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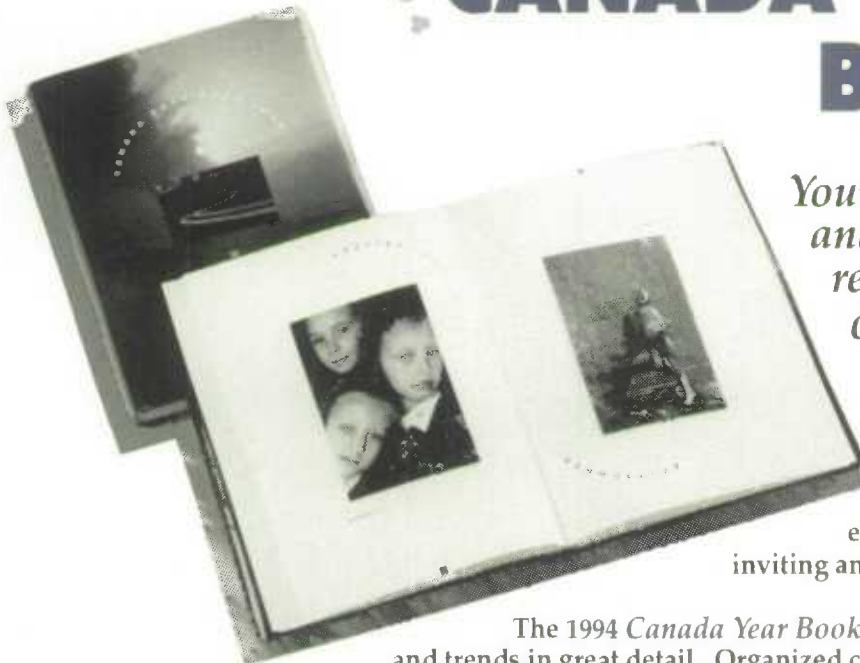
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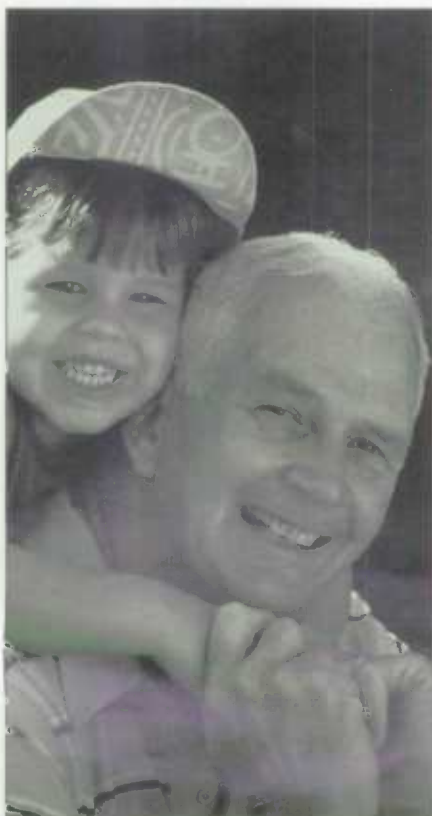
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Cover: The Woolsey Family (1809) oil on canvas, 59.9 x 86.5 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Canada.

About the artist:

Born in Saxony, **William Von Moll Berczy** (1744-1813) arrived in Upper Canada in 1794. Taking up painting in his later years, he assisted his father, also an artist, with the painting of the **The Woolsey Family**, which was completed in 1809. Mr. Berczy died in 1813 during a journey to New York.



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Robert Glossop on the Canadian Family

On the Occasion of the International Year of the Family



1994 International Year of the Family

Robert Glossop and his colleagues participating in the United Nations' International Year of the Family have chosen to celebrate this special year by highlighting some of the many positive aspects of families and family life. However, Dr. Glossop does acknowledge that family life in Canada and elsewhere has its darker side, such as family violence and abuse, poverty and intergenerational conflict. — Ed.



Robert Glossop has served as the Director of Programs and Research with the Vanier Institute of the Family since 1983, after joining the organization in 1975. Dr. Glossop received his B.A. at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario and his doctorate at the University of Birmingham in England. Through his work, he combines his perspectives as a sociologist and philosopher with his personal interests as a father of two and an active community member. On behalf of the Vanier Institute, he advises a variety of government departments and national organizations on social policy questions. A recurring theme in all his work is the need to understand the rapidly changing social "ecology" in which families live.



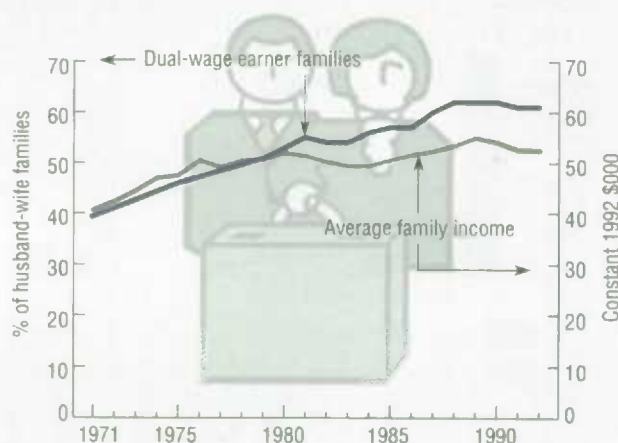
So far, during this International Year of the Family, you've spoken with a great many people about families in Canada. What do you feel Canadians understand by "family"?

To begin with, Canadians continue to report that the most important things in their lives are their families...more important than their political convictions, their religious beliefs, their jobs, their wages. For most Canadians, what I think they have in mind when they talk about family are really relationships in which they understand they are taken care of, and in which they are obliged to take care of others. So there are bonds of affection and obligation that tie people one to another. There are obviously still many Canadians who would choose to define family by reference to marriage or to blood relationships between individuals. But I think people are increasingly adopting a more inclusive definition, focusing more on what families do rather than what they look like.

What do you feel is the most important issue facing Canadian families?

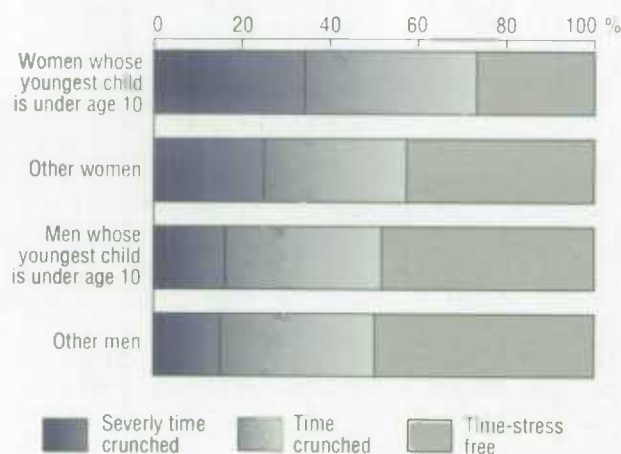
I think the majority of Canadian families feel economically insecure today. Canadians are worried about their own economic security in the short and long term, and also about the economic prospects of their children. Increasingly, we are beginning to understand that it doesn't matter so much whether or not we work hard or are well qualified for our jobs. Instead, we now know that it is decisions taken elsewhere, over which we have very little control, that will define our prospects. The other pressing issue Canadians tell us about is what Statistics Canada has characterized as the "time crunch." Increasingly, families have to devote more hours per week to the labour market just to make ends meet, as more and more families become dual-wage earner families. Ten, fifteen years ago, we were looking for that elusive thing called "quality time." I think that many families today are just exhausted, living with very frenetic schedules and trying to balance the often incompatible and competing demands of their families and workplaces. So, economic insecurity and time, I think, are the most important issues facing today's families.

"Increasingly, families have to devote more hours per week to the labour market just to make ends meet..."



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 13-208.

"...many families today are just exhausted, living with very frenetic schedules..."



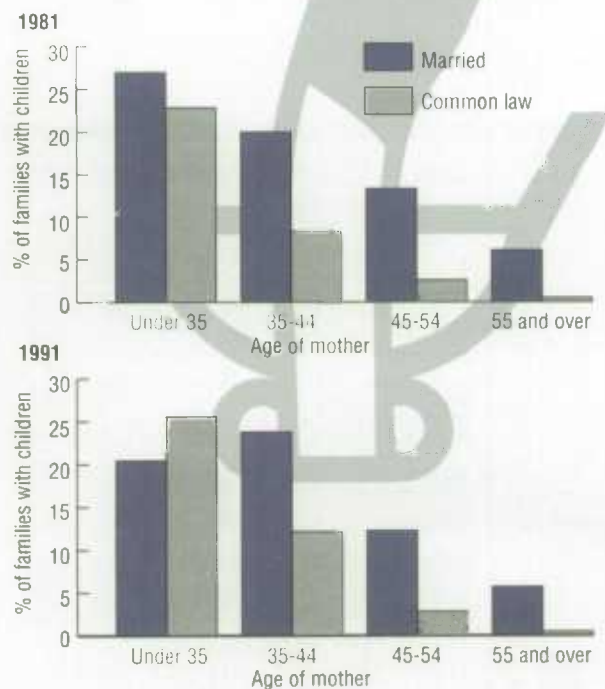
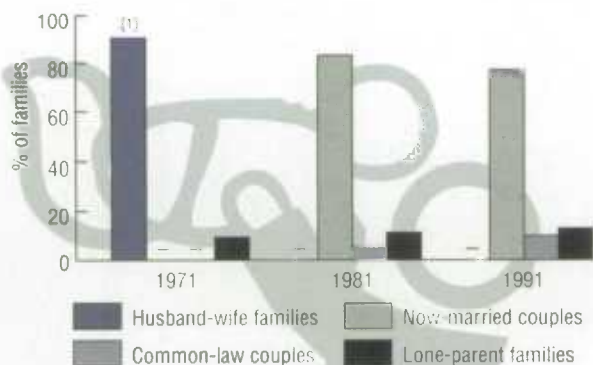
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 11-008E, No. 31.

The Standard North-American Family (SNAF) is viewed as parents and their dependant children. But you have described today's families as belonging to a gallery of diverse types. How diverse are they?



The SNAF category was, just to set this in context, the idea that families should look like the families in the 1950s and early 1960s, the so-called

"Patterns of cohabitation and out-of-wedlock births are definitely more pronounced among younger age cohorts."



¹ In 1971, husband-wife families included now-married and common-law couples.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 89-516 and 93-320.

traditional single-wage earner, nuclear family living in suburbia. We should recognize that this so-called traditional family was not really traditional at all. It was a specific form of family formation and functioning characteristic of only a relatively limited period of time. So it should not be viewed as the model of family formation and functioning against which all departures subsequently observed should be evaluated and assessed.

Families vary according to both form and function. I would argue that we can distinguish different kinds of family by at least five criteria. One would be structure and membership, that is, how people are joined together, how their bonds of affection and obligation are defined and how the characteristics of individual family members differ: are people in a family by virtue of marriage or cohabitation or by virtue of caring for a dependant elder; or is there a child with various gifts or special needs, a member suffering from alcohol or drug dependencies or one whose own family history includes violence? Families also differ by virtue of heritage, that is, the linguistic and cultural background that has informed and shaped their own experience and opinion about family. In addition, they differ depending on where in the life course they happen to be: are there young children or adolescents in the family or have all dependant children left home? Families also vary by virtue of their geographical location: families in an outpost in Newfoundland call upon a different sense of community and a very different set of services and supports than do families in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Hamilton, wherever. Finally, families differ in terms of how they divide up the responsibilities for the work associated with family: are the tasks for domestic chores and child care divided equally between men and women; or is the family modelled more after the so-called traditional patriarchal family?

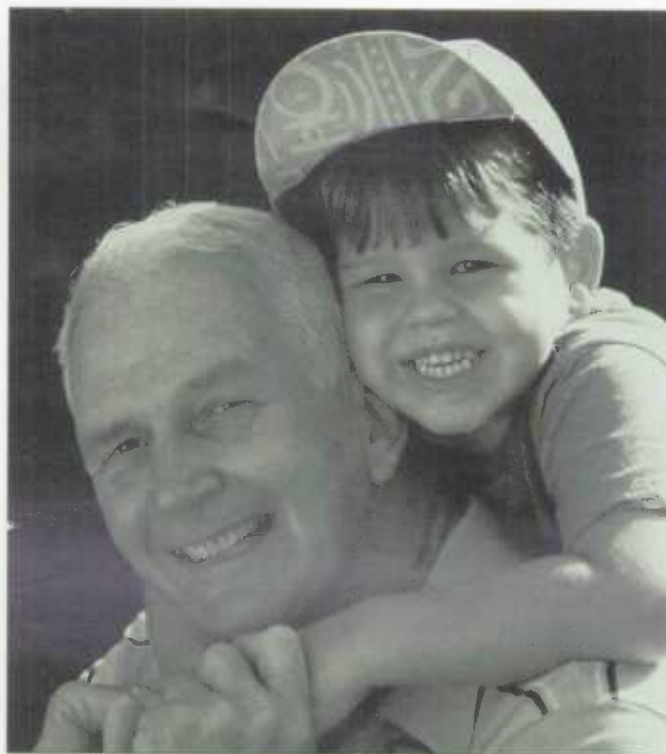
Regardless of how families differ one from another, all families do assume responsibility on behalf of their individual members and on behalf of the larger society to carry out certain essential tasks: production of goods and services, socialization and education...and indeed, at least ideally, families provide a context of love and affection within which people can grow.

More and more children are born and raised outside marriage or experience the breakdown of their parents' marriage. Is this creating a generation gap between young people and the generations who grew up taking traditional families and lifetime marital relations for granted?



Although children are increasingly being born outside marriage, about the same proportion are being born to two parents as was the case throughout the 1950s and 1960s. So it's not the case that the dramatic increase in the number of children born to unmarried women represents a huge increase in the number of children born into a lone-parent family situation. Instead, many are born to two parents who simply are not married, and this observation underscores the need to distinguish between marriage and family.

Patterns of ~~cohabitation and out-of-wedlock~~ births are definitely more pronounced among younger age cohorts. Consequently, we are witnessing an evolution in cultural values where there is a difference between the attitudes, values, expectations and taken-for-granted assumptions of younger people and those of older people. Canadians, many of whom have children, now have relatively higher rates of separation and divorce. That does raise significant questions about the family contexts within which our children are formulating their own ideas about what it means to be in a family...and also often creating very difficult circumstances for these children. The majority of children who experience the separation or divorce of their parents will fall into poverty for a period of time; their peer group relationships are likely to be interrupted as they move from one neighbourhood to another. They will possibly be dealing with ongoing conflict between their parents who are no longer devoted to one another, even though they remain devoted to both. So children, who tend to thrive on predictability and stability in their lives, are often in family situations that are increasingly fluid and unpredictable. That has consequences that we are only beginning to understand through some of the longitudinal research that has been done. We certainly need more of that research – that perhaps indicates the importance of Statistics Canada's recent investment in the design of the Survey of Labour and



Income Dynamics and the work being done in cooperation with others on the National Longitudinal Survey of Children.

One of the main features in the coming years is that the population is aging rapidly. When we talk about families, we really think of parents and children. What is happening with relationships with grandparents and aging parents?



I think your question is really instructive – it reminds us that the way we tend to think about families is by virtue of relationships between adults and young children. That's a very important part of a family's biography, but it doesn't end there. There are relationships of dependence and interdependence that don't have anything to do with children. We are aware of the so-called sandwich generation in which people are simultaneously trying to assume responsibility for dependant children and beginning to deal with how they can care for their aging relatives. So "family," I think, needs to be understood more broadly to encompass relationships of interdependence between generations and between households. We do indeed live in an aging society.

We can look at the lack of success we've had in addressing the child care needs of Canadian families...and we might hope that we could be a little more anticipatory as we confront the challenge of supporting the increasing number of families that will be assuming more and more responsibility for the care of elders.

From some of the recent GSS [General Social Survey] findings, I was struck by the frequency of contact and the nature of the relationships that still exist between grandparents and their grandchildren. It seems that people in Canada are still committing themselves to one another over the generations, which is very important for families. It's a challenge, though, in our society for people to provide tangible support to their aging parents, when, in fact, there is nobody at home any longer during the day to provide care for elders, the sick, the disabled or children. I think there is a limit to what kind of support we can provide to our elders when we are crunched for time to begin with and when we may not be living very close by. I think we have to begin to focus on the profile of care givers in our society a little bit more than we have in the past. And I hope that we will do that by

looking at the entire age spectrum so we can understand who is providing care for whom...and under what circumstances and with what supports from the broader community.

The family has historically filled many functions that in this century have been assumed by various levels of government. How far is this going and in what direction have we been moving lately?

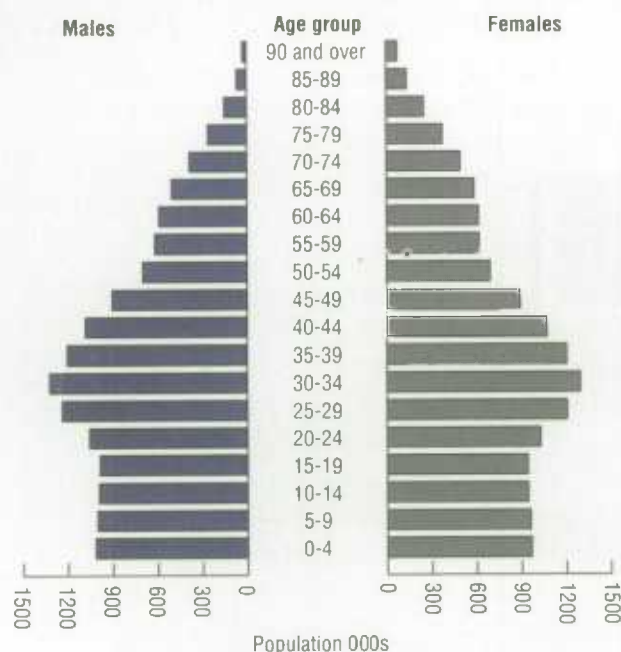


I think it's naive to think that the family was ever really the self-sufficient unit that we have been led to believe it was.

Families have always required support and acknowledgement from their communities, from their larger kinship networks, and indeed, from the state. Margaret Mead said that we are a very peculiar society because we have come to expect an isolated family to carry out the work that in the past would have been assumed by an entire clan or tribe. Most societies knew that raising the next generation was far too important to leave in the hands of two individuals with whatever idiosyncratic beliefs and attitudes they may have. So the notion of family as a self-sufficient, self-reliant enclave, I think, has mislead us in many ways. Families have always been supported and must always be supported by the larger community that surrounds them.

You could say that Canadian families have grown dependant upon the state to provide a number of things to help them do their work. But I don't think that most Canadians would want to characterize their relationship to the publicly-supported health or education system as one of dependency. But clearly these are supports that we have now come to take for granted will be supported through the state – different than in the U.S. where, as we know, a medical emergency can lead to personal bankruptcy and financial ruin for families. So, are we dependant on the state for education and health care? Yes, I suppose we are. Should families assume more of this responsibility? I'm not sure. I think we have, in fact, constructed health and education systems that do provide more equal access and a fairer distribution of health care services and education across the population than would be the case if we were to leave it entirely in the hands of the individual family.

"We do indeed live in an aging society."



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-213.

There is another irony, too, which is that we live in increasingly uncertain times, when we, as individuals, can exercise less influence over the decisions that will shape our fate. More and more Canadians seem to be saying, "Just get the state out of this and leave the responsibility with me," as though we could protect ourselves better as individuals than as members of a larger society. I think that's surprising in the present circumstances and also naive in the long run.

I am concerned about what I call the privatisation of family – too often I have been told by people, "Those people had the children, they're their children. So get them off my back as a tax payer." Again, I think that it's short-sighted. First of all, all of us, as tax payers, will grow to be dependant upon the children who are being nurtured by those who have been courageous enough to commit themselves to the next generation...by having them and loving them and providing for them. I also think that providing and caring for children involves a very difficult, expensive, time-consuming and onerous set of tasks...a set of tasks that, quite frankly, has not been valued or appreciated sufficiently by the rest of us. But families cannot be expected to provide – on their own – the fundamental services that will benefit not only individual members, but also society as a whole. Indeed, families are responsible to provide for their members in the best fashion they can. But they can only do so when the labour market generates enough jobs so that people can provide for themselves and their families, or when there is an effective income security system to provide for those temporarily out of work and for older people who cannot find remuneration in the labour market.

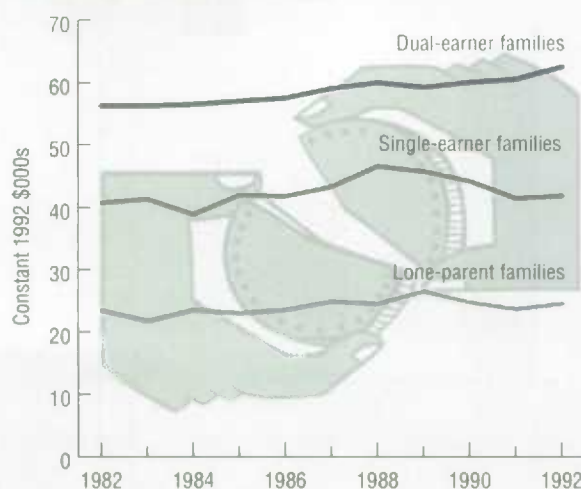
This whole discussion of the cost of raising children and the notion of investment brings up the next issue of real family incomes not having increased over the past fifteen years. Yet many families are working harder than ever before. Can you comment on that?



Well, this is really the big trend. Today, most husband-wife families rely on two wage earners. So you've got this incredible dedication of the family's

time to the labour market in order to make ends meet. Within that statement "real family incomes have not increased over the past fifteen years," there are some finer points that need to be acknowledged. The only families that have stayed even or increased their real incomes have been dual-wage earner families. There has been a deterioration in the purchasing power of single-wage earner families, and most significantly right now, of young families. Young families with heads under the age of 25 have lost dramatically in terms of their purchasing power – raising questions about their entry into the labour market, their long-term security, what kind of occupational trajectories they can anticipate. So the thing I want to do is to acknowledge that within that static picture of real average family incomes, there have been some losers and some winners. That explains the polarization and politicization of families that function differently one from another. That explains how the interests of single-wage earner families are not the same as the interests of dual-wage earners. It explains why the child care issue becomes such a heated topic. The single-wage earner family that has seen its real purchasing power diminish over time, looks at the cost of the publicly-sponsored child-care system and says, "Wait a minute. That is not serving my interests. Why should my taxes go

"The only families that have stayed even or increased their real incomes have been dual-wage earner families."



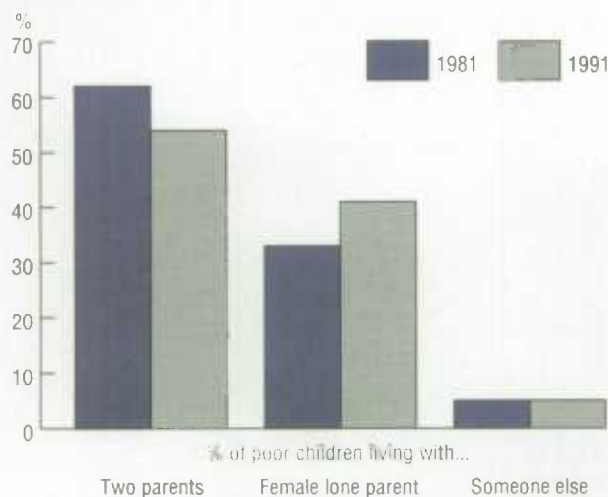
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 13-208.

to support that public system?" Whereas the dual-wage earner family says, "We are both putting tremendous tax dollars into this economy, which is relying upon my productivity as a woman in the labour market." So those dual-wage earner families say, "There's no free lunch...there's an obligation on the part of the state to support us as we balance our obligations as both employees and family members." What you need to do, from a public policy point of view, is to acknowledge the contributions both kinds of families make and their circumstances, and find appropriate income security and social supports to acknowledge both.

When the economy is based on two incomes per family, we can understand why you have almost two-thirds of female lone-parent families living in poverty. There are lots of other things that help us understand that too – in terms of wage discrimination between men and women and lack of appropriate child care to support the efforts of lone mothers to be in the labour market. It's now increasingly difficult to maintain a household on the basis of one income and a single parent does this by definition.

We already talked about the time crunch. In order to get those average family incomes, we now need two wage earners, and the consequence of that is you've got less time outside the labour market.

"...not all poor children are living in lone-parent families."



Source: The Vanier Institute of the Family, **Profiling Canada's Families, 1994**.

Given this trend that we have seen for fifteen years or so, Canadians have come to the realization that they may not be better off five years from now, or ten years from now. More than 50% of Canadians now do not expect their children to achieve standards of living and economic security equivalent to their own. That's a profound change. That creates all sorts of dynamics – between segments of the labour market and within families – in terms of expectations and ambitions and educational aspirations.

Despite the level of poverty that you say exists among female lone parents, only a minority receive child support and the dependence on transfer payments is increasing. Do you feel that the state is taking over the support responsibilities of absent fathers?



es, and in some cases inevitably so. It's really hard to get a good estimate on what proportion of relief and support orders are in default, but we know that it is really high. We also know that the amount of child support awarded is probably too low. There's a lot of work being done to develop child support guidelines and to get more coherence into the system and create better enforcement mechanisms and so on. All of that is absolutely essential. Fathers must come to understand – or must be obliged to understand – that when a marriage is dissolved, it does not dissolve their familial obligations and responsibilities. At the same time, it costs more money to maintain two households than it does to maintain one. And this is a real dilemma. Consequently, I don't think it's realistic for us as a society to expect that we can deal adequately with the financial and economic consequences of separation and divorce, as though these consequences are nothing but private responsibilities. In fact, there are positive economic consequences that come from marriage that are experienced by the larger society. Probably, the larger society has to assume some of the responsibility and jeopardy of what happens when marriages dissolve.

It's a set of issues that will be resolved only when men do understand their obligation and are willing to assume that responsibility. But while this is a necessary condition, it is not necessarily a

sufficient condition. The collectivity of the state and of society are going to have to acknowledge that this is going to cost money...that high rates of separation and divorce do represent a burden on the budget.

Would you expand on the quote from the Vanier Institute's *Profiling Canada's Families* "Most children living in single-parent families are poor, but most poor children live in two-parent families."

That's an important statement and that's one that we put into our publication simply to remind people that not all poor children are living in lone-parent families. An awful lot of people figure the only reason that we face the tragedy of childhood poverty is because we have so many lone-parent families. Lone mothers are 5 to 6 times more likely to be living in poverty than are mothers raising their children with a partner. But because lone-parent families represent about 13% of families and about 20% of families raising children, you are still dealing with a minority of families. The majority of poor kids are, in fact, living with poor mothers and dads. That means the question of how you deal with childhood poverty is not confined only to questions of absent fathers and support payment enforcement procedures. It raises questions about the working poor, about good jobs and bad jobs, and about minimum wages, which have decreased dramatically in their real purchasing power in the last fifteen years. It also raises questions about the tax treatment of low- and modest-income families. The real reason for the quote was to point out that although we need to address childhood poverty in the context of lone-parent families, that's not going to resolve the question of childhood poverty or food banks in Canada. If you're going to resolve the questions of childhood poverty generally, you are going to need income security for families in general, within which you then have special targeted provisions for lone-parent families. It was basically an attempt to challenge some of the myths that have grown up around families. And this was one – that most poor kids are growing up with single moms is simply not the case.

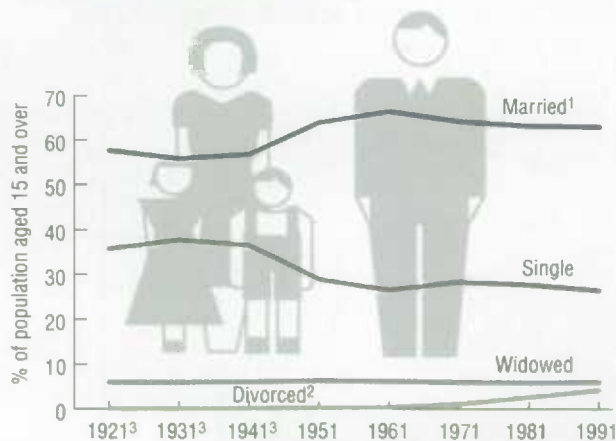
The blended family was once a common occurrence resulting from the remarriage of widows and widowers. It has re-emerged as a result of divorce. What is new about these families?



I guess the quickest observation is that these families are likely to exist beside another blended family which was formed when the former spouse remarried. Blended families today are usually made up of younger people with younger children. The kids are possibly moving back and forth and there will be divided allegiances between these different blended families.

The other thing is that there has never really been a script for stepmothers and stepfathers, other than the nasty stories about Cinderella's stepmother and other similar images. Now, because it is so frequent, we are trying to define these roles. What does it mean to be a stepmother, stepfather, stepsibling, half-sibling and so on? It's another one of those examples of our need to consciously define the kind of family we are creating. What binds a child in a blended family to his stepfather is not the same as what binds a child in another family to his or her biological father. Upon reflection, all these patterns of relationship can be the occasion for

"...the stepfamily in the past wasn't surrounded by all these "ex"-relationships..."



¹ Married includes separated and common law after 1921.

² Divorced included separated in 1921.

³ Canada totals do not include Newfoundland until 1951.

Source: Statistics Canada. Catalogue 93-310.

various kinds of emotional and behavioural problems that can lead people to a family counsellor. Whereas the stepfamily in the past wasn't surrounded by all these "ex"-relationships, today's blended families often involve ex-husbands and wives, and their new mates.

Statistics Canada is the leading source of data on families in Canada. Are you satisfied with what's available or do you think that Statistics Canada should take new approaches to exploring current family relations?



I'm very dependant on Statistics Canada data...but because of some of the changes we have been talking about, there are new questions to be asked. I know that there are people at Statistics Canada dealing with them, trying to answer them. But perhaps I could offer some ideas about the type of questions I would like to see addressed. The question about the value of unpaid labour is a tricky but important question. Time use – as the primary method of understanding the nature of this contribution – is terribly important. Also, we definitely need to be able to trace, over time, the relationships between individuals in the context of their households. We do need accurate information about the relationship between adults in families and how these relationships

change over time. We need to know how they are related to the children in their care. Are there half-siblings, stepsiblings and so on? Even though we do know quite a bit about families and what they look like, we need to know more about what it is that binds members of households to other people to whom they are committed as family. And this will become more important as we increasingly worry about dependency and interdependency relationships, and how these are acknowledged and valued in public policy.

On the light side, what, if anything, has surprised you most about the family in Canada?

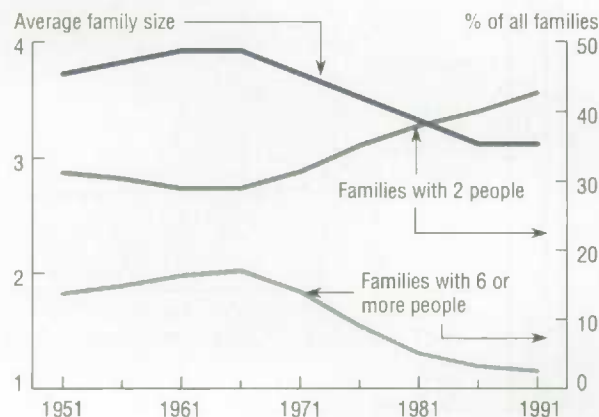


From Statistics Canada, what struck me as most curious was that people still seem to live close to other family members, despite our high rates of geographic mobility...and that they have fairly regular contact with one another.

From going around the country and talking to people, what I have found is that people are very quick to point to a crisis in the family and to argue that nobody cares about the family anymore. But when asked about their own family, they suggest that it is still the core of their being, the core of their existence. So there seems to be something out of sync. There is a curious sense among Canadians...they believe that they are doing OK and have their own family commitments well defined, but they are sceptical about the commitments and values of others.

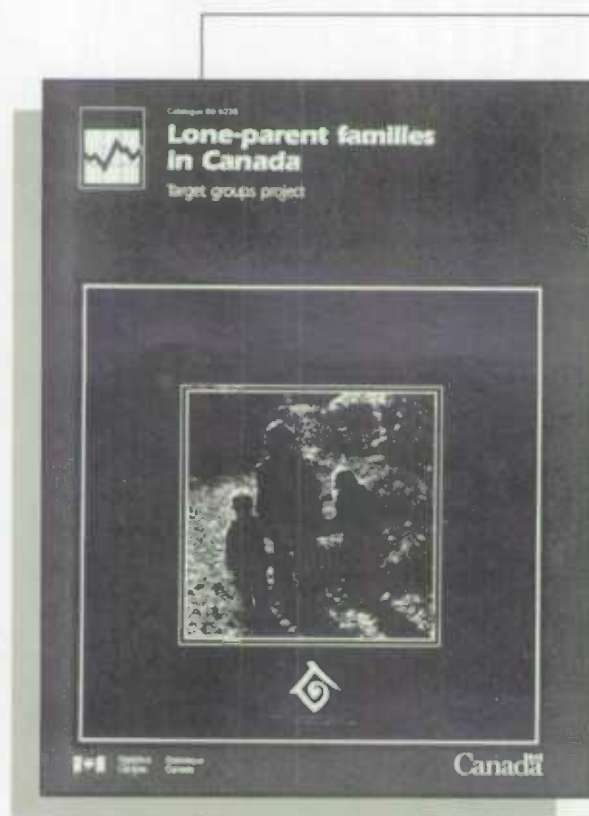
Here is perhaps the most welcome surprise: despite the diversity in the patterns of family formation and function, it is possible to define the common aspirations, common needs and common obligations of Canada's families. It doesn't take long when you get a group of people from different circumstances in a room, for them to come to appreciate and understand that what is at issue for them as individuals is at issue for most others. We are increasingly going to have to acknowledge diversity and understand it better. But equally, we need to understand the common elements and aspects that cut across the different patterns of family formation and function...if we are going to, in fact, learn how to deal constructively with that diversity and lend support to Canada's families.

"But when asked about their family, they suggest that it is still the core of their being, the core of their existence."



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 89-516 and Census of Canada.

Lone-parent families in Canada



Life in lone-parent families

The structure of family living in Canada has changed dramatically in the last several decades. The growing number of lone-parent families has been one of the most profound developments. In fact, by 1991, there were almost one million lone-parent families, representing one of every five families with children. As well, women make up the vast majority of lone parents.

Lone-parent families in Canada reports on why this situation is so important. And it reveals that many lone-parent families, especially those headed by women, are economically disadvantaged. For example, as many as three out of five of these families have incomes below Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-offs.

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Where Does the Money Go?



Spending Patterns of Canadian Households, 1969-1992

by Cynthia Silver

Since the mid-1970s, real household incomes have remained relatively constant, notwithstanding a substantial increase in the number of dual-earner families. Over the same period, gradual shifts in spending patterns have occurred. Taxes are making a bigger dent in household budgets, while shelter, food, transportation and clothing expenses combined are taking a smaller portion. Households have also responded to periodic booms and recessions by spending more on discretionary items during the good times or deferring the purchases of large expensive items during hard times. Even slight differences in spending, however, can have a major impact on the economy. For instance, in 1992, a one percentage point change in household expenditures represented \$4.4 billion.

Major social and demographic shifts have occurred, affecting consumers' needs, tastes and spending patterns. Families are smaller and more women work outside the home. Baby boomers, by virtue of their large numbers, have had a tremendous influence on spending trends, as their needs shifted from those of teenagers and young adults to those of people in the middle of their working and family-raising years. In addition, seniors are living longer and are better off financially than in the past, allowing them more active retirement years. Changes in our technical and physical environment have also influenced spending patterns as illustrated by the tripling of household expenditures on computer equipment and supplies between 1986 and 1992.

Personal income taxes take a larger slice Real household incomes were almost the same in 1992 as in the late 1970s, although there were some fluctuations throughout the 1980s. Personal income taxes,¹ however, averaging \$9,070 in 1992, rose steadily to 20% of total household expenditures from under 13% in 1969. This resulted in a smaller

proportion being left for other household expenses.

Taxes are graduated such that those with lower incomes pay proportionately less tax than those in middle- or high-income brackets. In 1992, personal taxes accounted for only 4% of total expenditures for the one-fifth of households with the lowest incomes. The proportion rose to 17% among the three-fifths of households in the

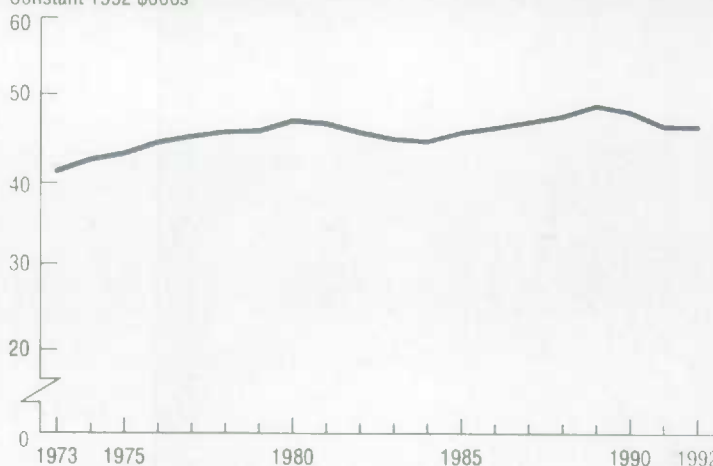
middle-income groups, and 29% among the one-fifth of households with high incomes.

Canadians spending proportionately more to keep a roof over their heads... Spending on all aspects of shelter – including rent, mortgage interest,² repairs, utilities, property taxes and insurance, as well as vacation homes and travel accommodation – increased to 22%

Average household income has levelled off

CST

Constant 1992 \$000s

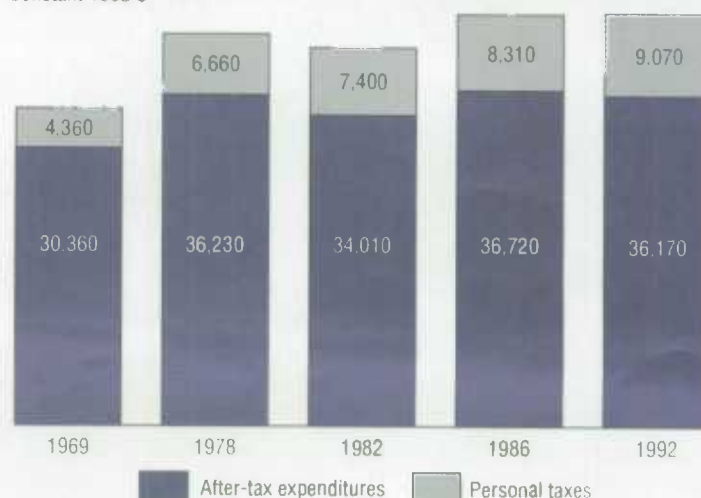


Source: Statistics Canada, Household Surveys Division, Survey of Consumer Finance.

Personal taxes account for an increasing share of household expenditures

CST

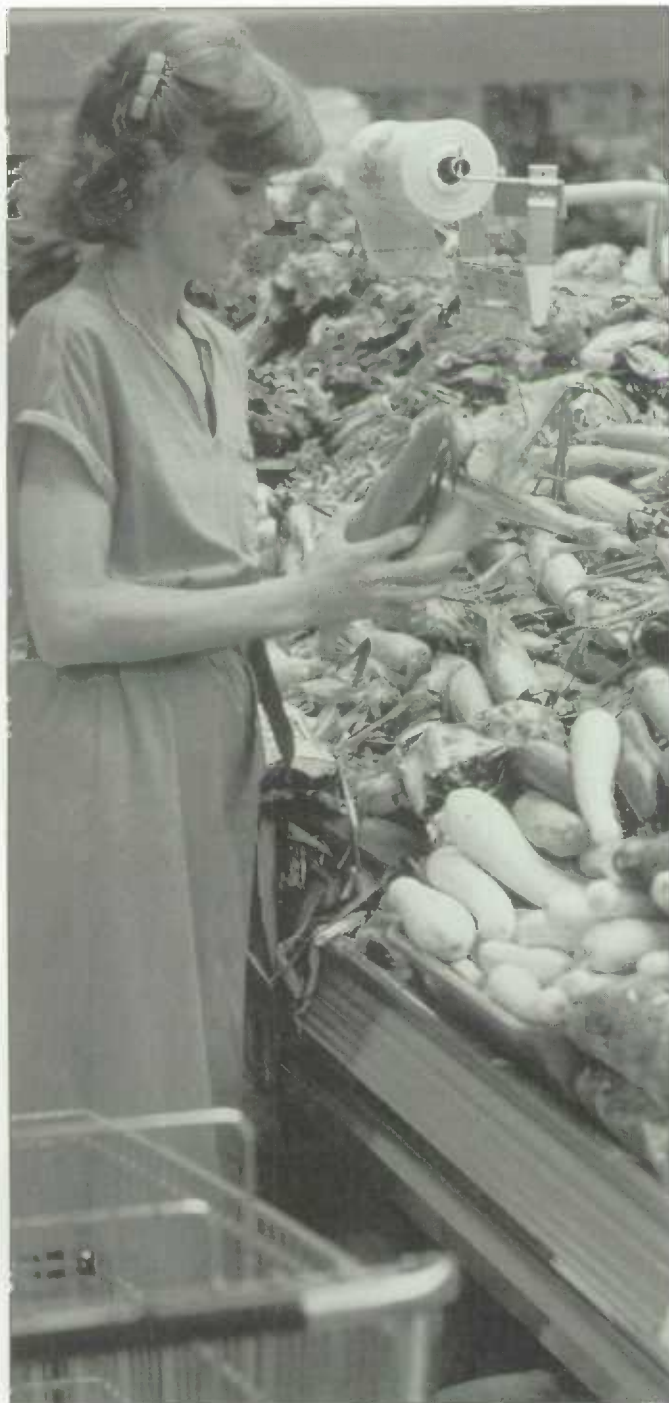
Constant 1992 \$



Source: Statistics Canada, Household Surveys Division, Survey of Family Expenditures.

¹ To allow a comparison between 1969 and 1992, the 1986 definition of personal taxes was used in this article. Using the 1992 definition, personal taxes averaged \$9,380 per household. Provincial and federal sales taxes are not included in personal taxes, but rather in expenditures on goods and services.

² The amount paid on the principal of a mortgage is not included in shelter costs because it is considered a form of investment.



(\$8,100) of after-tax expenditures in 1992 from 18% in 1969. This is, in part, because more Canadians owned their homes in 1992 (63%) than in 1969 (59%) and home owners tend to spend more on shelter than do renters. Mortgage interest payments have also contributed to the increase in the proportion of expenditures on shelter. These doubled to 5% of after-tax household expenditures in 1992 from 2.5% in 1969.

Among homeowners, those with a mortgage spent more than twice as much on shelter in 1992 (\$11,690) as those who were mortgage free (\$5,540). Households with a mortgage spent 25% of their after-tax expenditures on mortgage interest, repairs, utilities, property taxes and the like. In contrast, 16% of the after-tax expenses of mortgage-free households went toward shelter.

Households that paid rent during all of 1992 spent about the same proportion of their after-tax budget on shelter (26%) as did homeowners with a mortgage. Their costs, however, were much less, averaging \$6,980 in 1992.

...but less on furnishing their homes Spending on household furnishings and equipment, including items ranging from home freezers to towels, accounted for 3.8% (\$1,370) of after-tax expenditures in 1992, lower than the 1969 proportion of 4.7%. People tend to buy more furniture and appliances when they move into a new home. Not surprisingly, in 1978, when many baby boomers were forming their own households, the proportion of the after-tax budget spent on furnishings reached a high of 5.2%.

More spent on keeping the home running Expenses for telephones, child care, pets, cleaning and maintaining the home and garden make up the bulk of the remaining costs associated with operating a household. Such costs rose to 5.5% (\$1,970) of after-tax expenditures in 1992 from 4.3% in 1969. Telephone services accounted for 1.7% of household spending in 1992, compared with 1.2% in 1969. While the amount allotted to basic telephone charges dropped over this period, the proportion spent on long distance services doubled. Spending on child care services, such as babysitting and day care, doubled between 1969 and 1992. Expenditures on pets also doubled over that period. Averaged over all households, each of these expenditures accounted for less than 1% of after-tax spending.

Food expenditures take a smaller bite In 1969, food expenses made up the largest share of the budget. By 1982, spending on food, including store-bought food and restaurant meals, had slipped to second place behind expenditures on shelter, and has remained there ever since. Canadian households spent 16% of their after-tax budget on food in 1992 (an average of \$5,690), a proportion that had dropped steadily from 22% in 1969. The decline in household size over this period (to 2.6 people from 3.3) contributed to the smaller proportion of the budget going for food.

Food expenditures were proportionately lower only because the share for food bought from stores had declined. This proportion dropped to 12% (an average of \$4,240) of the after-tax household budget in 1992 from 18% in 1969. Spending on restaurant meals, on the other hand, was slightly higher in 1992 (4.0%) than in 1969 (3.4%). Canadian households were allocating more of their after-tax budget to eating out in 1986 (4.3%). Since then, however, many people may have reduced their restaurant expenses in order to meet less discretionary financial commitments.

Transportation expenses roll with the times Expenditures on transportation were somewhat higher in 1992 than in 1969, having risen to 16% from 14% of the after-tax household budget. In 1992, households spent an average of \$5,640 on bus, train and air fares, as well as on the purchase and operation of cars and trucks for personal use.

Factors such as consumer confidence in the economy and prevailing interest rates influenced expenditures, especially those on vehicles. In 1986, during an economic recovery, purchases of

cars and trucks reached a high of 6.8% of after-tax expenditures, compared with 5.9% in 1992.

Canadians spending more on recreation equipment... Spending on equipment and supplies for sport and fitness, hobbies, music, entertainment, toys and recreation vehicles (including bicycles, motor homes and motorcycles) has increased since 1969. By 1992, such expenditures accounted for 6.4% (\$2,300) of the after-tax household budget, up from 4.7% in 1969.

There has always been demand for some new home entertainment item, be it a colour television, a component stereo or, more recently, a CD player or a VCR. However, home entertainment expenses, averaging \$490 in 1992, represented the same proportion of after-tax expenditures as they did in 1969 (1.4%). Although people are buying more equipment now than in the past, the cost of these electronic goods has not increased as much as that of other goods. In 1992, prices for home entertainment equipment were

only about one and a half times higher than in 1969, while overall prices³ were more than four times higher.

Expenditures on other recreation equipment and on recreation vehicles rose to 2.7% in 1992 (\$970) from 2.0% of spending in 1969. Personal computers, which are relatively new to the household market, accounted for the larger share of the household budget being spent on recreation equipment. Purchases of computer equipment and supplies averaged \$130 per household in 1992.

...as well as recreation services

Recreation services, such as spectator sports, recreation facilities, concerts, movies, cablevision and packaged travel tours, have also claimed an increased share of the household budget. Households spent 2.3% (\$840) of their after-tax expenditures on these items in 1992, compared with 1.3% in 1969.

Spending on spectator sports accounted for the largest share of after-tax expenditures (0.9%) on recreational services. Although this had risen from 0.6% in 1969,

increases were much greater for proportions spent on recreation facilities such as sports facilities, health clubs, admission to museums and exhibitions, and packaged travel tours. Canadians spent proportionately more than twice as much of their after-tax household budget on recreation facilities in 1992 (0.7%) as in 1969 (0.3%). Similarly, twice as much went toward packaged travel tours in 1992 (0.6%) as in 1969 (0.3%). In 1992, these tours were most popular in households where both husband and wife worked full-time.

Personal appearance easier on the budget

The cost of buying, making and maintaining clothing averaged \$2,220 per household in 1992. Conventionally a means of displaying one's social position, clothing took a much smaller portion of average after-tax household expenditures in 1992 (6.1%) than in 1969 (10.1%). The decline is due, in part, to households being smaller with fewer children to clothe. In addition, the cost of clothing did not inflate at the same rate as other commodities: clothing prices tripled between 1969 and 1992, while overall prices more than quadrupled.

Personal care expenses on everything from soap and eye shadow to electric razors and haircuts cost Canadian households \$840, on average, in 1992. Spending on personal care has remained quite stable since 1969 and accounted for roughly 2.3% of after-tax expenditures in 1992.

Health care expenses largely covered by insurance plans

Out-of-pocket health care expenses averaged \$870 in 1992, and had dropped to 2% of after-tax household expenditures from 4% in 1969. This drop was largely due to the introduction of provincial health care plans paid for through taxes. Part of the increase in personal taxes from 13% in 1969 to 16% in 1978 was to pay for such programs.

More recently, regulations against extra billing and the elimination of premiums for provincial plans have further reduced out-of-pocket health care expenses. Employer-funded plans and other types of funding for supplementary medical insurance, dental plans and drug plans have grown. As a result, individuals bore

Distribution of total household expenditures after personal taxes

CST

	1969	1978	1982	1986	1992
	%				
Shelter	18.1	19.5	21.3	19.8	22.4
Food	21.6	20.2	18.6	17.5	15.7
Transportation	14.3	15.3	14.7	16.2	15.6
Recreation	4.7	6.0	5.7	6.2	6.4
Security premiums	5.0	5.0	5.2	5.5	6.3
Clothing	10.1	8.6	7.4	7.7	6.1
Household operation	4.3	4.6	5.3	5.3	5.5
Gifts and contributions	3.1	3.0	3.6	3.9	4.0
Tobacco and alcohol	4.4	3.9	4.0	3.9	3.9
Furniture and equipment	4.7	5.2	4.4	4.5	3.8
Health care	3.9	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.4
Personal care	2.4	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.3
Education	1.0	0.8	0.8	1.0	1.2
Reading	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
Miscellaneous	1.8	2.9	3.6	3.1	3.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Household Surveys Division, Survey of Family Expenditures.

³ The All-item Consumer Price Index used to measure inflation.

proportionately lower costs in 1992, both for direct cost medical bills (1.7%, compared with 2.4% in 1969) and for insurance (0.8% versus 1.5%).

Smoking and drinking claim smaller share of budget

Following a drop between 1969 and 1978, tobacco and alcohol expenditures have since been relatively stable at about 4% of the after-tax household budget. In 1992, Canadian households spent an average of \$1,410 on tobacco and alcohol.

Smoking accounted for 2.3% of average after-tax expenditures both in 1969 and 1992. This stability, however, belies changes in tobacco sales and use. Although smoking is now less prevalent than in the past, cigarette prices were much higher in 1992 than in 1969. Household spending on alcoholic beverages, on the other hand, dropped throughout the last decade to 1.7% of after-tax household expenditures in 1992 from 2.4% in 1982. The decline is likely related not only to the promotion of health and safety concerns, but also to the increasing number of older people who tend to spend less on alcohol.

Credit charges up Consumers in the 1990s have more debts and use more credit than they did in the 1960s. Consequently, interest payments for consumer credit (excluding mortgages) have become a larger portion of the household budget: 1.3% in 1992, compared with only 0.5% in 1969. Canadian households spent as much on interest payments in 1992 as they did in 1982. However, the Bank of Canada rate in 1992 was half of what it was in 1982 when at its peak. In real dollars, people were borrowing more in 1992.

Canadians are spending more on their financial security. Household payments

on unemployment and life insurance, as well as on pension and retirement funds, had grown to 6.3% (\$2,290) of after-tax spending in 1992 from 5.0% in 1969. The one-fifth of households with the highest incomes spent a much larger proportion

compared with 0.7% in 1969. Child support payments are included in these expenditures and have contributed to the increase in money transfers between households.

Charitable organizations, on the other hand, received about the same proportion of the after-tax household budget in 1992 (1.0%) as in 1969 (1.1%). The share going to religious organizations had dropped slightly, however, to 0.7% of after-tax household expenditures in 1992 from 0.9% in 1969.

Expect change

Many things influence how people spend, such as variable economic conditions, shifts in the age of the population, changes in family structures and roles, technological advancement, and changes in beliefs and attitudes. Over the next twenty-five years,

further shifts in consumer spending will inevitably occur as large numbers of baby boomers retire and become active seniors. Rapid advances in technology and communication will also continue to have an impact on the spending practices of Canadians. While the effect of some of these factors can be anticipated, the nature and impact of other influences on Canadians' spending patterns are almost impossible to predict.

Cynthia Silver is the Editor-in-Chief of *Canadian Social Trends*.



(8%) of their after-tax budget on security. This dropped to 6% for those in the middle-income range and only 1% for the one-fifth with the lowest incomes.

Part of the reason for the increase in financial security spending was that more women entered the labour force in the past twenty-five years. Consequently, the number of people eligible to pay premiums, many of whom are in young, dual-earner households, increased. The proportion of households reporting expenditures on security, however, dropped between 1969 and 1992. This is consistent with the aging of the population: as older people, mainly men from single-earner households, retired during this period, they stopped paying premiums and began receiving income security benefits.

More money being given to other households

In 1992, Canadian households gave 1.9% (\$700) of their after-tax dollars to another household,

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Working Teens

A

lthough most young people in their late teens live with their parents and are still in school, many are also working and learning about the inherent responsibilities and rewards of paid employment. The majority of employed teenagers aged 15-19 work part-time – either during the school year or the summer – in low-paying jobs that require little formal education.

Despite ongoing controversy about the effects of employment during the school year, working a moderate number of hours while still in school appears to be beneficial to young people. High school graduates, for example, are much more likely than dropouts to have had a job at which they worked less than 20 hours per week while in school. In contrast, compared to graduates, male dropouts were more likely to have worked long hours while in school, and female dropouts were much more likely not to have had a job.



Young workers are especially vulnerable to downturns in the economy and are often among the first to lose their jobs. Because most teens are living at home, the immediate consequences of not having a job tend to be less severe than for older Canadians. However, in a labour market that may continue to be tight until baby boomers begin retiring, people with limited or no employment experience as a teenager may be at a disadvantage.



40% of teens have jobs Not surprisingly, young people are not as likely as older Canadians to have paid work. In 1993, 40% of both male and female teenagers aged 15-19 (724,000 people) had jobs, compared with 64% of people aged 20-24 and 75% of those aged 25-54. The annual employment rate of teenagers, however, reflects much higher employment levels during the summer than during the school year.

In addition, employment levels among teens have varied more than among older people since the 1970s. In 1970, 36% of young people aged 15-19 had jobs. By 1981, the proportion had risen to 47%, but declined to 40% during the recession of the early 1980s. After 1983, employment levels increased, reaching 51% by 1989. Because of the onset of the most recent recession, such high levels were short-lived, and

by 1993, the proportion of employed teenagers had dropped back to 40%.

As is the case for Canadians overall, young people in the Western provinces and Ontario are more likely to be employed than are those in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces, with the exception of Prince Edward Island. In 1993, the proportion of people aged 15-19 with jobs ranged from 48% in Alberta to 19% in Newfoundland.

Economic changes have greatest impact on teen employment rate

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-201.

Teen employment rate highest in Western Canada in 1993

CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 71-220.

Almost three-quarters of employed teens work part-time

Given that many teenagers are still in school full-time, it is not surprising that they are more likely than older Canadians to be working only part-time. In 1993, 72% of employed young people aged 15-19 had part-time jobs, compared with 26% of workers aged 20-24 and only 12% of those aged 25-54. Consequently, that year, teens made up a much larger proportion of people working part-time (24%) than of those working full-time (2%).

According to Statistics Canada's Labour Market Activity Survey, the number of hours worked by teenagers increased substantially during the late 1980s. Working teens aged 16, for example, spent an average of 834 hours at their job in 1990, up from 440 in 1986. Among workers aged 17-19, average annual hours increased to 1,180 from 792 over the same period. In contrast, older Canadians' working hours changed only slightly during the late 1980s, averaging 1,648 in 1990.

Teenagers have very different reasons for working part-time than do older Canadians. Among those working part-time in 1993, teens aged 15-19 most commonly stated that they were doing so because they were going to school (74%), whereas people aged 20 and over were most likely to have said that they could only find part-time work (41%). Nonetheless, many young people (19%) were working part-time because it was the only type of employment they could find.

One-third of students combine school and work

Young people no longer in school are more likely than those in school to have a job. Nonetheless, in 1993, 33% of full-time students aged 15-19 worked during the school year.¹ Students this age were even more likely to have summer jobs: 45% of those planning to

return to school in the fall had jobs between May and August, as did 56% of those not planning to return to school or who were uncertain of their plans.

As was the case overall, employment prospects for students improved after the recession of the early 1980s, before deteriorating again in the early 1990s. In 1989, for example, 41% of full-time students aged 15-19 worked during the school year. The summer employment rate for students this age planning to return to school was 57%, while for those not planning to return to school or uncertain of their plans, the rate was 61% in 1989.

Exposure to the job market at an early age may give students experience and skills useful for their future working life. In addition, students working a moderate number of hours are much less likely than others to drop out of school. Among people aged 18-20 who had worked less than 20 hours per week while in school, the drop-out rate was 16% for men and 7% for women. Working long hours had the most detrimental effect on the school outcome of young men: 33% of those who had worked at least 20 hours while in school had dropped out. Among young women, however, drop-out rates were highest (22%) for those who had no job at all while in school.

Some teens drop out of school to work full-time, forfeiting educational opportunities in favour of unskilled or low-skilled, low-paying jobs. While they may initially view their jobs as very lucrative, these young people will likely find future employment prospects severely limited because of their lack of formal education.

Most teens in jobs requiring little education or experience In 1991, over two-thirds of workers aged 15-19 were employed in service (29%), clerical (21%) or sales (19%) occupations, compared with about one-half of workers aged 20-24 and just over one-third of those aged 25 and over. Young workers were also somewhat more likely (7%) than older workers (about 5%) to be employed in primary occupations, such as agriculture, forestry and mining.

Employed teens make up relatively large shares of these four occupational groups. In 1991, 14% of all service workers and 12% of those in sales were aged 15-19. Young people also represented 9% of those in primary occupations and 7% of those in clerical positions.

Not surprisingly, few young people hold jobs requiring a high level of skill or managerial ability. In 1991, just over 1% of workers aged 15-19 were in managerial or administrative occupations, and they accounted for less than 1% of all workers in such positions. Similarly, workers aged 15-19 represented less than 2% of people in professional occupations. Most young people in jobs classified as professional were nurses' aides or orderlies.

As is the case for older women, female workers aged 15-19 are much more likely than their male counterparts to be employed in service, clerical or sales occupations. Of all young workers aged 15-19 in 1991, 84% of women were in such jobs, compared with 57% of men. In contrast, young men were considerably more likely (16%) than young women (4%) to be employed in primary or construction occupations.

Low earnings among teens a result of the nature of their jobs

Given young people's limited education and work experience, their concentration in part-time jobs and the type of employment available to them, it is likely that many are in minimum-wage jobs. Consequently, their earnings are considerably lower than

those of older workers, regardless of whether they are working part- or full-time.

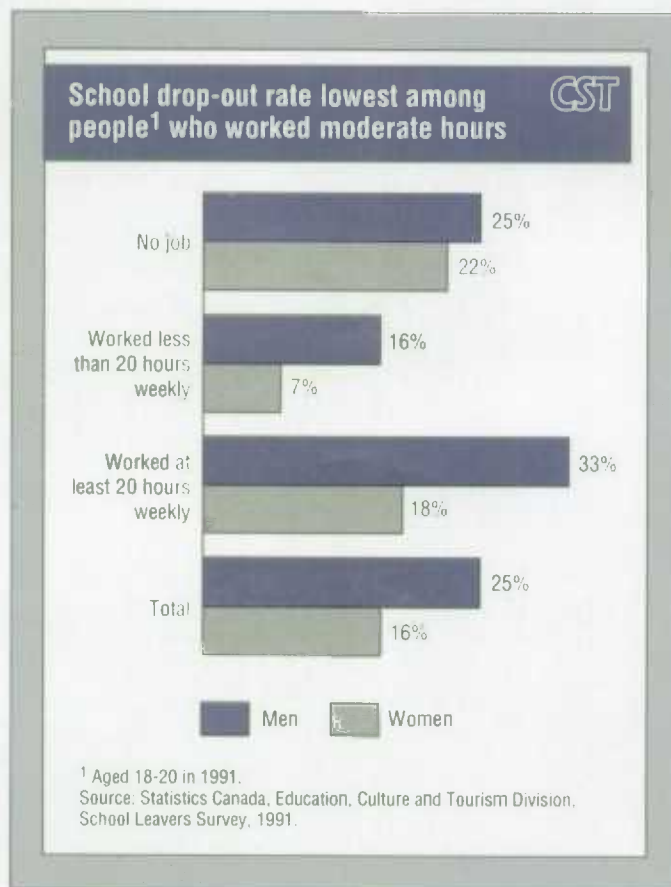
Among people aged 15-19 who worked part-time in 1992, the average earnings of young men (\$3,660) and young women (\$3,520) were similar. Overall, among those employed part-time, men averaged \$12,150 in earnings, compared with \$9,300 for women. Earnings were also low among the relatively few teenaged men who had full-time jobs in 1992²: \$14,840, compared with \$39,470 for men overall employed full-time.

Several factors contribute to high unemployment rate among teens Not only do young people consistently have a higher unemployment rate than do older Canadians, but the circumstances surrounding unemployment tend to differ considerably between the two age groups. Teenagers, on the one hand, tend to move in and out of the labour force more frequently, and may experience a period of unemployment – often quite short – each time they re-enter. Older Canadians, on the other hand, are more likely to go from job to job without a period of unemployment or to be unemployed for a long time.

In addition, young people are often among the first to lose their jobs during hard economic times. This is not only because they are usually in low-skilled or unskilled occupations, but also because they are often the most recently hired employees in their organization. In 1993, 180,000 young people aged 15-19, or 20%

¹ An 8-month average for the period January to April and September to December.

² Sample of young women too small for reliable estimate.





of all labour force participants³ in this age group, were unemployed, that is, they were not working but were looking for a job. That year, 16% of people aged 20-24 and 10% of those aged 25-54 were unemployed. Because of their relatively high unemployment rate, young people made up 12% of all unemployed Canadians in 1993, while representing only 6% of those with jobs.

During the recent economic downturn, the youth unemployment rate rose quickly, but did not reach the 1983 peak of 22%. The unemployment rate among people aged 20-24 also did not get as high as during the early 1980s. This was because, during this recession, young people were more likely to leave the labour force than they were during the last one, either returning to or staying in school. In contrast, among Canadians aged 25-54, a higher proportion were unemployed in 1993 than at any time during the previous recession.

The largest share of unemployed teens aged 15-19 in 1993 lost or were laid off from their job (38%). This was well below the proportion for unemployed workers aged 20 and over (71%). The next two most common reasons for teens to be unemployed were that they had never worked, but were looking for their first job (25%), or had left their job to return to school (22%). In comparison, only 6% of unemployed workers aged 20 and over had gone back to school or had never worked.

Unemployment rates are higher among teens in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces than among those in other provinces. This is consistent with the pattern among older people. In Newfoundland, 32% of labour force participants aged 15-19 were unemployed in 1993, the highest rate of any province. Other provincial unemployment rates ranged from 25% in Nova Scotia to 16% in Saskatchewan.

Unemployment has been higher among young men than young women throughout the last two decades, and the gap has grown larger during the last recession. In 1993, 22% of young men aged 15-19 were unemployed, compared with 18% of young women.

Future prospects Some young people unable to find jobs stop looking for work and either stay in school or return to continue their education and obtain credentials that likely will increase their chances of getting a good, full-time job. Human Resources Development has estimated that almost two-thirds of new jobs between 1991 and 2000 will require at least 13 years of education or training and 45% will require more than 16 years.

Other teens not only stop looking for work but also quit school before obtaining even a high school diploma. Such people may continue to live with and be supported by their parents. If this is not possible, however, young people with little education and job experience may have to rely on social assistance programs to meet basic necessities of living on their own.

³ The labour force includes employed people as well as those seeking employment.

• For more information on this topic, see **Youth in Canada, Second Edition**, Statistics Canada Catalogue 89-511E and "Youths - waiting it out," by Deborah Sunter in **Perspectives on Labour and Income**, Spring 1994, Statistics Canada Catalogue 75-001E.

Allophone Immigrants

Language Choices in the Home

by Elaine Fournier

More than 4 million immigrants were living in Canada in 1991. Although many had one of Canada's official languages as their mother tongue, over 2.6 million were Allophones, that is, their mother tongue was a language other than English or French. Most Allophone immigrants adopt the dominant language of the community in which they live, allowing them greater access to employment opportunities and making it easier for them to deal with people in medical, educational and government services and organizations. Many also make a language transfer in their home, that is, they most often speak a language other than their mother tongue at home. Not surprisingly, the likelihood of having made such a transfer is much greater when Allophone immigrants have been in the country for several years.



In Canada, almost all Allophone immigrants who adopt a new home language use English. Even within Quebec, where French is the majority language, over half of Allophone immigrants who have made a transfer speak English in the home. Recently, however, Allophone immigrants in Quebec have been switching to French rather than English as their home language. For those who arrived since the mid-1970s, two-thirds have switched to French rather than English.

Proportion of Allophone immigrants having made a language transfer, by mother tongue, 1991

CST

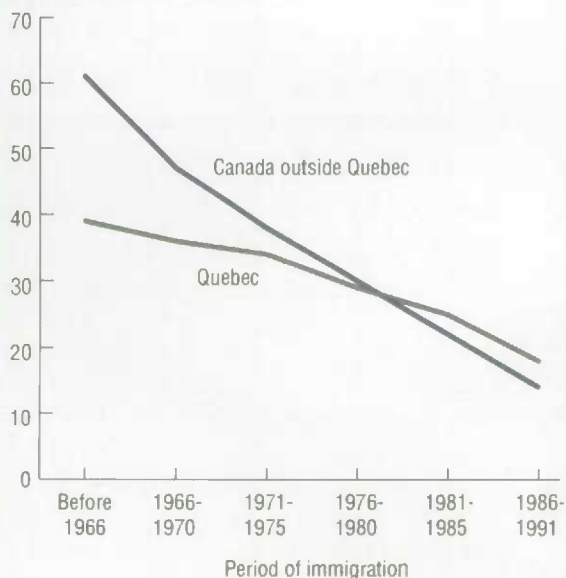
	Canada outside Quebec	Quebec
	%	
Italian	42	29
Chinese	15	11
German	75	72
Portuguese	31	30
Ukrainian	46	36
Polish	33	35
Spanish	31	27
Punjabi	17	32
Dutch	90	84
Greek	33	15
Arabic	38	37
Vietnamese	12	12
Creole	57	50
Total	39	31

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada.

Recent Allophone immigrants in Quebec more likely than those elsewhere to have made a language transfer

CST

% having made a language transfer



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Language transfers more common outside Quebec In 1991, 38% of Allophone immigrants in Canada most often spoke one or both of Canada's official languages at home. Although this is up from the 1986 figure of 33%, it is similar to the 1971 proportion of 39%.

Allophone immigrants living outside Quebec are more likely than those in Quebec to most often speak a language at home other than their mother tongue. In 1991, 39% of the 2.3 million living outside Quebec had made such a language transfer, compared with 30% of the 387,000 in Quebec. Part of the difference may be because a greater percentage of those living outside Quebec have been in Canada for a long time.

The pattern of higher rates of language transfer outside Quebec prevailed for many of the most common Allophone mother tongues among immigrants, with the exception of Vietnamese, Polish and Punjabi. In 1991, for example, of immigrants whose mother tongue was Italian, 42% living outside Quebec spoke either English or French at home, compared with 29% in Quebec. Language transfers among those whose mother tongue was Vietnamese were equally likely to occur outside Quebec as within that province (each 12%).

Recent Allophone immigrants less likely than long-term residents to have made a language transfer

Some recent Allophone immigrants may not have had the time to learn one of Canada's official languages or to become comfortable using it at home. Other Allophones continue to speak their own mother tongue at home even after having been in the country for many years. Reasons for not making a language transfer range from having a family member who does not speak English or French to wanting to maintain the ability to speak their mother tongue.

Overall, recent Allophone immigrants are much less likely than those who have been in the country for a long time to have switched to English or French as their home language. According to the 1991 Census, 15% of those who had arrived between 1986 and 1991 had made a language transfer, compared with 58% of those who came before 1966.

Recent Allophone immigrants in Quebec more likely than those elsewhere to have made a language transfer

Among Allophone immigrants who arrived before the late 1970s, those outside Quebec were more likely than those in Quebec to most often speak one or both of Canada's official languages at home. Since then, however, language transfers have been more common in Quebec. In 1991, of those who arrived in Canada between 1986 and 1991, 18% in Quebec spoke English or French at home in 1991 (mostly French), compared with 14% elsewhere in Canada. On the other hand, 39% of those in Quebec who arrived before 1966 had made a language transfer at home, compared with 61% in the rest of Canada.

Allophone immigrants in Quebec now more likely to switch to French than in the past

Almost all Allophone immigrants outside Quebec who make a language transfer speak English at home, regardless of when they came to Canada. In 1991, of those living outside Quebec who spoke one of Canada's official languages at home, less than 1% spoke French.

In Quebec, Allophone immigrants who had made a language transfer by 1991 were somewhat more likely to speak English (55%) at home than French (45%). In recent years, however,

Allophone immigrants have been much more likely to adopt French rather than English as their home language. Of those who had made a language transfer, about two-thirds who had arrived since the mid-1970s spoke French at home in 1991, compared with one-half who arrived between 1971 and 1975 and one-quarter who came before 1966.

In 1991, 89% of Quebec's Allophone immigrants lived in the Montreal census metropolitan area (CMA). As is the case in the province overall, Allophone immigrants in the CMA are increasingly adopting French rather than English as

their home language. In 1991, of those who had made a language transfer, 63% who had arrived in the last five years spoke French at home, in contrast to only 22% who arrived before 1966.

Several changes to Quebec's language and immigration policies have taken place in the last two decades. Since 1977, Bill 101 has promoted the use of French in businesses and the education system. For example, immigrants, in general, were required to send their children to French schools. Moreover, in 1978, the Quebec and federal governments reached an agreement that gave Quebec's ministère de

l'Immigration (now the ministère des Affaires internationales, de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles) control over the selection of immigrants to the province. Quebec's immigration policy aims to increase the proportion of immigrants who are Francophone. The selection criteria for immigrants favour French-speaking immigrants, although a major factor influencing eligibility is still "employability."

Ottawa-Hull: a special case The Ottawa-Hull CMA is Canada's only CMA to straddle two provinces, with Ottawa in Ontario and Hull in Quebec. Most Allophone immigrants in the Ottawa-Hull CMA live in the Ontario part (90%) and speak English at home if they have made a language transfer. Overall, 38% of Allophone immigrants in the CMA had made a language transfer by 1991, with those in both the Ottawa and Hull regions being equally likely to have done so. Of those who had made a language transfer, 92% spoke English at home.

Not surprisingly, speaking French at home was more common among Allophone immigrants in the Quebec part of the CMA. In 1991, 46% of those in the Hull region who had made a language transfer spoke French at home, compared with only 4% of those in the Ottawa region.

In addition, recent Allophone immigrants in the Ottawa-Hull CMA were more likely to speak French at home in 1991 than those who had been in the country for several years. The shift toward French was particularly strong in the Quebec part of the CMA: of those who had made a language transfer, just under two-thirds of Allophone immigrants who arrived between 1986 and 1991 spoke French at home in 1991, compared with just over one-quarter of those who arrived before 1966. Even in the Ontario part, of those who had made a language transfer, 11% who arrived between 1986 and 1991 spoke French at home, whereas this was the case for less than 2% who came before 1966.

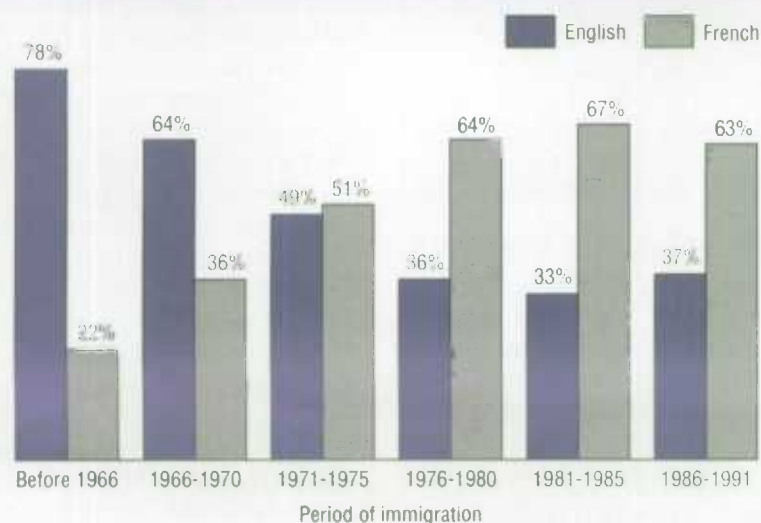
Élaine Fournier completed this article while on assignment with the Demolinguistics Division. Any questions can be directed to **Brian Harrison**, Demolinguistics Division, Statistics Canada.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER CST

Francophones living outside Quebec also switching to English in the home The proportion of Francophones (those whose mother tongue is French) living outside Quebec who speak English most of the time at home has increased over the last two decades. In 1991, 35% of Francophones living outside Quebec spoke English in the home, up from 30% in 1971.

Increasingly, Anglophones in Quebec speaking French at home Language transfers do not occur as frequently among Anglophones (those whose mother tongue is English) in Quebec as among Francophones outside Quebec. Only 9% of Anglophones living in Quebec spoke French at home in 1991. Nonetheless, the proportion has increased from 6% in 1971.

Recent Allophone immigrants in Montreal more likely to speak French than English at home in 1991 CST



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

A History of Emigration from Canada

by Craig McKie

Since Confederation, emigration from Canada has been a significant and constant phenomenon. From 1851 to 1991, an estimated 7.9 million Canadian residents left Canada permanently to live in other countries. Immigration to Canada over that period, 12.5 million people, was not even double that total. Although most who emigrated to other countries were Canadian by birth, many had come to Canada as immigrants.

During the latter part of the 1800s and the early part of the 1900s, annual emigration flows were especially large and immigration flows were increased to replace those who had left. Emigration not only accelerated changes in the characteristics of Canada's population but also created large communities of ex-patriot Canadians in other countries.

The main destination of Canada's emigrants has always been the United States. Since the mid-1960s, however, this traditional route has been restricted by United States' immigration regulations.



Impact of emigration has lessened since the 1930s Emigrants represented 1% to 3% of Canada's total population each decade from 1931 to 1991. Before then, however, they represented between 5% and 17% of the total population each decade since the 1850s.

During the last half of the 1800s, emigration numbers were so large that the flow of people out of the country exceeded the flow of immigrants into the country. From 1851 to 1901, 2.2 million people emigrated from Canada, while only 1.9 million people immigrated to Canada.

Emigration totals remained very high until 1931. In fact, from 1911 to 1921, 1.1 million emigrants left Canada, the largest number ever recorded in a single decade. Overall, from 1901 to 1931, 2.8 million people emigrated from Canada, while 4.2 million people immigrated to Canada.

During the 1930s and 1940s, a period of economic depression and war, both



emigration and immigration totals dropped. From 1931 to 1941, numbers in both categories were the lowest ever recorded: 241,000 emigrants and 149,000 immigrants. Although totals were larger from 1941 to 1951 – 379,000 emigrants and 548,000 immigrants – they were much lower than those recorded before the 1930s.

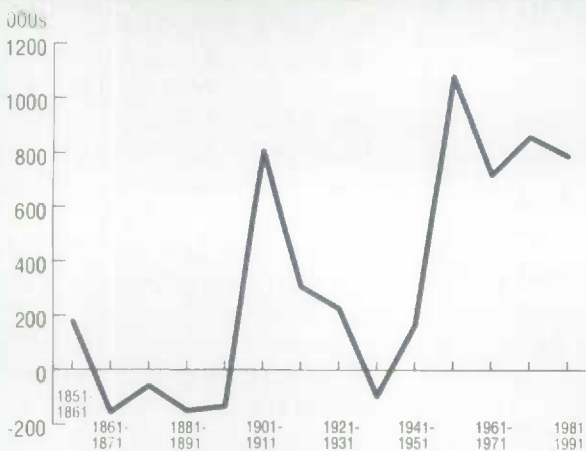
After 1951, emigration increased, but, for the first time, not as quickly as immigration. Immigration totals returned to levels similar to those of the early 1900s, equalling or exceeding 1.4 million each decade since 1951. Emigration totals, on the other hand, increased from 462,000 in the 1950s to 707,000 in the 1960s, before falling to over a half million in the 1970s and 1980s.

Most Canadians living abroad are in the United States According to a Statistics Canada estimate based on United States' and United Nations' records, 1 million Canadian-born people were living outside of the country in 1980.¹ Most of these Canadians (84%) were living in the United States. The next largest concentrations of Canadians were in the United Kingdom (6%), Italy (2%), Australia (2%) and France (1%). Relatively few were in

¹ **Migration between the United States and Canada**, Statistics Canada Catalogue 91-530E. Data were based on 57 countries which collected information on Canadian born on their national censuses.

Net migration¹ highest between 1951 and 1961

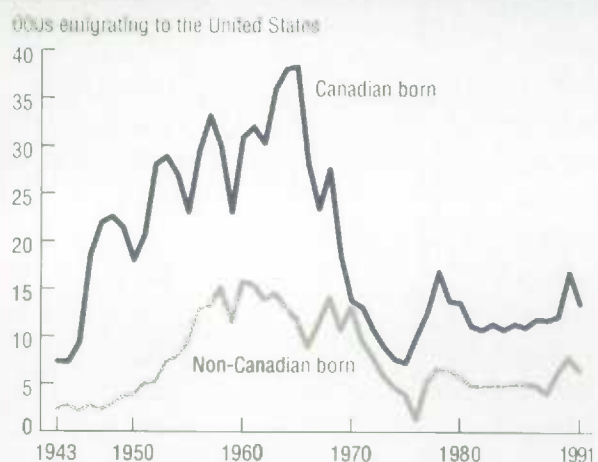
CST



¹ Migration equals immigration minus emigration.
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 11-402E.

Many people emigrating from Canada to the United States are non-Canadian born

CST



Source: United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

the former West Germany, New Zealand, Yugoslavia, Mexico and Belgium (less than 1% each), with the remaining 2% in other countries.

According to the 1990 United States Census, of all people living in the United States born in other countries, those born in Canada (745,000 people) were the third largest group, following those born in Mexico (4.3 million) and the Philippines (913,000). Over half of these

Canadian-born people had become naturalized citizens of the United States.

Lower recent emigration linked to tighter American immigration laws

In 1965, the United States, the predominant destination of Canadian emigrants, restricted immigration from Canada. Before 1965, migration flows between Canada and the United States proceeded with relatively little hindrance from

national boundaries or immigration quotas. Amendments introduced to the United States' *Immigration and Nationality Act* in 1965, however, limited all Western hemisphere immigration for the first time to an annual quota of 120,000 people. Additional amendments in 1976 restricted the per-country limit for the Western hemisphere to 20,000 people and added a preference system for Western hemisphere natives. In 1978, Eastern and Western hemisphere quotas were combined, creating a world-wide ceiling on immigration to the United States.

According to the American Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the number of immigrants admitted to the United States who reported Canada as their last country of residence decreased by more than half from the 1960s to the 1970s, and then remained at that level. In both the 1950s and 1960s, there were about 400,000 immigrants admitted to the United States whose last country of residence was Canada. In contrast, the United States admitted only 169,900 Canadian immigrants between 1971 and 1980 and 156,900 in the following decade.

Canadian-born population in the United States has fallen

The impact of restrictions on Canadian immigration to the United States is also reflected in United States' census counts. In 1990, there were 744,800 Canadian-born people living in the United States, down from 842,900 in 1980 and 812,400 in 1970.

These counts are much lower than those recorded earlier this century. From 1900 to 1950, for example, each United States' census recorded over 1 million Canadian-born residents. The lower figures in recent years reflect, in part, the high mortality among the large group of older Canadian-born residents in the United States.

Throughout Canada's history, fewer Americans have immigrated to Canada than Canadians to the United States and the population of Americans in Canada has always been small. According to the 1991 Census of Canada, 267,200 American-born residents were living in Canada.² This is down from 312,000 in 1981 and 309,600 in 1971. Although the 1971 count was higher than that in 1961 (283,900), the number of American born

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Canadian illegal aliens in the United States Every year, several hundred Canadians are apprehended by the United States' Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for violations of the United States' *Immigration and Nationality Act*. In 1991, the INS estimated that there were 7,300 Canadian illegal aliens living in the United States, that is, Canadians who could be deported. Of these, 64% had entered the United States without inspection and 32% had entered as visitors.

In 1991, 318 Canadians were expelled from the United States. Of these, 244 were deported and 74 left after having been informed that the INS had grounds to deport them (required departure under docket control). Almost half of those expelled were returned to Canada because of criminal or narcotics violations, 24% had failed to maintain or comply with conditions of non-immigrant status and 18% had entered the United States without inspection or had made false statements to gain entry.

Migrants to and from Canada, 1851-1991

CST

Period of migration	Immigration	Emigration
	000s	
1851-1861	352	170
1861-1871	260	411
1871-1881	350	404
1881-1891	680	826
1891-1901	250	380
1901-1911	1,550	739
1911-1921	1,400	1,089
1921-1931	1,200	971
1931-1941	149	241
1941-1951	548	379
1951-1961	1,543	462
1961-1971	1,429	707
1971-1981	1,429	566
1981-1991	1,374	582

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 11-402E.

in Canada declined between 1921 and 1961. During the first two decades of the 20th century, however, the number of American born in Canada increased to 374,000 in 1921 from 127,900 in 1901.

Many immigrants to Canada left to become residents of the United States

Each decade from the 1950s to the 1980s and in both 1990 and 1991, 30% of immigrants to the United States whose last country of residence was Canada were not Canadian by birth, according to INS records. In contrast, during the 1940s, a decade of very low levels of Canadian immigration and emigration, less than 20% of immigrants to the United States from Canada were not Canadian born.

Although there is no earlier information, this phenomenon likely occurred in previous decades. It may have been even more prevalent during the early 1900s when both immigration and emigration levels were very high. From the mid-1800s until the 1960s, whenever immigration to Canada was high, emigration from Canada to the United States was also high. Similarly, when immigration to Canada was low, so was emigration to the United States. The movement of immigration flows to Canada in tandem with emigration flows from Canada to the United States suggests that at least some immigrants to Canada, particularly during the early 1900s, may have come to Canada with the intention of emigrating to the United States.

Many people hold multiple citizenships and residency rights

As international travel and migration increase, the number of Canadians living outside the country and of those holding multiple citizenships or legal residency rights may also increase. According to the 1991 Census, 70,000 Canadian citizens by birth living in Canada were also citizens of at least one other country. In addition, 245,400 Canadians with citizenship through naturalization also reported being citizens of other countries. Many more



Canadian citizens are eligible for other citizenships or legal residency rights. For example, those who are Canadian by birth but who were born in another country may be entitled to citizenship in their country of birth. Other Canadian citizens may be entitled to citizenship in their parent's or grandparent's country of birth, depending on that country's laws.

The same principle also applies to the children of Canadian citizens who emigrated to other countries. In the United States, for example, over 2.2 million people reported on the 1970 Census that they had at least one parent born in Canada. Although this information was not collected in later United States' censuses, the 1970 results indicate that the number of people in the United States who might be eligible for Canadian citizenship is likely more than double the number of Canadian-born residents in that country. The same is also likely true for Canadian emigrants living in other countries.

EEC may attract future Canadian emigrants

Migration is encouraged among European Economic Community (EEC) countries. According to EEC regulations, citizens of member countries have the right to seek employment and permanent residence in other member countries. As of 1991, the total number of people so relocated was 5.5 million (2% of the total

EEC population). As international labour mobility becomes more prominent and more advantageous to some individuals, Canadians entitled to citizenship in an EEC member country may choose to exercise that right to gain residency rights and employment in any EEC country.

Emigration opportunities are growing

One effect of large scale emigration has been the creation of substantial ex-patriot populations of former Canadian residents in other countries, most notably the United States. For example, estimates calculated from Roman Catholic Church documentation indicate that approximately 5 million Roman Catholics of French-

Canadian ancestry were living in the United States in 1970.

Compared to immigration flows, emigration has been much smaller in the past fifty years. This has resulted, in part, from tighter restrictions on emigration between Canada and the United States, the historical destination of most Canadian emigrants. Emigration from Canada may increase in the future, however, because Canadians now have more opportunities to live and work in other countries than they have had in the past few decades.

Canadians can move more freely within North America because the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States has provisions which ease the flow of temporary labour from one country to another. Many Canadians may take advantage of opportunities to live and work outside of the country, particularly if employment and other life-style factors are perceived to be better in other countries than at home.

² Non-permanent residents were included in the census for the first time in 1991.

Dr. Craig McKie is an Associate Professor of Sociology, Carleton University and a Contributing Editor with *Canadian Social Trends*.



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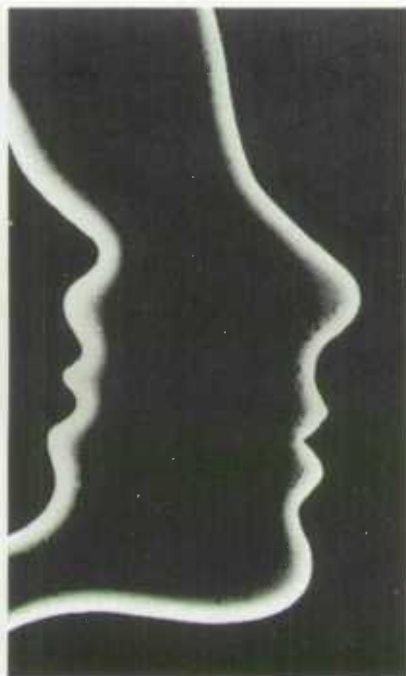
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SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
POPULATION								
Canada, July 1 (000s)	26,203.8	26,549.7	26,894.8	27,379.3	27,790.6	28,120.1 ^{PD}	28,542.2 ^{PD}	28,940.6 ^{PR}
Annual growth (%)	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.5	1.2 ^{PD}	1.5 ^{PD}	1.4 ^{PR}
Immigration ¹	88,639	130,813	152,413	178,152	202,979	219,250	241,810 ^F	264,967 ^R
Emigration ¹	50,595	47,707	40,978	40,395	39,760	43,692 ^{IR}	45,633 ^{PD}	43,992 ^{PR}
FAMILY								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	14.7	14.4	14.5	15.0	15.3	14.3	14.0	•
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	6.7 ^R	6.9 ^R	7.0 ^R	7.0 ^R	6.8 ^R	6.1 ^R	5.8	•
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	3.0 ^R	3.6 ^R	3.1	3.0 ^R	2.8 ^R	2.7 ^R	2.8	•
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	915	872	789	776	841	1,046	1,132	1,144
LABOUR FORCE								
Total employment (000s)	11,531	11,861	12,244	12,486	12,572	12,340	12,240	12,383
– goods sector (000s)	3,477	3,553	3,693	3,740	3,626	3,423	3,307	3,302
– service sector (000s)	8,054	8,308	8,550	8,745	8,946	8,917	8,933	9,082
Total unemployment (000s)	1,215	1,150	1,031	1,018	1,109	1,417	1,556	1,562
Unemployment rate (%)	9.5	8.8	7.8	7.5	8.1	10.3	11.3	11.2
Part-time employment (%)	15.5	15.2	15.4	15.1	15.4	16.4	16.8	17.3
Women's participation rate (%)	55.3	56.4	57.4	57.9	58.4	58.2	57.6	57.5
Unionization rate – % of paid workers	34.1	33.3	33.7	34.1	34.7	35.1	•	•
INCOME								
Median family income	36,858	38,851	41,238	44,460	46,069	46,742	47,719	•
% of families with low income (1992 Base)	13.3 ^R	12.8 ^R	12.0 ^R	10.9 ^R	12.0 ^R	12.9 ^R	13.3	•
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	65.8	65.9	65.3	65.8	67.6	69.6	71.8	•
EDUCATION								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	4,938.0	4,972.9	5,024.1	5,074.4	5,141.0	5,207.4	5,294.0	5,367.3 ^E
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	796.9	805.4	816.9	832.3	856.5	890.4	930.5 ^R	949.3 ^R
Doctoral degrees awarded	2,218	2,384	2,415	2,600	2,673	2,947	3,136	3,237
Government expenditure on education – as a % of GDP	5.7	5.6	5.5	5.5	5.6	6.0	•	•
HEALTH								
% of deaths due to cardiovascular disease – men	41.4	40.5	39.5	39.1	37.3	37.1	37.1 ^R	•
– women	44.9	44.0	43.4	42.6	41.2	41.0	40.7 ^R	•
% of deaths due to cancer – men	25.9	26.4	27.0	27.2	27.8	28.1	28.7 ^R	•
– women	25.5	26.1	26.4	26.4	26.8	27.0	27.7 ^R	•
Government expenditure on health – as a % of GDP	6.0	5.9	5.8	5.9	6.3	6.8	•	•
JUSTICE								
Crime rates (per 100,000) – violent	808	856	898	948	1,013	1,056 ^R	1,081 ^R	1,079
– property	5,714	5,731	5,630	5,503	5,841	6,141 ^R	5,890 ^R	5,562
– homicide	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.7 ^R	2.6 ^R	2.2
GOVERNMENT								
Expenditures on social programmes ² (1991 \$000,000)	166,581.0	169,773.5	174,328.5	181,227.0	188,899.1	196,775.1	•	•
– as a % of total expenditures	56.4	56.1	56.3	55.9	56.6	58.5	•	•
– as a % of GDP	26.1	25.5	24.8	25.2	26.7	29.1	•	•
UI beneficiaries (000s)	3,136.7	3,079.9	3,016.4	3,025.2	3,261.0	3,663.0	3,658.0	3,415.5
OAS and OAS/GIS beneficiaries ^m (000s)	2,652.2	2,748.5	2,835.1	2,919.4	3,005.8	3,098.5	3,180.5	3,264.1
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries ^m (000s)	1,892.9	1,904.9	1,853.0	1,856.1	1,930.1	2,282.2	2,723.0	2,975.0
ECONOMIC INDICATORS								
GDP (1986 \$) – annual % change	+3.3	+4.2	+5.0	+2.4	-0.2	-1.7	+0.7	+2.4
Annual inflation rate (%)	4.2	4.4	4.0	5.0	4.8	5.6	1.5	1.8
Urban housing starts	170,863	215,340	189,635	183,323	150,620	130,094	140,126	129,988
– Not available	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
• Not yet available	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
^P Preliminary data	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
^E Estimate	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
^m Figures as of March	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
^{IR} Revised intercensal estimates	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
^{PD} Final postcensal estimates	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
^{PP} Preliminary postcensal estimates	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
^{PR} Updated postcensal estimates	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
^R Revised data	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
^F Final data	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
¹ For year ending June 30	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
² Includes Protection of Persons and Property; Health; Social Services; Education; Recreation and Culture.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

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