has repeatedly shown that the more varied a person's involvement in their community, the greater the likelihood they will perform volunteer work.³ "Social connectivity" (or community involvement) reflects the scope and intensity of the ways people interact with other individuals and groups, be they family, friends, neighbours, store staff, coworkers, acquaintances, or strangers. Interactions with individuals can be described as either socially proximate (those with family members) or socially extended (those with people at one's workplace or others who are not family). Extended connectivity entails awareness of, and attention to, a range

of individuals and groups who extend beyond one's social world of immediate family and neighbours.

Being connected may lead to increased volunteering in a number of ways: other people's need for help becomes more apparent, the cause of organizations becomes more visible, more acquaintances are volunteers and, perhaps most important, one gets asked to volunteer more often. There is ample evidence that being asked is the main way people become volunteers and this happens most often among people who are known to, or in contact with, one another. It is reasonable, then, to conclude that single 15- to 24-year-olds' higher rate of volunteering is related to their more extensive involvement in activities in the community.

Nearly one-third of married seniors volunteer

The other group of people without children at home who have significantly higher volunteer rates than

others was married seniors 65 years and over. Both men and women in this age group volunteered at higher rates than those who were not married.⁴ What could account for this? As in the case of 15-to 24-year-olds, religion is the only significant factor. Among seniors in 1997, married Protestant and Catholic men and married women of other religions had volunteering

2. Six indices of community participation examined are: civic participation, social participation, frequency of church attendance, number of organizations volunteered for, years of residence in the community, and the number of different types of informal helping done in the past year. (See "What you should know about this study" for definitions.)
3. Wilson, J. and M.A. Musick. 1997. "Work and volunteering: The long arm of the job." *Social Forces*. 76: 251-272.
4. In analyzing this group, the single (never married) are combined with formerly married (widowed, divorced and separated) to create a single group of not-married individuals.

rates significantly higher than their not-married counterparts. No significant differences in rates of volunteering were found between married and not-married women of Protestant and Catholic denominations and those with no religious affiliation.

Seniors who volunteer more were more likely to be socially connected. And indeed, senior married Catholic and Protestant men, and senior married women of other religions, had significantly higher rates of community participation than their not-married counterparts — on all six indicators for Catholic men and on three of six for Protestant men and women of other religions.

Over 40% of married parents with older children volunteer

Through involvement in school and recreational activities, children aged 6 and over often draw their parents into volunteering. But in the 25- to 64-year-old group with older children, married parents volunteer at rates significantly higher than those who are lone parents. This is hardly surprising: with no partner to share the other demands on their time, lone parents likely have less time and energy to devote to volunteering.

Testing for the reasons behind this pattern reveal the by now familiar result: religion alone influenced volunteering. Only married Catholic and Protestant parents volunteer at significantly higher rates than lone parents in these denominations. But while married and not-married men show no differences in rates of volunteering, married Catholic and Protestant women are significantly more likely to volunteer than their not-married counterparts. Once again, the difference can be linked to social connectivity.

Five of six indices for both Catholic and Protestant married women with older children show higher levels of

CST Among people with older children, married 25- to 64-year-olds were most likely to volunteer

	Age group	Single	Married	Formerly married
		%		
No children	15-24	35	23	--
	25-34	27	29	34
	35-44	25	26	33
	45-54	26	28	30
	55-64	31	31	26
	65+	19	26	19
Children 6 and over	15-24	--	--	--
	25-34	28	38	30
	35-44	22	45	34
	45-54	--	43	30
	55-64	--	30	16
	65+	--	22	15

-- Sample size too small to produce reliable estimate.
 Note: Numbers in bold are statistically significantly different from at least one other row entry.
 Source: Statistics Canada, National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating, 1997.

CST Among 15- to 24-year-olds with no children, one in two single Protestants offered their services as volunteers

	Single	Married
	%	
No religion	30	32
Catholic	31	20
Protestant	51	24
Other religions	35	--

-- Sample size too small to produce reliable estimate.
 Note: Numbers in bold are statistically significantly different from the other row entry.
 Source: Statistics Canada, National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating, 1997.

CST Among 25- to 64-year-olds with older children, more than 6 in 10 married Protestant women volunteered

	Women		Men	
	Not married	Married	Not married	Married
	%			
No religion	39	46	23	33
Catholic	21	37	26	37
Protestant	35	62	50	54
Other religions	35	26	--	27

-- Sample size too small to produce reliable estimate.
 Note: Numbers in bold are statistically significantly different from the other row entry within gender.
 Source: Statistics Canada, National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating, 1997.

community participation than for lone mothers. This same relationship holds for other groups as well: where levels of connectivity tend to be equal, the likelihood of volunteering tends also to be equal.

Full-time workers and the jobless volunteer at similar rates

Another component of the life cycle centres on a person's job and stage of career development. The typical progression begins with schooling, at times combined with part-time work, followed by full-time work in the labour force or unpaid work outside the labour force, and then retirement from the paid labour force.

Those employed full time and those with no jobs volunteer at roughly similar rates; significant differences occur only between the ages of 25 and 44. On the other hand, the rate for part-time workers and students combined⁵ are significantly higher than both full-time worker and no-job rates at all ages. Marital status, presence of children, education, income, occupation and even religion do not explain these differences. Examining levels of community participation clarifies the picture; the majority of connectivity indices — four out of six — are higher for the part-time/student group.

Summary

Differences in the rate of volunteering are associated with marriage, children and employment, three of the defining components of the life cycle. Married individuals volunteer more than those who are single, divorced, widowed or separated. Individuals with children 5 years and under

5. The student and part-time rates were combined because after age 25 the student rate is much like that of the part-time group, and because the number of students for cohorts 34 years and over becomes very small.

volunteer the least, those with children aged 6 and over volunteer the most, and those without children fall somewhere in between. Students and part-time workers tend to volunteer more than those who work full-time or those who are not in paid employment.

When data are examined more closely, however, these patterns are not as clear and it becomes apparent that there are important age-related differences in how life cycle circumstances affect volunteering. For example, patterns of volunteering by marital status differ across age groups and are influenced by the presence and age of children in the home. In the case of people without children, marital status affects volunteering only for young adults and seniors. For those between the ages of 25 and 64, marital status has no effect on volunteering if there are no children in the home; if there are children over the age of 6, married individuals are more likely to volunteer than those who are not married.

Additional patterns exist, but the important point is that a complex interplay of factors encourages or inhibits volunteering depending on the combination of an individual's life cycle circumstances. Nor are patterns across the full life cycle entirely due to differences in basic

socioeconomic characteristics such as religion, education or income. Religion makes a difference for some, while education and income do not affect the patterns in any consistent or pronounced way. The various conditions and factors overlap in numerous ways and how, in combination, they affect volunteering has not been identified with full precision.

Finally, the link between volunteering and levels of community participation shows that, among groups of individuals, who are often quite different, higher rates of volunteering are fairly consistently associated with higher levels of community participation of various kinds. There may be some benefit from a more thorough examination of the link between social connectivity and volunteer behaviour.



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We feel safe

Most Canadians (91%) were satisfied with their safety from crime in 1999, up from 86% in 1993, but they failed to report 60% of crimes to police in 1999, mainly because they did not consider them sufficiently important. In 1993, 56% of crimes went unreported. High satisfaction with police performance was largely unchanged from 1993, and although satisfaction with the criminal courts improved over the same period, many people rated the courts' speed and helpfulness to victims (41% and 35% respectively) as poor. Three factors linked to the risk of becoming a victim of sexual assault, robbery or theft of personal property are age, place of residence and number of evening activities. Youths aged 15 to 24 had a risk rate twice as high as the national average; urban dwellers had a rate 40% higher than the rural population; and people who engaged in 30 or more evening activities per month had four times the risk of people with less than 10 evening activities.

Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics
Juristat, Vol. 20, No. 10
Statistics Canada
Catalogue no. 85-002-XPE
(Internet: 85-002-XIE)
1 800 387-2231



Institutional residents

Between 1994 and 1998, the health of people living in long-term care institutions declined, but three-fifths of them still reported their general health as comparable to or better than in 1994. Four out of five residents had a long-term disability, and two-thirds had more chronic health problems in 1998 than in 1994. Osteoporosis, heart disease and dementia were the most common newly reported conditions. Two-thirds of residents said the frequency with which they saw close friends outside the institution did not fall over the four years, and four-fifths maintained at least the same level of contact with a family member over the period.

Health Statistics Division
Client Custom Services
(613) 951-1643



To serve and protect

Total costs for police services in 1999 were \$6.4 billion (\$210 per capita), about 1% more than in 1998 after adjusting for inflation. As of June 2000, there were 182 officers per 100,000 population, a rate that has remained largely unchanged since 1995. Provincially, Quebec and Manitoba had the highest rate at 188 and 187 per 100,000, respectively; Prince Edward Island

and Newfoundland had the lowest, at 148 and 143. Among the census metropolitan areas, Thunder Bay had the highest rate (196 per 100,000), and Sherbrooke the lowest (110). From 1990 to 2000 the number of female officers has doubled from 6% (3,573) to almost 14% (7,658) of all officers. The proportion of female officers was highest in British Columbia (17%) and lowest in the Atlantic provinces (10%).

Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics
Police Resources in Canada, 2000
Statistics Canada
Catalogue no. 85-225-XPE
(Internet: 85-225-XIE)
CANSIM matrix 301,
table 00130101
1 800 387-2231



Hammer technology

In 1999, Canadian homeowners spent a total of \$13.6 billion on home repairs and renovations; two-thirds of this total was spent on contracting out and one-third on materials purchased separately. The national average per household was \$1,810, with the highest spenders in British Columbia (\$1,970) and the lowest in Manitoba (\$1,290). Across Canada, rural homeowners were more likely to be "do-it-your-selves," devoting half of their repair and renovation budget to materials compared to less than one-third for urban owners. At \$2,110, wife-husband families with children spent the most,

almost 60% of which was devoted to additions, renovations and new installations. In contrast, persons living alone and lone parents spent over 50% of their budgets on repairs, maintenance and replacing equipment.

Income Statistics Division
Homeowner Repair and Renovation Expenditure in Canada, 1999
Statistics Canada
Catalogue no. 62-201-XPE
(Internet: 62-201-XIE)
1 888 297-7355



The part-time choice

Seventy-three percent of the 2.7 million Canadians who worked part-time in 1999 did so because they chose to. These voluntary part-time workers were most often aged 15 to 24 (40%) or women between 25 and 54 (40%). The three most common reasons for choosing a shorter work week were school, personal choice and family responsibility. All part-timers reported much lower levels of work stress (10%) than full-time workers (40%). As well, part-time workers were more satisfied with the balance between job and home life (83%) than full-timers (72%).

Labour and Household Surveys Analysis Division
Perspectives on Labour and Income, Vol. 1, No. 2
Statistics Canada
Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE
(Internet: 75-001-XIE)
(613) 951-6890

Enjoying work: An effective strategy in the struggle to juggle?

by Judith A. Frederick and Janet E. Fast

Many Canadians feel they just don't have time to accommodate both paid and unpaid work in a busy schedule. They may also feel that neither their family nor their job is getting their best. The resulting stress is a concern for employees and employers alike since it may lead to burnout, poor health, dissatisfaction with life at home or on the job, lower productivity and employee turnover.¹ People with the most intense demands on their time (for example, employed mothers) are under the most stress.²

1. Koeske, Gary F., Stuart A. Kirk and Randi D. Koeske. 1993. "Coping with job stress: Which strategies work best?" *The British Psychological Society*. 319-335.

2. Frederick, Judith A. 1995. *As Time Goes By... Time Use of Canadians, General Social Survey, 1992*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 89-544E.

CST What you should know about this study

The data for this article were drawn from the 1998 General Social Survey (GSS) on time use. Interviews were conducted over a 12-month period with more than 11,000 Canadians aged 15 and over living in private households in the 10 provinces. Respondents were asked to record their activities, and the amount of time spent on those activities, in a 24-hour diary. They were also asked whether they enjoyed doing certain activities, including their paid work and housework, and to describe how they perceived the balance between their work and family responsibilities, time pressures and their life as a whole.¹

This study is based on the data collected from respondents with paid employment. Logistic regression analysis was used to estimate how time spent on paid work and housework and enjoyment of these activities were related to the three quality-of-life indicators. Models were developed separately for women and men because, despite similar attitudes to work, women and men experience work in different ways.

Paid work: employment in a job or business from which the respondent earned wages, salaries or income from self-employment.

Housework/house cleaning: indoor and outdoor cleaning, laundry, ironing, mending.

Time crunch: respondent answered "yes" to 7 of 10 questions designed to measure whether people perceive themselves as having insufficient time during the day to accomplish what they need to do.

Satisfied: respondent is very satisfied or somewhat satisfied with the balance between work and family lives and with her or his life in general.

Not satisfied: respondent is somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied.

1. Parents were not asked whether they enjoyed providing child care; consequently, no assessment could be made of how this task affected parents' perceived quality of life.

However, there are big differences in the levels of stress reported by different groups of adults. Because stress is so problematic, understanding why people in similar situations experience different levels of stress is important. One explanation offered by research is exercising control over one's environment, which can buffer the negative effects of stress. But there is another possible answer: whether people like what they do. Some research suggests that people who enjoy the work they do tend to feel less stress and report a better quality of life than people who do not.³ Does enjoying the things we do buffer the effect of intense demands on our lives?

This article uses information from the 1998 General Social Survey (GSS) on time use to determine whether enjoyment of paid work and household work influences our perception of quality of life as measured by three indicators: the perceived balance between work and family; perceived time pressure; and general life satisfaction.

People happier with fewer hours of work

Nearly three-quarters of employed Canadians reported that they were satisfied with the balance they had achieved between work and family — 73% of women and 74% of men. About one-quarter can be described as time-crunched, although more women (27%) than men (22%) felt this way. Few workers reported that they were not satisfied with their life overall, at only about 9% of women and 7% of men.

Cutting back on time spent on paid work may help to alleviate the stress associated with increased home and family responsibilities.⁴ The 1998 GSS data confirm that women who were satisfied with the balance between their paid work and their family demands spent less time on the job (34 hours) and on housework (6 hours) than those who were dissatisfied (38 hours and

	Women who are satisfied with their quality of life average less time on household work			
	Women		Men	
	Paid work	House cleaning	Paid work	House cleaning
	Average hours/week			
Work-family balance				
Satisfied	33.8	6.1	41.8	2.1
Not satisfied	37.7	6.8	49.0	2.4
Time crunch				
No	34.3	5.7	42.2	2.2
Yes	35.9	7.9	49.2	2.1
Life satisfaction				
Satisfied	35.1	6.1	43.6	2.2
Not satisfied	30.6	7.9	44.8	1.7

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

	Adults who do not enjoy their work tend to score lower on the quality-of-life indicators		
	Not satisfied with work-family balance	Feeling time crunch %	Not satisfied with life overall
Employed women			
Paid work			
Enjoy	22	23	5
Dislike	53	41	21
Housework			
Enjoy	23	28	7
Dislike	30	28	8
Employed men			
Paid work			
Enjoy	20	18	5
Dislike	44	31	14
Housework			
Enjoy	24	23	8
Dislike	26	20	7

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

almost 7 hours, respectively). Men who were happier with this element of their lives also spent less time on paid work but their satisfaction was not affected by time devoted to household chores.

The data reveal a similar pattern when stress due to time pressures is examined. Once again, housekeeping played a bigger role for women since housework was clearly related to time crunch for women but not for men.

- Robinson, John P. and G. Godbey. 1997. *Time for life: The surprising way Americans use their time*. University Park: Penn State Press.
- Fast, J.E. and J.A. Frederick. June 1996. *Perceived time stress: The role of demands and resources*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Canadian Association for Research in Home Economics, St. Catharines.

	Employed women			Employed men		
	Satisfied with work–family balance	Feel time crunch	Satisfied with life overall	Satisfied with work–family balance	Feel time crunch	Satisfied with life overall
Like paid work	2.7	0.5	5.2	2.1	0.6	1.9
Dislike paid work	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Additional hour of paid work	*	*	1.01	0.99	1.01	*
Additional hour if enjoyed paid work	0.99	1.01	*	*	*	*
Enjoy housework	1.3	*	*	*	1.4	*
Dislike housework	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Additional hour of housework	0.99	1.04	*	*	*	*
Additional hour if enjoyed housework	*	*	*	*	*	*
Professionals/upper management	0.5	1.4	*	*	*	*
Semi-professionals/technicians/ middle management	0.6	*	*	*	*	*
Supervisors/forepersons	*	*	*	*	*	*
Skilled workers/farmers	*	*	*	*	*	*
Semi-skilled workers	*	*	*	*	0.7	1.6
Unskilled workers	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Married	*	*	2.5	*	1.5	1.9
Not married	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Child(ren) under 19 years	0.6	1.6	*	0.6	*	*
No children	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Good or excellent health	2.9	0.5	3.4	2.0	0.4	6.4
Poor or fair health	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

* Results not statistically significant from the benchmark group.

Note: This table presents the odds that an employed adult reports being satisfied as measured by three quality-of-life indicators, relative to the odds that a benchmark group will be satisfied (odds ratio), when all other variables in the analysis are held constant. The benchmark group is shown in boldface for each variable.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

The data for life satisfaction tell a different story than the other two quality-of-life indicators. Women who were satisfied with life overall spent more time on paid work and fewer hours on cleaning the house. In contrast, men were more content if they worked fewer hours for pay and spent more time on housework.

Enjoying work reduces stresses on time and on work–family balance

The question that arises now is whether a person's enjoyment of work helps to reduce the negative effects of spending more time working. To answer it, a logistic regression model

was developed to calculate the odds of a person responding positively to each of the three quality-of-life indicators as the number of hours they work increases.⁵ The results suggest that women and men could both benefit from adopting less traditional roles.

Compared with those who did not enjoy their paid work, both women and men who did enjoy it were over twice as likely to be satisfied with the balance between their job and family demands and half as likely to report being time-crunched. The same is true of overall life satisfaction, but the difference is particularly striking for women: the odds that a woman will

consider her life satisfactory were over five times higher for those who enjoyed their paid jobs than for those who did not.

Nevertheless, more hours were not necessarily beneficial to women who enjoyed their paid work. With each additional hour on the job, they were marginally less likely to be satisfied

5. Variables in the model were hours spent on paid work, hours spent on housework, enjoyment of paid work and housework, whether enjoyment of an activity mediated the effect of spending more time on it, occupation, marital status, presence of children, age and health.

with their work–family balance and more likely to feel time pressured.

Nor did enjoyment of paid work mitigate the relationship between the time men spent on the job and any of the quality of life indicators. Whether they liked their job or not, more time at paid work decreased their satisfaction with the work–family balance.

If a woman enjoyed doing housework, she was 30% more likely to be happy with the balance between work and family demands than if she did not. On the other hand, the small proportion of men who enjoyed housecleaning had 40% higher odds than other men of feeling time pressured. Nevertheless, devoting more time to housework produced lower scores on some quality-of-life measures. With each additional hour per week spent on housecleaning, the odds that women were satisfied with their work–family balance dropped 10% and their feeling of being time-crunched rose 4%.

Professional and managerial women less satisfied than other workers

Of course, other factors more particular to an individual than work hours and work enjoyment can affect perceived quality of life. For example, women in middle and upper professional, technical or managerial positions might be expected to experience less stress because they have more control over their work lives than unskilled workers. Instead, it appears that adding the demands of a professional job to family responsibilities compounds stress and dissatisfaction. When all other variables in the model are held constant, women in higher level jobs had only half the odds of being satisfied with the balance between their work and family lives, and 40% higher odds of being time-crunched than women in unskilled jobs.

Having some support and companionship at home also is important to people's quality of life. Compared with

unmarried women and men, wives (2.5) and husbands (1.9) had considerably greater odds of being satisfied with life. But while women were just as pressed for time whether they were married or single, among men husbands felt more time-crunched than single men.

All other factors being equal, both mothers and fathers had lower odds than women and men without children of feeling satisfied with their work–family balance; mothers also had 60% higher odds of being time-crunched than other women.

The idea that good health is an important determinant of emotional well-being is strongly borne out by the data. Workers who reported they were in good to excellent health had much greater odds of scoring high on satisfaction with work–family balance and life overall than those whose self-assessed health status was fair or poor.

Summary

The effect of work enjoyment on respondents' reported quality of life was universally beneficial. Both women and men who enjoyed paid work were happier with their work–family balance and with life overall and also felt less time-crunched. Similarly, enjoying housework improved women's sense of balance in their work–family relationship. These findings are consistent with Lowe's observation that quality of work is even more important to Canadians than earnings.⁶

But two of the most important findings were not expected. First, women who enjoyed their paid jobs did not report greater improvement in their quality of life as their hours increased. Second, men who enjoyed housework were more likely to be time stressed than those who did not.

Despite their increased participation in the workforce, women still retain primary responsibility for family care and household work; moreover, these tasks tend to be inflexible and unrelenting, and as such may interfere with women's

freedom to devote as much time and attention as they want to their preferred activity. Similarly, men who enjoy housework, and consequently do more of it, may be more time stressed because they have less time for their paid job to which they feel they should be fully committed. These findings are entirely consistent with an earlier study that shows women and men are equally committed to both paid work and family roles and that assigning them traditional gender responsibilities does both sexes a disservice.⁷

Greater satisfaction for both women and men might lie in a mutual exchange of tasks. It appears that women may be better off if they spent less time on housework and more on paid work, while the data clearly suggest that men would be happier if they spent less time on the job. Workplace policies that facilitate meeting simultaneous paid work and household obligations may achieve greater equity with respect to work and family demands for both women and men.

6. Lowe, Graham S. 2000. *The quality of work*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

7. Fast, J.E., B.J. Skrypnik and L.D. Burnstad. June 1994. *Men's and women's relative commitment to work and family roles*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Canadian Association for Research in Home Economics, Calgary.



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From sun-up to sundown: Work patterns of farming couples

by Cynthia Silver

In most Canadian families, there is a clear demarcation between paid and unpaid work. In farming families, though, the line between paid farm work and unpaid household work is more likely to be blurred. According to the Census of Agriculture, there were 66,690 census-farms operated by husbands and wives working together in 1996. These couples accounted for 24% of all census-farm operations in Canada and about 22% of total farm production.

This article presents a brief profile of the work patterns of farming couples, that is, husbands and wives who live on and operate a farm. It examines how many hours of paid and unpaid work they do each week, and how it is shared. Couples who have no paid employment off the farm are compared to those who do work off-farm, with special emphasis on the hours of work reported by husbands and wives who work only on the farm.

Fewer than half of husband-wife farmers work only on the farm

Almost 50,000 farming couples had agricultural operations with sales over \$10,000 in 1995. Just under half of these couples (48% or 24,000) ran a "traditional" family farm in which both husband and wife worked exclusively on the farm. The remainder (26,000) were "non-traditional" farming couples, in which at least one spouse did some type of paid work off the farm; in fact, over two-thirds of them spent 20 or more hours per

week employed off-farm. Couples work off-farm for a wide variety of reasons; for example, some may hope to build their farm to a viable status by investing their off-farm earnings in land or equipment, while others could be hobby farmers.

Indeed, non-traditional farming couples seem better off financially. In 1995, about 52% of traditional farming couples made less than \$10,000 of their income from farming, and 28% had total personal income of under \$25,000. In contrast, only 18% of non-traditional couples reported a total personal income of less than \$25,000, even though 67% earned under \$10,000 from farming.

The income reported by traditional farming couples raises some interesting questions about the size of operation required for a family to make a living. In 1995, 37% made more than half of their total personal income from farming, while 39% made no farm income because their operation broke even or reported a loss. It should be noted, however, that farm families benefit to some degree from goods and services (such as some shelter and transportation costs) that are shared by both the household and the farm operation. At tax time, these payments can be expensed against their farm income, and thus increase their after-tax income.

Although earning little personal income from farming, many traditional couples had highly-capitalized operations. Fifty-five percent had \$500,000 or more in assets, with 38% of

This article is adapted from *Patterns of distributing work effort across domains of paid and unpaid work among couples who operate a farm*, by Cynthia Silver, Leroy O. Stone and Sandra Swain, presented at the New Rural Economy Conference, Alfred, Ontario, October 11 to 14, 2000. The study was sponsored by the Unpaid Work Analysis Division of Statistics Canada.

these valued at more than \$1 million. Nevertheless, only 21% of traditional farming operations generated gross sales of more than \$250,000 in 1995.

Non-traditional farming couples also tended to have large investments in their farms, but not to the same extent as traditional farming couples: only 40% had more than \$500,000 in assets. But less investment seems to be associated with fewer sales, since only 9% had sales receipts over \$250,000 in 1995.

The larger investments and revenues reported by traditional farming couples reflect the type of farms they own. About three-quarters (74%) of couple-run dairy farms were operated by traditional couples; of these, 86% had sales over \$100,000 in 1995. In contrast, the great majority of miscellaneous specialty farms¹ (64%) and

1. The major types of miscellaneous specialty farms include sheep, goats, horses, mink, fox, rabbits, bees, other livestock, bison, deer, llamas, mushroom, greenhouse nursery, maple products and Christmas trees.

Data in this article come from the Canadian 1996 Agriculture-Population linkage database based on the 1996 Census of Agriculture and the 1996 Census of Population. The study population consists of those census-farms for which both husband and wife were listed as farm operators. A large fraction of these types of census-farms were too small to generate gross sales of more than \$10,000, and are excluded from this study.

Work Volume Indices

The census questions that distinguish between off-farm paid work and on-farm paid work use the year 1995 as the reference period, and unpaid work data are collected only for the reference week prior to the census. Therefore, the allocation of work effort across paid work on- and off-farm and unpaid household work could not be achieved without some integration of information across reference periods.

The Work Volume Indices use the Census of Population question on paid work hours in the week before the census. Although this weekly variable does not separate on-farm from off-farm paid work, paid hours spent on farm and off-farm work were estimated for the reference week using the annual 1995 distributions, as reported by farm operators listed on the Census of Agriculture questionnaire. This procedure makes it feasible to add paid work hours to unpaid household work hours and provide a basis for profiling work patterns.

Two limitations of this method should be noted here. First, there might be a seasonal bias due to the May reference week. Second, the farm work share of total paid work is slightly overestimated because other self-employment (such as running a non-farm business) was excluded from the estimated ratios used to distribute market work between farm and off-farm components.

Census-farm: includes all agricultural operations producing crops, livestock, poultry, animal products or other agricultural products for sale.

Farming couples: both husband and wife (whether married or common-law) identified themselves as farm operators on the census. Couples in which only the husband is identified as the operator are excluded, even though the wife may do a substantial share of the farm work, because the census does not collect estimates of time spent doing farm work by individuals who were not listed as farm operators. *Traditional farming couples* do not have any paid employment off the farm (this includes a small number who operate a non-farm business but are not employed by others). *Non-traditional farming couples* work off-farm for pay.

Gross farm receipts/sales: gross receipts of an agricultural operation (before depreciation and operating costs are subtracted) received during 1995. Revenues include income from all agricultural products sold in addition to such sources as marketing board payments, program and rebate payments received, and GST refunds.

Farm income: income from farming is defined as net income from self-employment, and includes income such as that received from the sale of agricultural products, rebates and farm-support payments, and payments under insurance plans.

Total personal income: the couple's combined income from all sources such as net self-employment income, wages and salaries, investment income, pensions, government transfers and tax credits.

Household work: unpaid housework, yard work or home maintenance for members of this household or others. Some examples include preparing meals, doing laundry, household planning, shopping and cutting the grass.

	Traditional couples		Non-traditional couples	
	Farm work		Total paid work ¹	Farm work
	Average number of hours per week, based on Work Volume Index			
All farm types ²				
Small	71	90	52	
Bigger	100	102	77	
Dairy				
Small	86	94	67	
Bigger	108	111	91	
Cattle				
Small	76	92	55	
Bigger	102	108	80	
Hog				
Small	--	92	57	
Bigger	99	94	69	
Poultry and egg				
Small	--	--	--	
Bigger	87	83	58	
Wheat				
Small	62	89	52	
Bigger	93	103	77	
Small grain/oilseed				
Small	58	87	47	
Bigger	95	99	74	
Miscellaneous specialty				
Small	78	90	52	
Bigger	114	107	75	

1. Includes farm work plus hours of off-farm employment.

2. Small farms have annual sales receipts of more than \$10,000 and less than \$100,000; bigger farms have more than \$100,000.

-- Sample too small to produce reliable estimate.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Agriculture-Population linkage database.

cattle farms (62%) were run by non-traditional couples; of these, 47% reported gross sales receipts over \$100,000.

Some farms demand more work than others

According to the estimates calculated by the Work Volume Index, the old adage that farmers toil from sun-up to sun-down certainly seems to be true. And generally the larger the farm, the longer the hours. Traditional farming couples working on bigger farms generating over \$100,000 in annual sales spent an

average of 100 combined hours a week on farm work, while those on small farms with sales between \$10,000 and \$100,000 devoted 71 total hours.²

Farms with livestock are also more demanding of couples' time. For example, traditional couples running a dairy farm worked 86 hours a week on small farms and 108 hours on bigger farms. In contrast, those with wheat-growing operations had an average work week of 62 hours on small farms and 93 hours on bigger farms.

Younger farm-operator couples where the wife was under age 45 did

more farm work than older couples. Those between 35 and 44 years old put in 100 hours of labour on their farms; senior farmers (comprising a smaller group) devoted about half that amount, at 55 hours per week.

On the whole, non-traditional couples did fewer hours of farm work than traditional couples. However, because they spent additional hours in employment off the farm, they often did more paid work. In fact, non-traditional couples with small farms had a longer paid work week (90 hours) than their traditional counterparts (71 hours).

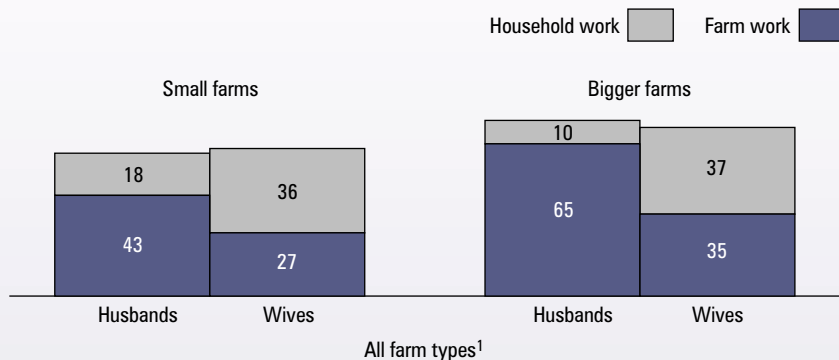
Traditional farming couples split total workload down the middle

Studies in other countries have shown that the distribution of work and decision-making within farm households is affected by gender. Women are more likely to do "household" work and men "outside" work, even if one or both are also working off-farm.³ A 1994 study of farm roles among New Zealand women suggested that they were constrained from assuming sole responsibility for farm production, even though they had a

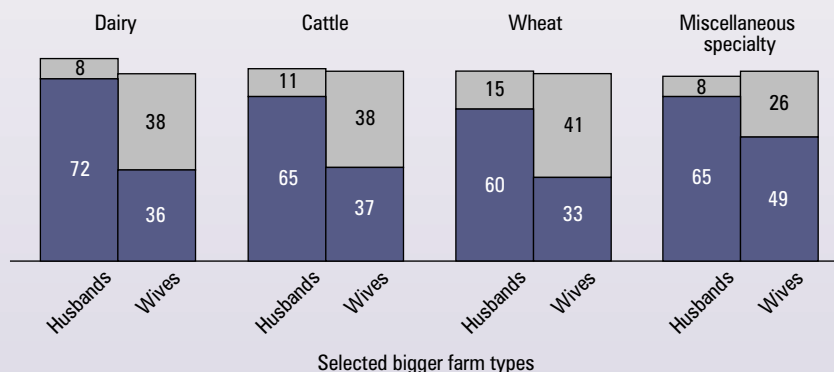
2. Statistics Canada uses gross sales receipts to classify farms by size, although revenues can be volatile from year to year. In this article, farms reporting sales of \$10,000 to \$99,999 in 1995 are defined as small farms, while those reporting more than \$100,000 in sales are described as bigger farms.

3. Wilson, John, Ida Harper Simpson and Richard Landerman. 1994. "Status variation on family farms: Effects of crop, machinery and off-farm work." *Rural Sociology*. 59, 1: 136-153; Alston, Margaret. 1995. "Women and their work on Australian farms." *Rural Sociology*. 60, 3: 521-532; Tufts Rickson, Sara and Peter L. Daniels. 1999. "Rural women and decision making: Women's role in resource management during rural restructuring." *Rural Sociology*. 64, 2: 234-250; Keating, Nora C. and Heather M. Little. 1994. "Getting into it: Farm roles and careers of New Zealand women." *Rural Sociology*. 59, 4: 720-736.

Average number of hours per week, based on Work Volume Index



... regardless of the type of farm



1. Small farms have annual gross sales receipts of more than \$10,000 and less than \$100,000; bigger farms have more than \$100,000. Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Agriculture-Population linkage database.

range of on-farm involvements; nevertheless, the amount of domestic work for which they were responsible declined as their on-farm role moved along a continuum from “homemaker” through “half farm-hand” to “farmer.”⁴ In Canada, too, traditional farming couples tend to share their long hours of work in a gender-specific way. Husbands generally do much more of the farm work, even though their wives are one of the farm’s operators; at the same time, wives consistently do a much larger share of the household work. Overall, husbands did roughly 60% to 85% more farm work than their wives, while wives did two to almost four times more household work than their husbands. But the total volume of

work done by each spouse in these traditional farm-operator couples was virtually the same. On small farms, husbands and wives each averaged a 61- and 64-hour work week, respectively. Husbands spent 71% of their time (43 hours) on farm work, and wives put 57% of their work time (36 hours) into household work. On bigger farms, couples worked longer hours, with husbands recording 75 hours of total work and wives 72 hours. But while the husband spent almost all his work-time on farm work (87% or 65 hours), wives divided their time almost equally between farm and household work (35 and 37 hours, respectively). The division of farm work within traditional farming couples is also

related to the type of farm they operate. For example, wives on dairy farms did a smaller share of the farm work (50%) than did wives on wheat farms (55%) or miscellaneous specialty farms (75%). When young children are living in the home, their impact on the division of work is predictable. For example, young wives with children under age six did less farm work (28 hours) than those without children this age (39 hours); on the other hand, they did substantially more household work (43 hours versus 28). Since this estimate does not include time spent focussed exclusively on child care, it does not cover all of the unpaid work done by farming mothers with young children.

Summary

Farm couples are no strangers to long hours of work, with both spouses fully engaged in maintaining the farm and the household. Although husbands do more farm work and wives more household work, the total volume of paid and unpaid work on farms is shared about equally between them. That said, there are variations in the amounts of farm work done by operators of different types of farms. In general, the larger the farm, the larger the husband’s share of farm work and the more household work the wife was responsible for. In other words, the larger the farm, the more gender-based the division of labour becomes.

4. Keating and Little. *ibid.*



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Evolving family living arrangements of Canada's immigrants

by **Derrick Thomas**

Many people who move to a new country face uncertainty: they make sacrifices and sometimes suffer diminished social status. Many endure these hardships in what they believe are the long-term interests of their children and other family members. More often than not the entire purpose of migration is to accompany or rejoin family. On average, three-quarters of the immigrants admitted to Canada between 1980 and 1995 entered on the strength of their family relationship with someone who came with them or who already lived in Canada.¹ In short, the migratory behaviour of individuals frequently makes most sense when seen in the context of a family strategy.

Families can employ two basic immigration strategies, the choice of which is determined to some extent by immigration regulations. They can migrate together as a unit, relying on the skills and resources of one or more members to qualify for admission to Canada and to get established quickly. Or some members can migrate first, leaving more dependent members behind, to be sent for once a secure base has been established. People who come to Canada together tend to be members of nuclear families consisting of husband and wife with or without children. Many persons who join a family member later are spouses, particularly wives (25%), but a substantial proportion (40%) are extended family members such as parents, grandparents and siblings.

Clearly immigrant families and their relatives in Canada feel they benefit by living together. It is also believed that the migration and reunification of families is in the interest of the wider public. Families are thought to offer a source of support as immigrants get settled, learn an official language, or upgrade their qualifications. Newcomers may also lend a hand to relatives already established in Canada by providing

household labour or earnings and may free other family members to participate in the labour market or pursue higher education. By pooling their resources, families generally ease the adjustment process for new immigrants and minimize social costs for all concerned.

This article uses data primarily from three censuses to examine the family living arrangements of people aged 15 and over who immigrated in 1985, 1990 or 1995. It focusses on how these living arrangements evolve over time, with special emphasis on immigrants who joined relatives already in Canada compared with those who came with family.

Migrating together or separately

Data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) for the years 1985 to 1995 indicate that about 40% of immigrants aged 15 and over came to Canada alone or traveled as individuals;

1. Of late, more immigrants have been selected for their skills, but in 1998, the last year for which complete information is available, over two-thirds of immigrants were admitted because they accompanied a relative or had family ties in this country.

This article relies primarily on data from the 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population. It also uses some data from the Landed Immigrant Data System (LIDS) collected by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). The study population comprises persons who immigrated to Canada in either 1985, 1990 or 1995 at age 15 and over.

The LIDS database provides information about immigrants at the time that they immigrate to Canada and employs CIC administrative categories to classify immigrants into the basic categories of “independent,” “family” and “refugee.” The Census collects data about which members of a household are immigrants and the year they immigrated, but not the CIC classification under which they entered the country.

The immigrant population captured in the Census was divided into categories that reflect increasing levels of support from relatives. To avoid double-counting, immigrants who live in an economic family with more than one type of relative (for example, a later arrival and a Canadian-born adult) were classified according to the relative who is longest-established in Canada or who should be able to lend the most support. The six categories of living arrangements are immigrants who live: (1) alone as unattached individuals; (2) in economic families with children only; (3) with an adult or adults who immigrated in a year later than themselves; (4) with an adult or adults who immigrated in the same year; (5) with immigrants who migrated in a year previous to them; and (6) with Canadian-born adult relatives.

Immigrant: person from another country permitted to live in Canada permanently.

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

Established relatives: adult economic family members who were born in Canada (*Canadian-born relatives*) or immigrated in a year prior to the immigrant population under study (*established immigrant relatives*).

Accompanying adult: adult immigrants who were admitted in the same year as the arriving immigrant.

Later arrivals/immigrants: adult immigrants who entered Canada after the immigrant.

Probability: the estimated likelihood that an immigrant will experience a given living arrangement, expressed as a percentage.

Reference immigrant: the reference immigrant reflects the statistical model’s controlled characteristics held constant at their most common value. For instance, the most common age at immigration is 30 to 49, the most common place of birth is Asia, the most common level of education is some postsecondary without a university degree, and the most common official language spoken is English. To isolate the effect of one variable, age at immigration for example, age at immigration is allowed to fluctuate while all the other characteristics are held constant at birthplace Asia, postsecondary education and English language ability. Estimates are usually presented for living arrangements prevailing five years after immigration, but education and language ability are presented for one year after.

just under 60% were accompanied by other adults. Overall, about one-third came with children under 15. About 57% of immigrants who arrived in 1985 were sponsored by relatives in Canada; in 1995, this proportion was close to 54%.

It appears, however, that not all of these newcomers actually lived with the family members who sponsored them, or if they did, that such arrangements were comparatively short-lived. Census data show that in 1986, just over half of 1985

immigrants were living with relatives who were already established in Canada; five years later, fewer than 40% did. Most of the decline appears to have been among those who joined previous immigrants. The comparatively small proportion living with

	Living alone	With children only	With later arrivals only	With accompanying family %	With established relatives		
					Immigrants (1)	Canadian-born (2)	Either (1) or (2)
Living arrangements at immigration in 1985	18	1	--	24	--	--	57
1986	13	2	1	33	43	11	51
1991	11	4	8	40	29	11	38
1996	11	4	11	36	26	13	38
Average	11	3	7	36	32	12	42

-- Data not collected.
 Note: Totals may not sum to 100 due to rounding. Categories (1) and (2) are not mutually exclusive.
 Sources: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Landed Immigrant Data System; and Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

Canadian-born adults actually grew over the period.

In contrast, the proportion of 1985 arrivals living with family who immigrated in the same year as themselves was fairly stable. The proportion who lived with immigrants who arrived in later years increased quickly, from less than 1% in 1986 to 8% in 1991 and 11% in 1996.

It seems that persons who migrate together are more likely to live together in Canada. This undoubtedly stems, in part, from the fact that persons who move together are likely to be more closely related than persons who join them later.

Many factors influence immigrant living arrangements

The living arrangements of immigrants are influenced by a number of factors. Gender and gender roles often dictate family arrangements and the timing of migration for family members. Age at immigration, length of time in Canada and changes over the life course also play a role. Differences in culture are additional considerations. Other more complex effects include level of education and official language ability.² Last but not least, the immigration regulations and the

relative social and economic conditions prevailing in Canada and the source country at the period of immigration are important.

These characteristics were used to develop a statistical model that estimates the probability (or likelihood) that an immigrant will reside in an economic family with a particular type of co-resident. The model isolates the effect of each characteristic on those probabilities; in other words, all the other factors in the model are “controlled for” or held constant while the influence of one is being considered. Probabilities are estimated for a benchmark reference immigrant, a simulated “typical immigrant” against whom the impact of change in a given characteristic is measured. Separate estimates were calculated for men and women because they have such different experiences. For simplicity’s sake, when describing the probabilities the term “immigrant” is employed rather than “reference immigrant,” with the understanding that it refers to an immigrant with the most typical characteristics.

Women join households, men bring their families with them

Men and women have different living arrangements at different stages in

their lives. Women generally marry at younger ages, are more often single parents and more often live alone in old age.

It is clear from Census data that a person’s age at immigration exerts a powerful effect on living arrangements. As expected, though, there are clear differences between men and women. Women have a greater tendency to live with adults who had immigrated in a previous year; for their part, men more often live with persons who migrated with them or who joined them later. To the extent that a family immigrates over a period of years, men more often lead the way to Canada and are joined later by women and children.

Even after five years in Canada, both women and men who immigrated as teenagers have the highest likelihood of living with adults who migrated in the same year (probably their parents). Young women, though, have a slightly higher probability of living with established immigrants.

2. Employment and income are related in even more complex ways, and will be discussed in a forthcoming article.

Canada has an evaluation system that helps immigration officers assess the suitability of people who want to live here. Independent immigrants are evaluated on the point system; many others, such as refugees and family class applicants, are not. Family reunification enables the close family of a landed immigrant to join him or her in Canada. Close family is defined as a spouse, dependent children, parents, grandparents, orphaned brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, or grandchildren under 19 and unmarried, fiancé(e) and dependent children. It accounts for roughly half of all newcomers to Canada.

Family reunification has long been a key objective of Canadian immigration policy and legislation. Canada has resisted the trend in other immigrant-receiving countries to restrict family immigration. Family class immigration permits both recent immigrants and long-established Canadians to be reunited with close family members from abroad, assists them in achieving self-reliance and supports the building of communities.

Although family class immigrants are not assessed by the point system, they must prove to the visa officer in their country of residence that they meet Canada's health standards and are of good character. Also, they must be sponsored by a close relative who is a citizen or permanent resident of Canada. Sponsors must sign an undertaking of financial responsibility, which may extend from one to ten years, to provide housing and care for the people they bring in. People who do not qualify under the family class criteria but who have close relatives here may apply to enter as skilled workers and receive points for having a relative in Canada.

Strengthening the family unit is important in helping newcomers adjust to Canada. Still, studies show that family class immigrants often have more difficulty settling in because they are less able to speak English or French or have fewer job skills. The support from close relatives can be crucial in helping a newcomer meet these challenges successfully.

The effect of cross-border marriages may be discerned in people migrating in their twenties. All else being equal, there is a one in three chance that a woman immigrating at this age will live with an immigrant who was already established in Canada, and a one in four chance for men. An estimated 20% of the men in this group will live with a person who followed them to Canada, compared with 11% of the women. However, 15% of men who immigrate in their twenties will live alone.

Among both men and women, but especially men, people who immigrate in their prime working years between the ages of 30 and 49 have a high probability of continuing to live with persons who immigrated with them, at almost 60% after five years.

Thereafter as the age at migration increases, the probability that an immigrant will live with established

relatives also climbs. There is a 48% likelihood that those who arrived as seniors will be living with immigrants who preceded them. Women admitted after age 65, however, also have the highest probability of living alone of all age groups. After five years in Canada, an estimated 23% will live alone, compared with 4% of men. It does not appear, however, that many of these women were widowed in Canada. More women than men migrate at an older age, and the probability that they will live alone is high even one year after their arrival. This suggests that the death of their partners abroad may prompt the immigration of older women.

Families evolve and change with time in Canada

Family arrangements also change as immigrants adjust to life in their new country, and the number of years since

their admission to Canada has a profound impact on the type of household they live in. Holding constant all factors except length of residence, the probability that an immigrant will live with established immigrants falls over a decade by almost half for men (from 30% in the first to 17% in the tenth year), and by over one-third for women (from 34% to 22%). Given that over half of all immigrants migrate on the strength of a sponsor in Canada, and that the drop in the probability of living with previous immigrants is most precipitous between one and five years after arrival, the data suggest that living with established relatives is an interim arrangement for many.

The probability that an immigrant man will be joined by someone who arrived in a year later than himself increases from 2% after one year in Canada to 12% after five years and to almost 20% after 10 years. The

Age at arrival	Living alone	With children only	With later arrivals only	With accompanying family	With established relatives	
					Immigrants	Canadian-born
%						
Men						
Under 20	5	2	4	65	22	2
20-29	15	1	20	32	26	5
30-49	7	1	14	59	16	3
50-64	4	†	4	59	29	3
65 and over	4	†	2	40	48	4
Women						
Under 20	5	3	6	55	27	3
20-29	10	4	11	34	35	6
30-49	9	5	8	55	20	3
50-64	12	1	6	37	40	4
65 and over	23	†	5	17	48	6

† Less than 1 percent.

Immigrants rely less on established immigrants the longer they live in Canada

Years of residence	%					
	Men					
1	11	2	2	53	30	2
5	9	1	12	55	20	3
10	8	1	20	49	17	4
Women						
1	11	2	1	48	34	3
5	9	4	8	49	25	3
10	12	6	11	45	22	4

Immigrants from some non-traditional source regions are more likely to be living alone or with children only

Place of birth	%					
	Men					
United States	11	2	2	31	5	49
Latin America/Caribbean	11	2	16	44	20	7
Europe	10	1	13	57	9	10
Africa	17	1	17	47	11	6
Asia/Pacific	7	1	14	59	16	3
Women						
United States	12	8	1	22	7	50
Latin America/Caribbean	10	15	12	36	20	7
Europe	11	6	4	55	14	10
Africa	10	11	7	52	17	3
Asia/Pacific	9	5	8	55	20	3

Note: Percentage refers to estimated probabilities for a reference immigrant at five years after immigrating to Canada. See "What you should know about this study." Totals may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

Highest level of education	Living alone	With children only	With later arrivals only	With accompanying family	With established relatives	
					Immigrants	Canadian-born
Men						
Primary/secondary	6	1	13	58	19	2
High school graduation	7	1	15	58	17	2
Some postsecondary	7	1	14	59	16	3
University degree	7	1	13	64	12	2
Women						
Primary/secondary	6	3	1	55	31	3
High school graduation	6	3	1	57	31	2
Some postsecondary	10	3	1	54	30	3
University degree	9	2	2	58	26	3

Note: Percentage refers to estimated probabilities for a reference immigrant at one year after immigrating to Canada. See "What you should know about this study." Totals may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

corresponding figures for women suggest that they are less likely to sponsor new immigrants.

In contrast, the likelihood of living with other adults who immigrated in the same year is much more stable over time, although after 10 years it too has declined a little. Again, it seems that family members who migrate together are inherently more likely to remain living together than relatives who are separated by migration.

Immigrants differ by period of immigration

The social and economic conditions that push migrants out of their own country, or pull them toward Canada, vary over time. They determine who will move in a given period and they condition the behaviour of these migrants. Of special importance are the regulations governing migration in the country of origin and in Canada.

In 1985, Canada curtailed the selection of skilled workers in view of high rates of domestic unemployment, and family reunification became virtually the only means of entering the country. With the boom of the late

80s the emphasis shifted to selecting independent migrants, and by 1990 a smaller proportion of immigrants were being admitted to join family members already in Canada. The early 90s witnessed a new recession and by 1995, family reunification was again an important component of immigration.

This cycle suggests that immigrants who came in 1985 and in 1995 differ in their living arrangements from those who arrived in 1990. Holding other factors constant, five years after immigration, 1990 immigrants were more likely to be living with accompanying adults who had come in that same year, while 1985 arrivals had the highest probability of living with established family.

People born in different regions have different family migration patterns

Migrants born in different source countries also differ considerably in terms of their living arrangements in Canada. These differences reflect historical connections to Canada as well as cultural traditions surrounding gender roles, marriage and extended family living arrangements.

All other things being equal, immigrants born in Latin America or the Caribbean, in Asia and in Africa are the most likely to live with established immigrants. Immigrants from these regions also have the highest likelihood of living with immigrants who arrived later. For Americans and Europeans, the probabilities of living with immigrants from a previous year are lower but they are much higher for living with Canadian-born adults. American-born immigrants seem to choose Canadian mates: both men and women have about a 50% likelihood of living with a Canadian-born person within five years of coming to Canada. The probability is about 10% for Europeans and it is almost nil for immigrants from most other regions of origin. Cross-border marriages apparently drive much of the immigration to Canada from the United States.

Immigrants born in Asia and Europe have the highest probabilities of living with someone who immigrated in the same year, at over 50% five years after arrival for both men and women. In contrast, men from Africa

have the greatest likelihood of living alone; young African men rival senior women in their propensity to live alone. Since a relatively high proportion of African women are still living with children only, these findings suggest that migrants from this region might be having difficulty reuniting their families. The scattering of refugee families resulting from turmoil in some African countries during the 1980s and 1990s may well be responsible.

Women from Latin America and the Caribbean are most likely to be single parents. Compared with other women, there is a higher probability that women from these regions will lead the migration of their families. This is indicated, for example, by the comparatively higher likelihood that they will live with immigrants who are later arrivals than themselves.

With education comes increased independence

Both education and language ability interact with economic family arrangements. For example, five or ten years after arrival, it can be difficult to say whether an immigrant lives in a particular type of family because they speak an official language or whether they have learned an official language because of their living arrangements. Accordingly, the probabilities related to education and language ability are estimated for one year after immigration.

People with a higher level of education exhibit less reliance on family members already established in Canada. All else being constant, the probability of living with established immigrants decreases with education among both sexes. It is also clear that the higher the level of education, the higher the probability that an immigrant will be living with others who came at the same time. The chances of living alone also increase with schooling.

The impact of official language ability is quite similar to that of education. Those who speak neither of Canada's

official languages have the greatest likelihood of living with immigrants who preceded them to Canada. Those who speak both official languages have a high probability of living alone or with persons who migrated in the same year.

Summary

The general living arrangements of immigrants, and in particular their propensity to live with established relatives, is conditioned by gender, life stage and culture. It is also conditioned in more complex ways by education and language ability. It must be acknowledged, however, that Canadian immigration policy plays an important role in determining the characteristics of immigrants and can directly or indirectly influence their subsequent living arrangements.

Clearly, an adjustment in the economic family arrangements of immigrants takes place over time. Most immigrants are able to rely on the support of family in Canada, but some seem to lack such assistance. They include women immigrating after age 65, young African men and single mothers from Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. Furthermore, it seems that families divided by the migration process are more likely to live apart after a short time in Canada than are families who arrive in the same calendar year. The decision to migrate together may itself imply closer bonds and the intention to live together after arrival.



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	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
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	15,999.2
<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	14,909.7
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	8,049.3
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	6,860.4
<i>Workers employed part-time (%)</i>	18.7	19.3	19.0	18.9	19.2	19.1	18.9	18.5	18.1
Men	10.6	11.2	10.8	10.8	10.8	10.5	10.6	10.3	10.3
Women	28.4	29.0	28.9	28.6	29.2	29.4	28.8	28.0	27.3
Involuntary part-time ¹	29.2	31.9	31.4	31.5	35.0	31.1	29.2	26.7	25.3
Looked for full-time work	--	--	--	--	--	10.6	10.0	9.0	7.4
% of women employed whose youngest child is under 6	15.8	16.1	16.0	15.9	15.9	15.6	15.0	14.7	14.3
% of workers who were self-employed	15.0	15.8	15.5	15.7	16.1	17.1	17.2	16.9	16.2
% of employed working over 40 hours per week ²	20.3	21.0	21.7	21.7	21.2	18.9	18.9	18.4	18.0
% of workers employed in temporary/contract positions	--	--	--	--	--	11.4	11.8	12.1	12.5
% of full-time students employed in summer	52.4	49.9	50.3	50.2	47.9	45.7	47.2	48.8	50.9
<i>Unemployment rate (%)</i>	11.2	11.4	10.4	9.4	9.6	9.1	8.3	7.6	6.8
Men aged 15-24	19.6	19.6	17.9	16.3	16.9	17.1	16.6	15.3	13.9
25-54	10.7	10.6	9.6	8.7	8.9	8.0	7.2	6.5	5.7
Women aged 15-24	14.3	14.3	13.5	13.0	13.7	15.2	13.6	12.6	11.3
25-54	9.2	9.9	9.0	8.2	8.5	7.6	6.9	6.3	5.8
Population with high school or less	14.0	14.2	13.1	12.2	12.4	12.1	11.2	10.3	9.3
Population with postsecondary completion	9.3	9.6	8.9	7.9	8.1	7.4	6.5	5.9	5.2
Population with university degree	5.5	5.9	5.4	4.9	5.2	4.8	4.4	4.3	3.9
EDUCATION									
Total enrolment in elementary/secondary schools ('000)	5,284.1	5,327.8	5,362.8	5,430.8	5,414.5	5,386.3	--	--	--
Secondary school graduation rate (%)	73.2	74.6	71.5	74.8	74.7	74.4	--	--	--
<i>Postsecondary enrolment ('000)</i>									
Community college, full-time	364.6	369.1	379.9	391.2	397.3	398.6	403.5	--	--
Community college, part-time	103.6	98.4	90.8	87.7	87.1	91.6	91.4	--	--
University, full-time ³	569.5	574.3	575.7	573.2	573.2	573.1	580.3	--	--
University, part-time ³	316.2	300.3	283.3	273.2	256.1	249.7	246.0	--	--
% of population 18-24 enrolled full-time in postsecondary	32.6	33.4	33.9	34.3	34.6	34.3	34.4	--	--
% of population 18-21 in college	23.0	23.5	24.2	24.7	24.7	24.6	24.7	--	--
% of population 18-24 in university ³	19.8	20.3	20.4	20.4	20.4	20.2	20.3	--	--
<i>Community college diplomas granted ('000)</i>	92.5	95.2	99.0	97.2	101.0	105.0	--	--	--
<i>Bachelor's and first professional degrees granted⁴ ('000)</i>									
Agriculture, biological sciences	7,722	8,121	8,399	9,288	9,664	10,079	--	--	--
Education	21,079	21,123	21,277	21,421	20,638	19,374	--	--	--
Engineering and applied sciences	8,309	8,799	9,098	9,415	9,138	9,255	--	--	--
Fine and applied arts	4,049	4,189	4,194	4,142	4,105	4,276	--	--	--
Health professions	7,778	7,970	8,375	8,633	8,837	8,620	--	--	--
Humanities and related	16,706	16,643	16,127	15,889	15,014	14,721	--	--	--
Mathematics and physical sciences	6,580	6,816	7,142	7,005	7,091	7,239	--	--	--
Social sciences	47,844	49,172	49,035	48,422	47,751	47,760	--	--	--

-- 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.

Sources: *Labour Force Historical Review*, 1999, Catalogue no. 71F0004XCB and *Education In Canada*, 1999, Catalogue no. 81-229-XPB.

EDUCATORS' NOTEBOOK

Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom

Lesson plan for “Patterns of volunteering over the life cycle”

Objective

- To explore the importance of volunteering both for the individual and for society.

Method

1. Conduct a survey to find out how many students in the class have done volunteer work. Ask them to briefly describe where they were working and what their volunteer job entailed.
2. Have students talk about their parents’ and possibly their grandparents’ involvement in volunteering. Each generation may have different reasons for offering their time as volunteers. Can you see a pattern to who volunteers and why?
3. Relying on their own experience, ask students to list some of the benefits and some of the drawbacks of volunteering.
4. According to the article, there is an association between volunteering and being socially connected. How has volunteering expanded your range of interactions with people? Were most of these interactions proximate or extended? Explain.
5. Describe in your own words why you think volunteering is important to society. Consider what would happen if all volunteers quit their job tomorrow.

Using other resources

- Caring Canadians, involved Canadians: Highlights from the 1997 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating.* Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 71-542-XPE. Available also on the Internet.

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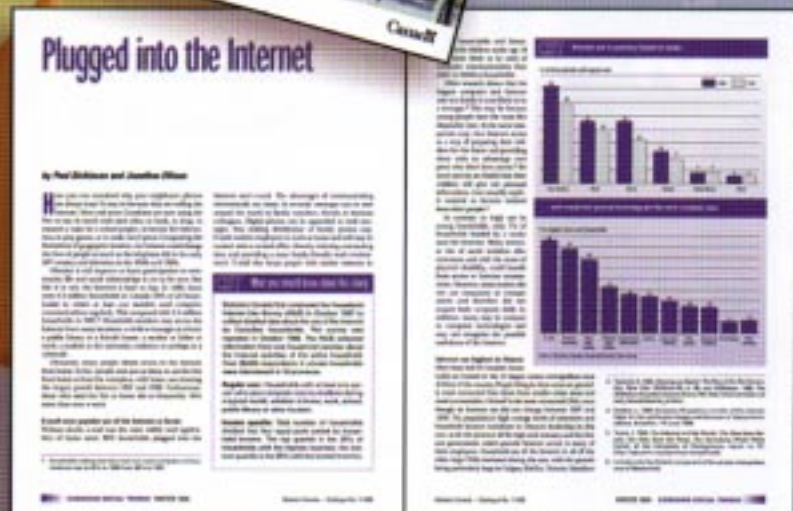
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