CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS

DIVORCE ☐ FERTILITY INTENTIONS ☐ SENIORS ON THE MOVE

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FEATURES

ON OUR COVER:
Youth and Sunlight (1913), oil on canvas, 148.0 x 114.4 cm. Collection: National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

About the Artist:
Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté was born in Arthabaska, Quebec in 1869. He traveled to Paris in 1890 to study at the École des Beaux-Arts, and was made an Officer of the Academy by France in 1901. He became famous for his bronze studies of *habitants* and of the Indians of Caughnawaga. He was elected an Associate of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in 1911 and a full member in 1914. He died in Daytona Beach, Florida in 1937.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS

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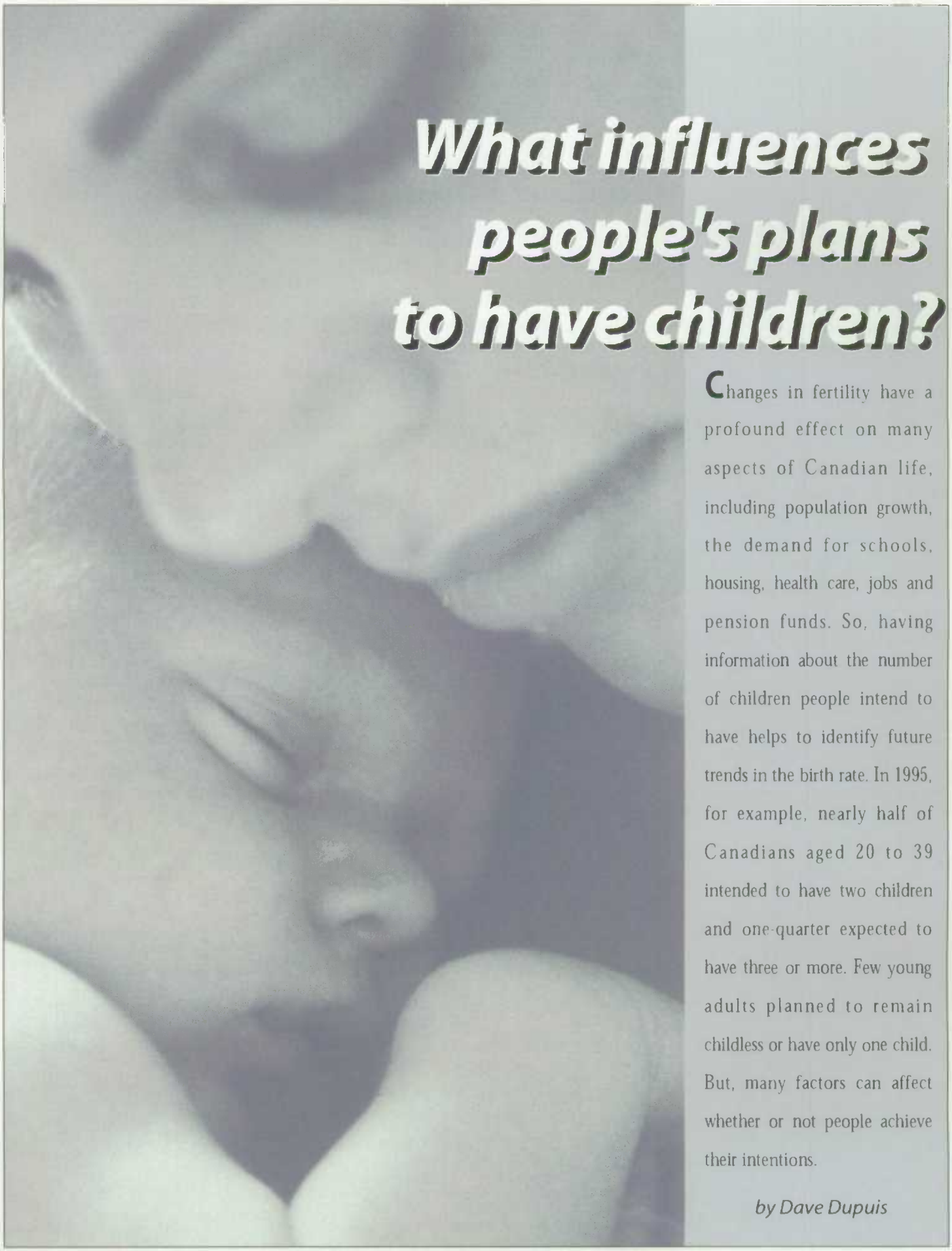


What influences people's plans to have children?

Changes in fertility have a profound effect on many aspects of Canadian life, including population growth, the demand for schools, housing, health care, jobs and pension funds. So, having information about the number of children people intend to have helps to identify future trends in the birth rate. In 1995, for example, nearly half of Canadians aged 20 to 39 intended to have two children and one-quarter expected to have three or more. Few young adults planned to remain childless or have only one child. But, many factors can affect whether or not people achieve their intentions.

by Dave Dupuis

This article uses data from the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS) to examine some of the factors that influence the fertility intentions of young adults aged 20 to 39.[1] Fertility intentions were measured by asking the following question: "What is the total number of children you intend to have, including those you have now and are currently expecting (if the respondent or respondent's spouse is pregnant)?" This measure of fertility intentions (total intended births) includes biological children only, and excludes adopted and step-children. Both men and women responded to this question.

Marriage leads people to want more children Despite the increasing prevalence of common-law unions, most unmarried young adults do expect to marry at some time.[2] And marriage had a substantial influence on fertility intentions. The 1995 GSS revealed that over three-quarters of unmarried Canadians in their twenties (including those in common-law unions) expected to marry, as did over 40% of those in their thirties. Singles who expected to marry intended to have (on average) about one more child than those who did not. People who were already married generally wanted slightly more children than those who expected to marry, this tendency was most marked among couples in their thirties.

The importance of matrimony to childbearing is supported by data on fertility rates. Although children born to unmarried couples are increasingly common

[1] The GSS covers people aged 15 and over living in private households in the ten provinces. Data were collected from 4,500 respondents aged 20 to 39, representing 9.5 million people.

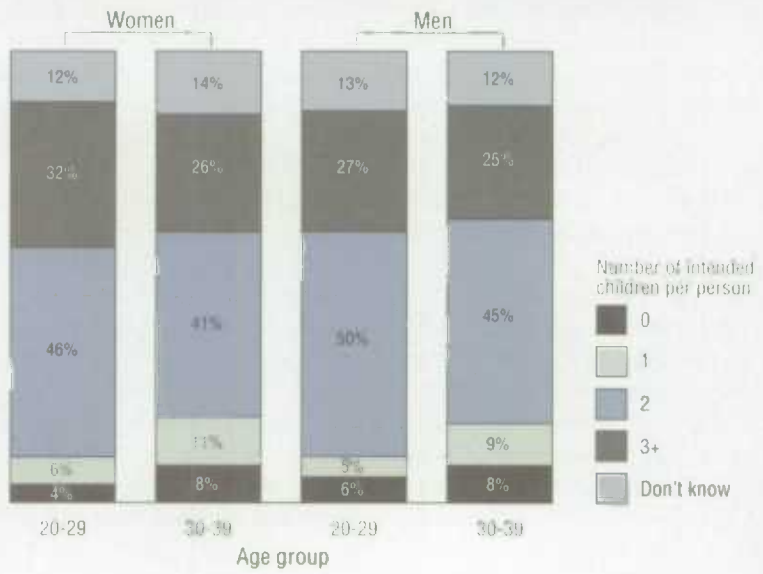
[2] Some young people may be postponing marriage and childbearing for economic reasons. Over the last 15 years, wages for young men have stagnated and rapid technological change has lengthened the period that young people need to attend school to qualify for a well-paying job. René Morissette, "Declining earnings of young men," *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1997.

On average, adults aged 30 to 39 intend to have fewer children than those aged 20 to 29

Age group	Total intended births: Women	Men
	(Average children per person)	
All ages	**2.46**	**2.28**
15-19	2.26	2.22
20-29	2.36	2.30
20-24	2.45	2.34
25-29	2.28	2.26
30-39	2.10	2.11
30-34	2.07	2.11
35-39	2.12	2.11
40-49	2.02	2.00
50+	2.98	2.57

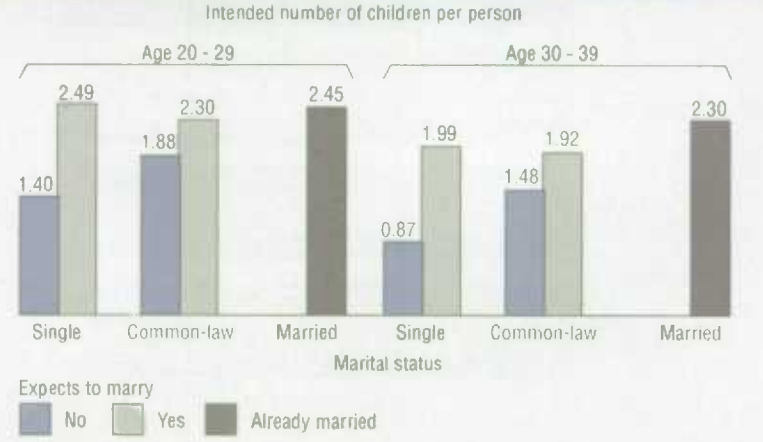
Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

Few young adults intend to remain childless



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

The expectation of marriage contributed to higher birth intentions



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

nearly two-thirds of live births still occur within marriage. Furthermore, the birth rate among married women is nearly double that of women who spent their entire reproductive life in a common-law union.[3]

Family history influences fertility intentions of adult children One might expect that a parent's divorce would influence an individual's attitudes toward childbearing; specifically, that divorce might produce negative attitudes toward marriage and family and reduce the desire for children.[4] But it seems that the effect of parental divorce on the fertility intentions of adult children dissipates over time. The 1995 GSS found that parental divorce did not affect the fertility intentions of people in their thirties, and affected people in their twenties only if the split had occurred when the child was more than 15 years old.

Parents may transfer childbearing attitudes and behaviour to their children.[5] Young adults who had many siblings wanted more children than young adults with few siblings. Those in their twenties with four or more siblings reported they expected to have an average of 2.54 children compared with 1.97 for those with no brothers or sisters. A similar pattern was observed for those in their thirties, but the magnitude of the difference was smaller.

Women and men with higher education have opposite views on fertility While there is little difference in the intentions of women in their twenties, regardless of education, women in their thirties with a university degree intend to have fewer children than women with less education. With increased opportunities available to women with advanced education, many now pursue careers. Yet because women remain the primary caregivers of children, frequently interrupting their employment for childbirth and child care,[6] the costs associated with taking time out of the labour force may constrain or delay childbearing.

In contrast, men with high educational attainment intend to father more children than men with lower attainment. This finding probably reflects the fact that university-educated men tend to have well-paid, stable employment and are better able to afford to raise more children. The diverging fertility intentions of men and women, however, probably arise from the differing opportunity costs associated with childbirth and child care. Having children has a much smaller impact on men's careers, which may explain why they want more children than women.

Religiosity plays large role in plans to have children Most people describe themselves as belonging to a religious denomination. This affiliation seldom changes over a person's lifetime, but their religious commitment, as measured by attendance at religious services, may vary substantially from time to time. Religious affiliation and attendance at religious services (religiosity) influence the fertility intentions of young adults, especially those in their thirties. Adults aged 30 to 39 who reported no religion intended to have the smallest average number of children (1.76). People affiliated with other world religions (such as Eastern

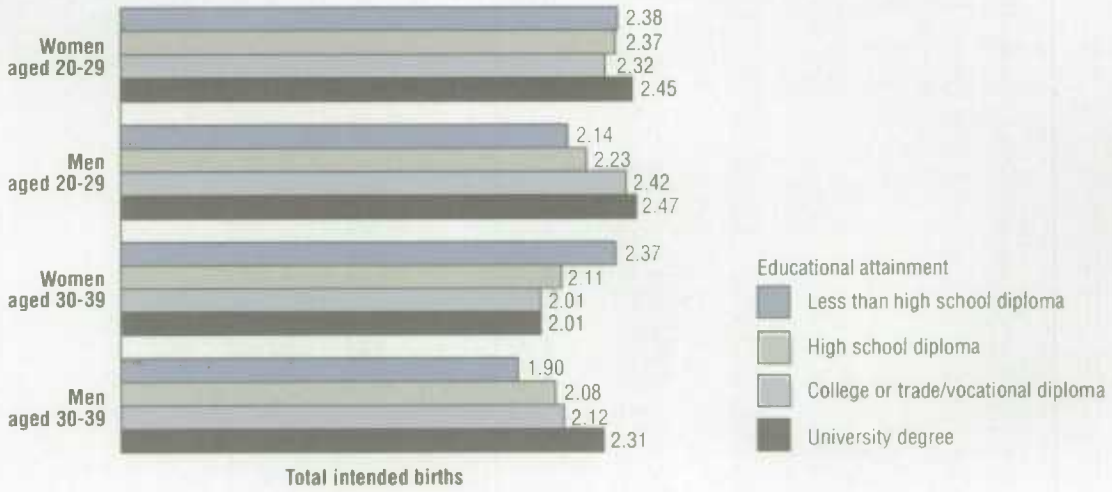
[3] Statistics Canada, *Births and deaths, 1995*, Catalogue 84-210-XPB. Jean Dumas and Alain Bélanger, *Report on the demographic situation in Canada, 1996*, Catalogue no. 91-209-XPE.

[4] William G. Axinn and Arland Thornton, "The influence of parent's marital dissolutions on children's attitudes toward family formation," *Demography*, Vol. 33, no. 1, (February 1996): pp. 66-81.

[5] William G. Axinn, Marin E. Clarkberg, and Arland Thornton, "Family influences on family size preferences," *Demography*, Vol. 31, no. 1, (February 1994): pp. 65-79.

[6] Janet Fast and Moreno Da Pont, "Changes in women's work continuity," *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1997.

Men with more education want more children



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

Orthodox, Jewish and other non-Christian Eastern religions) reported the highest number of intended births. Furthermore, people in their thirties who attended religious services every week intended to have, on average, at least 0.5 more children than those who never attended religious services.

The higher fertility intentions of people who attend religious services regularly is not surprising since they are more likely than others to view marriage and family as very important to their happiness. For example, when women aged 20 to 29 were asked to rate the importance of having a child, using a scale from 0 ("not at all important") to 3 ("very important"), those who attended religious services every week gave a high rating to having at least one child (average score 2.3). Scores were significantly lower for women who had not attended services in the last year (2.0) and women with no religion (1.9).[7] Young men with a strong religious commitment exhibited similar values and attitudes as women with strong religious commitment.

Will intentions be realized? The fertility intentions of people in their twenties must be viewed with caution. Intentions to have a certain number of children are not always fulfilled. Studies suggest that many couples make decisions about fertility one birth at a time, and factors such as employment, education, changes in marital status or relationship dissolution, and infertility have important effects on intended births.[8]

People in their twenties may be less able to accurately take account of some of these future life events which can reduce birth intentions. This is illustrated by comparing the fertility intentions of women surveyed for the Canadian Fertility Survey in 1984[9] and the same cohorts interviewed 11 years later for the GSS. These snapshots reveal that fertility intentions of young women decrease as they grow older.

On the other hand, if the fertility intentions of people in their twenties were realized, it could have a large impact on the Canadian population: change of as little as 0.2 births per woman would produce a population increase of 1.4 million people by 2026.[10] Only time will tell if the higher fertility intentions of people in their twenties are realized.

Religiosity influences the average number of children 30- to 39-year-olds plan to have

	Total	Did not attend religious services in the last year	Attended religious services weekly
Men and Women		(Average children per woman)	
Total	2.10	1.91	2.58
No religion	1.76	1.76	...
Catholic	2.12	1.85	2.50
Protestant[1]	2.20	2.01	2.59
Other[2]	2.48	2.02	3.06

... figures not applicable
[1] Includes United Church, Anglican, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Baptist and other Protestant.
[2] Includes Eastern Orthodox, Jewish, other non-Christian Eastern religions or other/unknown.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

Young women's fertility intentions change as they grow older

1984 Canadian Fertility Survey (CFS)		1995 General Social Survey (GSS)	
Age when interviewed in 1984	**Total intended births**	**Age when interviewed in 1995**	**Total intended births**
	(Children per woman)		(Children per woman)
18-19	2.30	29-31	2.18
20-24	2.25	31-36	2.12
25-29	2.17	36-41	2.03
30-34	2.01	41-46	2.02
35-39	2.15	46-51	2.10
40-44	2.53	51-56	2.53
45-49	3.05	56-61	3.05

Source: T.R. Balakrishnan, E. Lapierre-Adamcyk and K. Krótki, *Family and Childbearing in Canada: A demographic analysis*, 1993, p. 23; and Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

[7] 1995 General Social Survey, unpublished data.

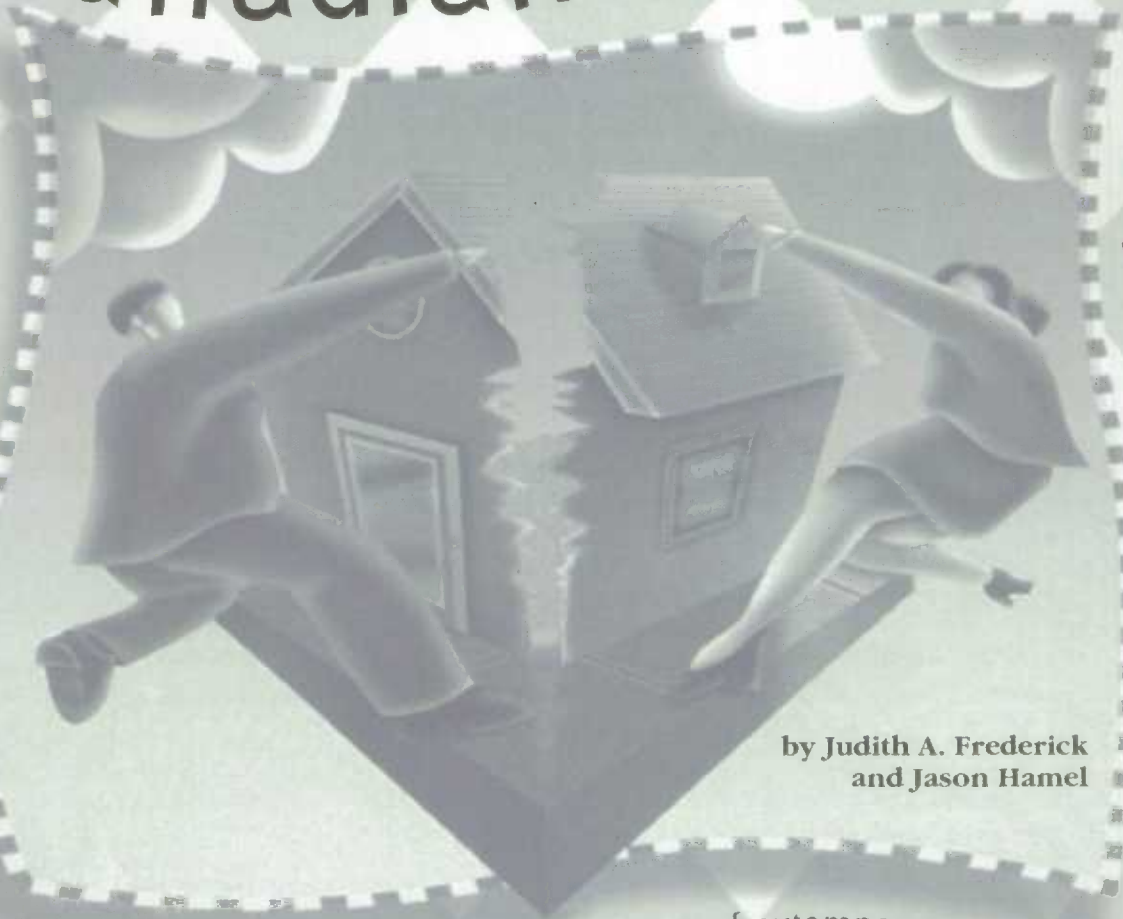
[8] J. Richard Udry, "Do couples make fertility plans one birth at a time?" *Demography*, Vol. 20, no. 2, (May 1983): pp. 117-128.

[9] The 1984 Canadian Fertility Survey was conducted by a consortium of researchers at several Canadian universities. For information, see T.R. Balakrishnan, Évelyne Lapierre-Adamcyk, and Karol J. Krótki, *Family and childbearing in Canada: A demographic analysis*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, p. 21.

[10] M.V. George, Shirley Loh, Ravi B.P. Verma, "Impact of varying the component assumptions on projected total population and age structure in Canada," paper presented at the annual meetings of Population Association of America, Washington D.C., March 27-29, 1997.

Dave Dupuis is a master's student at the University of Victoria who spent a co-op work term with *Canadian Social Trends*.

Canadian Attitudes to Divorce



by Judith A. Frederick
and Jason Hamel

"Oh, life is a glorious cycle of song. A medley of extemporanea;
And love is a thing that can never go wrong;
And I am Marie of Roumania."[1]

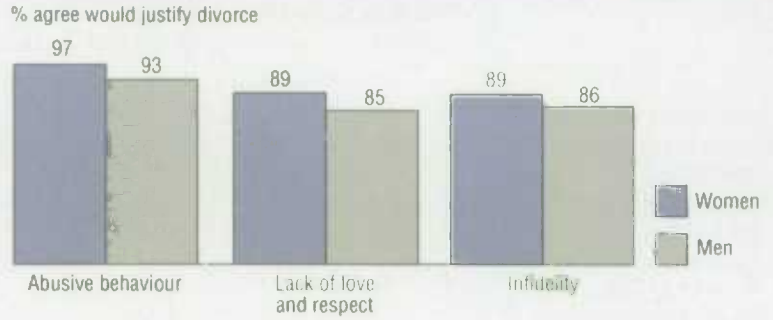
Over the past thirty years, Canada has undergone major demographic and socio-economic changes that have radically altered family life. In the past, if a man and woman wanted to live together, they got married and expected the marriage to blossom with the arrival of children. But the advent of reproductive freedom has changed women's lives dramatically and conjugal life has become more complicated. With the ability to control their fertility, women became better-educated, entered the labour force in droves and began to earn their own income. Women's increased independence has allowed marital partners greater freedom to dissolve an unhappy relationship. Responding to changing social realities, divorce laws eased and the divorce rate doubled in 25 years. In the 1990s, the social stigma surrounding divorce has virtually disappeared.[2]

Despite the prevalence of divorce, little is known about why some marriages succeed and others fail. But research has found that attitudes are among the strongest predictors of divorce.[3] Exploring the factors that influence attitudes may help us better understand our increasingly complex conjugal lives. This article examines a number of socio-demographic characteristics that affect Canadians' beliefs about the conditions that justify breaking up a marriage.

[1] Dorothy Parker, *The Quotable Woman*, Running Press Book Publishers, 1991, p.41.
[2] In this article, divorce includes the dissolution of both cohabiting and legally married couples.
[3] Don Swenson, "A Logit Model of the Probability of Divorce," *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage*, Vol. 25 (1/2), 1996, p.173.

Most Canadians agree abusive behaviour, infidelity and disrespect justify divorce There was nearly unanimous agreement among Canadians aged 15 and over (95%) that abusive behaviour from a partner is sufficient reason to leave a marriage. Almost nine in ten also believed that an unfaithful partner or lack of love and respect are sufficient reasons to break up. All three generations — Elders, Boomers and Gen-Xers — expressed similarly strong opinions on these issues. Less solid support was apparent about a partner who drinks too much, but nearly three-quarters believed it is sufficient grounds for divorce. These four reasons constitute the fundamental beliefs that Canadians of each generation share

Women and men hold very similar views about the fundamental reasons that justify divorce



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

Data source and limitations

The 1995 General Social Survey (GSS) on family and social support collected data from nearly 11,000 Canadians aged 15 and over living in the ten provinces, excluding full-time residents of institutions. In addition to gathering a wide array of information about the respondent's family and marital history, the survey explored attitudes towards several family-oriented issues. One of the issues was marital dissolution; specifically, respondents were asked "... if you think the following reasons are sufficient for splitting up a marriage or common-law relationship."

The ten reasons presented fell into three general categories: fundamental issues such as abusive or disrespectful behaviour of a partner; experiential issues such as conflict over money, households chores and raising the children; and fertility issues such as inability to have children or to agree on the number of children to have. In a more personal vein, respondents were also asked if they themselves would stay in a union for the sake of their children.[1] The responses offer insight into the issues Canadians agree are justifiable grounds for divorce and those that are more contentious.

Methodology Certain variables can interact together and influence the results of the analysis. For example, since 57% of Canadians in their first common-law union are Gen-Xers, the attitudes they express may stem from their age rather than their marital history; the same could be said of people in their first marriage, almost 91% of whom are Boomers and Elders. To control for some of these interaction effects, a statistical technique called multiple classification analysis (MCA) has been applied to the data, so that the results presented in this article show the effect of only the one variable, while holding other factors such as religiosity, province of residence and country of birth constant. For example, the first table in this article shows the effect of generation on opinions about divorce, holding constant marital history and other factors, while the second table shows the effect of marital history, holding constant generation and other factors. (Several other variables that did not significantly affect the results — e.g. number of children, education and labour force status — were excluded from the model.)

The generation gap This article adopts Michael Adams's definition of "generations" or age groups.[2] Adams divides the Canadian population into three categories: Elders (born before 1946), Boomers (born between 1946 and 1965) and Gen-Xers (born after 1965). Adams suggests that three factors largely determined the values of the Elders — gender, age and income — and notes that their society was fairly static and supportive of well-established institutions like marriage. The Boomers — more affluent, educated, traveled and informed — used their position in society to challenge these institutions and the values they represented. Meanwhile, the Gen-Xers — less affluent than their parents but with broader and more multidimensional horizons — consider these institutions and values less relevant than the two earlier generations.

[1] The 1995 GSS also asked respondents whether their own relationship was very happy, fairly happy or not too happy. Fewer than 2% reported that they were "not too happy." While social pressure may inhibit some respondents from reporting an unhappy union, it could be that many unhappy unions have already been dissolved.

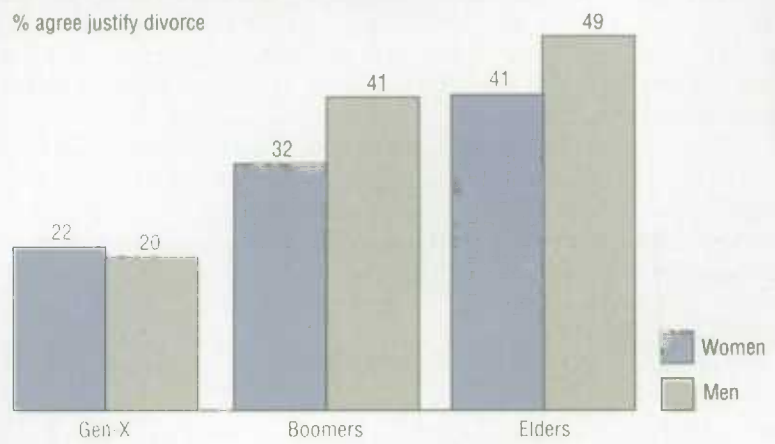
[2] Adams, Michael, *Sex in the Snow: Canadian Social Values at the End of the Millennium*, Penguin Canada, 1997.

Elders more likely than younger Canadians to agree with more reasons to divorce

	Gen-Xers 15 - 29	Boomers 30 - 49	Elders 50 and over	Total
	% of population aged 15 and over			
Fundamental issues				
Abusive behaviour from the partner	95	95	94	95
Unfaithful behaviour from the partner	89	85	89	88
Lack of love and respect from the partner	86	87	87	88
Partner drinks too much	68	73	80	74
Experiential issues				
Constant disagreement about how the family finances should be handled	28	40	49	40
Unsatisfactory sexual relationship with the partner	21	37	45	35
Unsatisfactory division of household tasks with the partner	12	16	21	17
Conflict about how the children are raised	14	17	21	17
Fertility issues				
Inability to have children with the partner	8	12	17	13
Disagreement about the number of children to have	3	6	11	7
Would stay for the children	44	39	52	43

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

Men are less likely to tolerate an unsatisfactory sexual relationship



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

about grounds for divorce, and a strong positive correlation exists among them.

Younger adults less likely to agree experiential issues are valid reasons to split The real differences among the generations emerge with respect to experiential issues — that is, dealing with finances, sexual relationships, household chores and raising children. It appears that the more experience Canadians have dealing with these aspects of marital life, the less tolerant they become. Experiential issues were more often seen as grounds for divorce by Elders (61%) than either Boomers (55%) or Gen-Xers (49%).

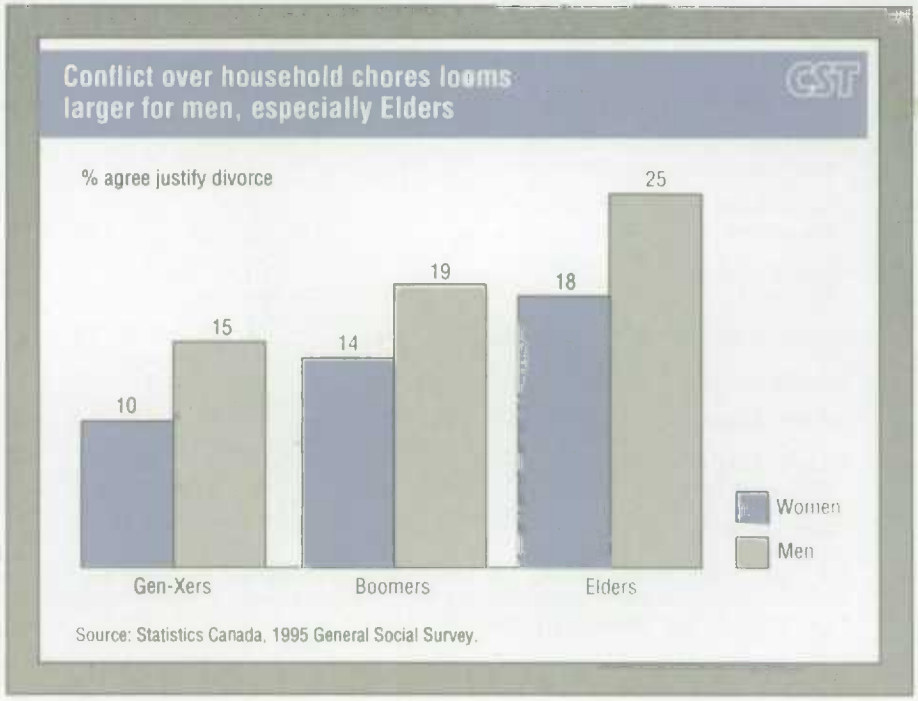
About 40% of all Canadians aged 15 and over believed that constant disagreement about handling the family's finances is sufficient grounds for divorce, but very different results were observed among the generations. About one-third of Gen-Xers held that continual squabbling over money justifies divorce, while nearly half of Elders did. Perhaps with their greater likelihood of being a one-income family, Elders have stronger views about allocating the family's money. Women's and men's attitudes toward disagreements about money were quite similar.

Gen-Xers were also only half as likely as Elders to consider an unsatisfactory sex life sufficient reason to split up. This may reflect younger Canadians' relative lack of experience with the kind of problems that can develop in a sexual relationship over time. Men were more likely to agree that this issue justified leaving a marriage, especially in the older generations. Interestingly, responses to this question are highly correlated with the question about conflict over division of household labour.[4]

Few adults (17%) considered an unsatisfactory division of household tasks a valid reason for marital dissolution, but the level of agreement rose with each generation and Elders were almost twice as likely as Gen-Xers to concur. It was men rather than women (19% versus 14%) who most frequently agreed that this type of conflict justifies divorce; one might expect sharing housework to be a bigger issue among women, since they still retain primary responsibility for the household even when they are employed outside the home.[5]

Only a small minority of Canadians (17%) considered conflict over raising children valid grounds for leaving a partner. But as with the other experiential issues, Elders were most likely to agree that arguing about the children was sufficient reason for divorce.

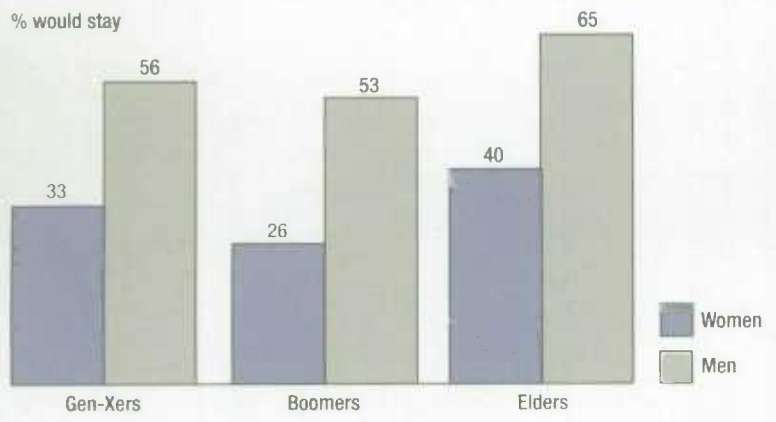
Fertility issues not likely to justify marriage break-up... Fewer people think that divorce is justified by infertility or the number of children to have than by conflict over the way the children are being raised. Only 13% of adults believed that inability to have children was a valid reason to end a marriage, while conflict



[4] Arlie Hochschild has noted that unresolved conflict over the sharing of household chores can lead to resentment in the bedroom; the 1995 GSS findings tend to support her theory. *The Second Shift*. New York: Viking (1989)

[5] Judith A. Frederick, *As Time Goes By: Time Use of Canadians*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 89-544-XPE.

Women were less likely to stay in a bad marriage for the sake of the children



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

about the number of children to have won even less support (7%). There was no significant difference between women's and men's opinions. Nonetheless, a substantial difference is evident between generations: Elders were more than twice as likely as Gen-Xers to concur that conflict over fertility issues is grounds for divorce.

... but majority would not stay married for the kids' sake The majority of Canadians would not stay in a bad marriage for the sake of their children. About 40% of adults said they would remain; Boomers, who are currently most likely to be faced with this issue, would be least likely to stay. Also, women were less inclined than men to want to hold the family together simply for the children's sake, with fewer than one-third of women reporting they would stay, compared with nearly 60% of the men.

Percent of population aged 15 and over who agree ... is sufficient reason to split up a marriage or common-law relationship, by marital history

	Total	Common-law		Married		Previously married		Single
		First	Second or subsequent	First	Second or subsequent	Wid-owed	Divorced/ separated	
Fundamental issues	% of population aged 15 and over							
Abusive behaviour from the partner	95	95	94	94	99	92	95	96
Unfaithful behaviour from the partner	88	91	86	86	89	83	87	90
Lack of love and respect from the partner	88	87	86	86	88	83	88	91
Partner drinks too much	74	76	79	71	81	72	77	77
Experiential issues								
Constant disagreement about how the family finances are handled	40	44	43	37	41	36	45	43
Unsatisfactory sexual relationship with the partner	35	44	36	33	32	32	38	39
Unsatisfactory division of household tasks with the partner	17	25	18	14	15	12	18	21
Conflict about how the children are raised	17	23	21	14	18	14	25	20
Fertility issues								
Inability to have children with the partner	13	17	13	11	11	16	14	14
Disagreement about the number of children to have	7	11	7	6	8	6	7	9
Would stay for the children	43	36	33	49	30	57	33	42

Note: A second or subsequent common-law union refers to individuals who had a previous relationship, either cohabitation or a legal marriage. A second or subsequent marriage refers to individuals who have been married before. If individuals living in a common-law union then married, they are included in the first marriage category.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

Marital history colours attitudes to divorce Of course, marital history also plays an important role in Canadians' views about divorce. People who have remained in their first marriage take a less liberal view than those who have not. Thus, Canadians in their first marriage (49% of adults in 1995) as well as widows and widowers (6%) were least likely to agree that any of the issues described justify breaking up a marriage. In contrast, individuals who are currently divorced or separated (7% of all adults), in a common-law union or a second marriage (14%) generally found divorce more acceptable.

Most probably reflecting their own experiences, separated or divorced people agreed more frequently than any other marital group that most issues are valid grounds for divorce. On the other hand, individuals in their first marriage, as well as the widowed, held much less liberal views about divorce. But although the married and the widowed expressed similar opinions about fundamental and experiential issues, widows and widowers were more likely than married Canadians to believe that infertility is grounds for divorce. The importance that the widowed placed on children is reflected in the fact that they believed most strongly that partners should stay in an unhappy marriage for the sake of the children.

A relatively high proportion of individuals in their first common-law union also considered infertility a valid reason to separate, but they were also sympathetic to conflict over sharing chores and an unsatisfactory sexual relationship. The attitudes of cohabitants were tangibly less traditional than those of married couples.

Singles held some of the most liberal views of divorce for fundamental reasons, but were more likely than other marital groups to view experiential issues or infertility as valid grounds for divorce. They appear to have a more idealized view of a relationship than others with more experience in living together.

Summary Almost all Canadians say they believe one should not tolerate an abusive or disrespectful partner; over one-third think constant arguments about money or an unsatisfactory sex life are grounds for divorce; less than one-fifth think conflict over raising the children, sharing household tasks or disagreements over fertility issues justify leaving a marriage. However, less than half of Canadians would stay in an unhappy relationship because of their children.

Without longitudinal studies, it is not possible to speak with authority about the extent to which values and attitudes toward divorce have been changing in recent years.

But the findings from the 1995 GSS may help to explain why the risk of divorce has increased while the characteristics of those most at risk have not changed significantly. Both age and experience appear to shape attitudes to divorce: people over 50 are much less tolerant of problems with a partner than Canadians under 30, and people in their second marriage accept a wider variety of reasons to dissolve a relationship than people in their first.

Judith A. Frederick is a senior analyst and **Jason Hamel** was a co-op student with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

CST

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER CST

Divorce in the 1990s

Between 1971 and 1982, the annual divorce rate in Canada more than doubled, from 135 to 280 divorces per 100,000 population. For the next three years, divorce rates declined; then, following passage of the Divorce Act of 1985, divorce rates increased dramatically, peaking in 1987 at 362 divorces per 100,000 population. By about 1990, rates had leveled off, and rates have fluctuated relatively little since then.

However, a more precise way to examine the trend is to restrict the calculation to people who are eligible to divorce, that is, legally married couples. Viewed in this way, it can be seen that the marital divorce rate in 1995 (1,222 divorced per 100,000 legally married couples) was not much higher than in the early 1980s (1,180 in 1981). But while this 1.2% risk of divorcing in a given year is not very high, the risk of divorcing during the life of the marriage is much greater. For example, almost one in three couples (31%) who married in 1991 will eventually split up, if the 1991 divorce rates prevail.

The chance of divorcing increases rapidly during the first few years of marriage, peaking after five years and then declining gradually as the marriage continues. In light of this, it is not surprising that the divorce rate is highest for men and women in their twenties and early thirties, at about 2,000 divorced per 100,000 legally married couples per year. The divorce rate decreases with age after the mid-thirties, declining by age 75 to less than 85 divorced per 100,000 legally married couples. Men who divorce between the ages of 65 and 87 have been married an average of 27 years; women, 29 years. These averages, however, mask the fact that these seniors are most likely to have divorced either after a very long first marriage (of more than 40 years duration) or after a short second or subsequent marriage.

• For more information, see Jane F. Gentleman and Evelyn Park, "Divorce in the 1990s," *Health Reports*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 82-003-XPB, Vol. 9, no. 2.

The Impact Of Family Structure On High School Completion

by Judith A. Frederick and Monica Boyd

Over the past several decades, there has been an unsettling increase in the number of Canadian children living in lone-parent families. According to the Census, just under 1.8 million children – almost one in five – lived in a lone-parent family in 1996, up 19% from 1991. Considerable research has established that children growing up in lone-parent families can be disadvantaged throughout their lives, compared to children from two-parent families. Not surprisingly, Canadians are concerned about the impact of this trend on current and future generations.

One of the principal reasons for this disadvantage is that children from lone-parent families are more likely to leave secondary school without finishing. High school graduation is a critical turning point in the life course, since drop-outs are the most vulnerable members of the labour force. This article uses the 1994 General Social Survey to examine the high school graduation rate of Canadian-born adults aged 20 to 44 who were living in a lone-parent family at age 15.[1] Immigrants are not included in the study because educational systems can differ substantially between countries; and adolescent and older Canadians are not included because, for different reasons, they are less likely to have secondary school completion.

Families with two biological parents most likely to produce high school graduates Growing up in a family with both biological parents has definite advantages for both young women and young men. Among Canadian-born adults aged 20 to 44, more than 80% of those from two-parent biological families completed high school, compared with about 71% of those from lone-parent families.[2] Those who lived in blended or step-parent families at age 15 also reported a 70% graduation rate, meaning they were just as likely as those from lone-parent families to have an incomplete education. The reasons for this remain unclear; it may be that the possible economic advantage of having a stepparent is offset by the stress created by another change in family structure.[3]

The GSS results also clearly suggest that parental education (and the concomitant implications for family income) plays an influential role in the children's educational outcomes. The best-case scenario for finishing high school is growing up with two biological parents who have a high school diploma or more.[4] Nearly all adults aged 20 to 44 (94%) from this type of family are also high school graduates. The rate drops for adults from two-parent biological families in which only one parent had a high school diploma (88%) and slips further for those from lone-parent families with high school completion (86%). However, the most telling story is in families where parents do not have high school graduation: only 71% of adults who lived with both biological parents at aged 15, and 59% of those who lived with one parent, finished high school. These results suggest that while children may face significant disadvantages if their parents have a low level of education, the effect may be exacerbated in lone-parent families: the stress surrounding the family breakup, the virtually inevitable drop in family income, the unwillingness or inability of the absent parent to finance education, can all affect the academic success of children.

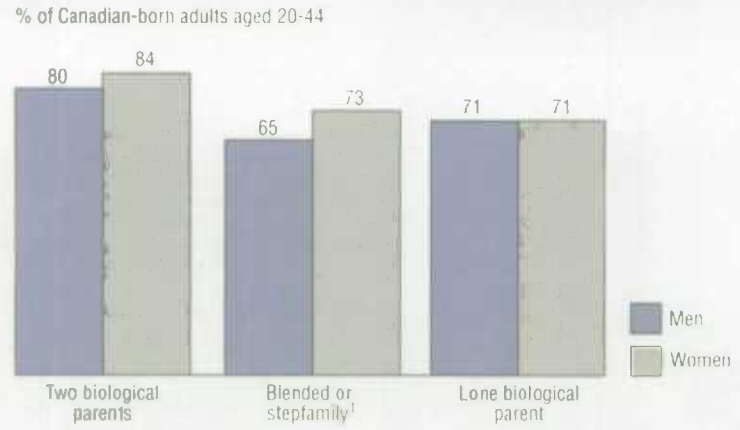
Summary The 1994 GSS findings add weight to the view that family structure

Most Canadian-born adults aged 20 to 44 were living with both biological parents when they were 15 years old

Family Structure	Population ('000s)	(%)
All families	8,718	100
Two-parent families		
Biological mother and father	7,369	85
Biological mother and stepfather	259	3
Biological father and stepmother	81	1
Both step-parents	49	1
Lone-parent families		
Mother[1]	680	8
Father[1]	191	2
No parents[1]	88	1

[1] Includes non-biological guardians, such as adoptive parent or grandparent.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1994 General Social Survey.

Children from families with both biological parents are most likely to graduate from high school



[1] One partner is the biological parent.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1994 General Social Survey.

[1] The 1994 General Social Survey (GSS) on education, work and retirement collected data from nearly 11,000 Canadians aged 15 and over living in private households in the ten provinces. It also gathered information about the type of family the respondent was living in at the age of 15.

[2] Sample sizes for father-headed families are too small for meaningful analysis; therefore, all lone-parent families have been aggregated.

[3] Researchers are unsure whether blended and step-parent families should be considered similar to two-parent biological families (the income effect) or to lone-parent families (the stress effect).

[4] There are too few blended and stepparent families to include in the analysis related to parents' education.

Why are children from lone-parent families less likely to graduate?

Researchers disagree about the reasons why different family structures produce different educational outcomes for the children. The dominant theories, however, relate the differences between children to the reduced income, lack of a role model and stress that are more common in lone-parent families.

One of the oldest explanations is the theory of household production, which argues that since lone-parent families have fewer resources, they have less time, money and energy to devote to the child's education. A variant on this is the theory of economic deprivation, in which low income is identified as the problem; although lone-parent families accounted for just under 15% of all families in Canada in 1996, they made up over one-half of all families below the low income cut-offs.[1] As well, some researchers claim that the stigma of low income may undermine the child's schooling.

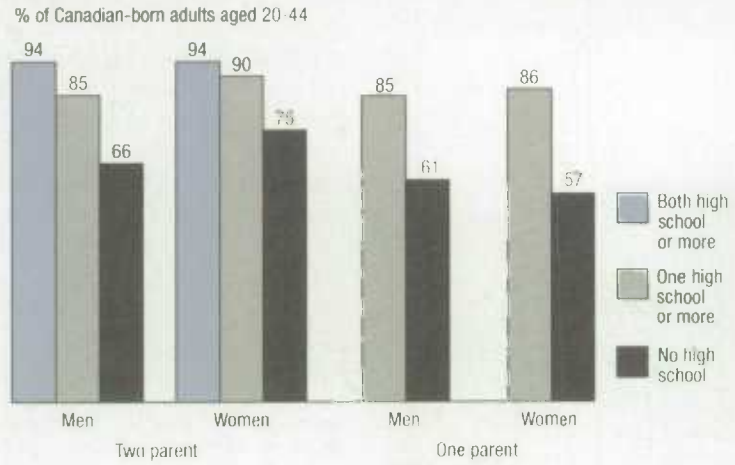
A third group of hypotheses addresses the issue of the absent father. These theories posit that children need a male role model in their lives to thrive. It argues that the family is the key institution for socializing young children and two parents can provide more attention, help and supervision to foster the necessary skills for educational success. Some researchers also suggest that the stress created by the conflict surrounding the breakup of the family, or the reconstitution into a blended family, subverts academic achievement.

And some analysts dispute the idea that family structure plays a role at all in the different outcomes of children from lone-parent compared with two-parent families. The no-effect hypothesis, for example, claims that the differences arise entirely from factors such as the education and occupation of parents.

[1] Sample sizes are too small to test whether respondents from lone-parent families left school in order to help the family financially; however, GSS data for *all* respondents show that the most common reasons were financial (26%) and preferring work to school (22%). Somewhat different results were reported by the 1991 School Leavers Survey: men dropped out because they preferred work to school (28%), while women most often cited boredom (22%). For further information, see Sid Gilbert and Bruce Orok, "School Leavers," *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1993.

plays a significant role in determining whether a child will graduate from high school. The debate will continue over the cause-and-effect connections between family structure and children's educational attainment, although many topics lend themselves to further research — the relationship with the parent or stepparent, the discipline and support offered by parents, and parental involvement with the child's schooling. Most of these issues can only be addressed by longitudinal surveys of child development outcomes, such as the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth. In the meantime, researchers have offered recommendations for offsetting the disadvantages observed among children from lone-parent families, including programs that allow young adults to finish high school, providing affordable day care and after-school programs, and providing job training and skills upgrading to women.[5]

Parents' education affects the likelihood that their children will complete high school



Note: Parent is the biological parent.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1994 General Social Survey.

[5] For example, see Garry D. Sandefeuer, Sara McLanahan, Roger A. Wojtkiewics, "The Effects of Parental Marital Status during Adolescence on High School Graduation," *Social Forces*, September 1992, Vol. 71, no.1, pp. 103-121. Sheila Fitzgerald Krein, "Growing up in a Single Parent Family: The Effect on Education and Earnings of Young Men," *Family Relations*, 1986, Vol. 35, pp. 167.

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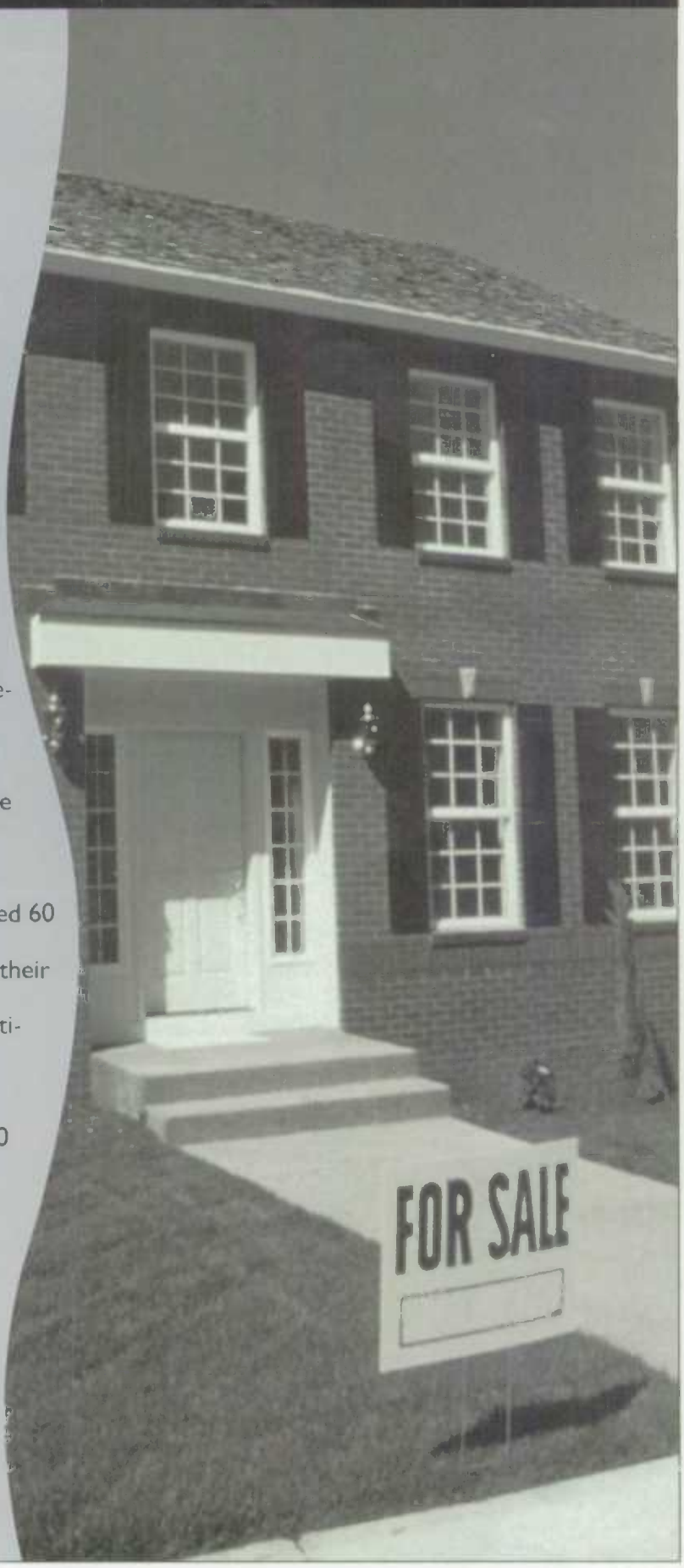
Older Canadians on the Move

by Janet Che-Alford
and Kathryn Stevenson

Almost everyone agrees that it's not much fun packing up and moving out of their old home into a new one. But a vast number of Canadians move across the street, across the country or somewhere in between — almost 9.7 million of them over a five-year period.[1] Although these movers were most likely to be young or middle-aged adults, almost 938,000 Canadians aged 60 and over (23%) also changed their principal residence. In this article, the residential mobility patterns of Canadians aged 60 and over between 1990 and 1995 are described, with special emphasis on the reasons for moving.



[1] Almost half (46%) of the population aged 15 and over moved during the intercensal period 1986 to 1991. At the time of writing, the mobility data from the 1996 Census were not yet available; they will be released in April 1998.

Most older movers stay near their old home It takes most people about six months to settle into a new neighbourhood,[2] and for older people the process may take even longer. This may be one reason why most older Canadians do not relocate very far from their old neighbourhood. The 1995 General Social Survey (GSS) shows that the majority (76%) of Canadians aged 60 and over who had moved in the previous five years settled no more than 50 kilometres from their previous home, and many moved no more than 10 kilometres. Moves of more than 200 kilometres were not common: in 1995, 10% of older movers had undertaken to move such a long distance.

Reasons for moving differ as people get older Information about reasons for moving was gathered by the 1995 GSS and the 1991 Survey on Ageing and Independence (SAI). According to the GSS, the desire for a smaller home was most often why people aged 60 and over had moved in the previous five years; this reason was cited by 19% of older movers. This finding

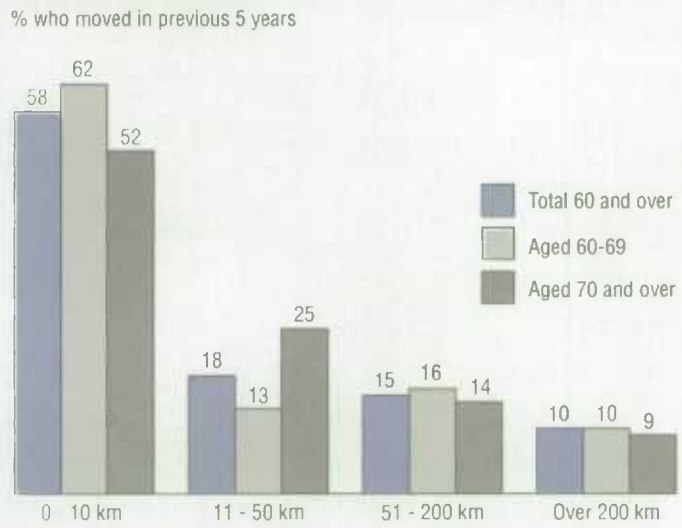
[2] Audrey T. McCollum, "The Trauma of Moving: Psychological Issues for Women." Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1990.

Over one in five Canadians aged 60 and over have changed their residence in the previous five years[1]

Age group	Number of movers 1981-86 ('000)	Number of movers 1986-91 ('000)	Mobility rates 1981-86 (%)	Mobility rates 1986-91 (%)
20 - 59	7,027	7,977	50	53
60 and over	804	938	22	23
60 - 69	473	544	23	25
70 - 79	249	292	21	22
80 and over	81	102	20	21

[1] Excludes Yukon and Northwest Territories.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Population.

Most older Canadians who move travel only a short distance



Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

Many sources of data

This article examines the characteristics of Canadians aged 60 years and over living in the ten provinces who moved from one principal private residence to another at some time in the previous five years. The population excludes persons who moved out of the country permanently,[1] as well as those who moved into an institution such as a nursing home or chronic care home. Although the Census of Population provides coverage of all provinces and territories, the household surveys do not, so residents in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories were also excluded from the analysis.

Data on the extent of residential mobility were captured by the 1986 and 1991 censuses of population, while information on the reasons for moving was obtained from the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS) and the 1991 Survey on Ageing and Independence (SAI). Data on factors contributing to quality of life and dwelling characteristics were also drawn from the SAI; while the 1995 Household Income, Facilities and Equipment Database (HIFE) provided information on change in tenure.

[1] "Snowbirds" are included in the target population if they continued to report that their principal residence is in Canada.

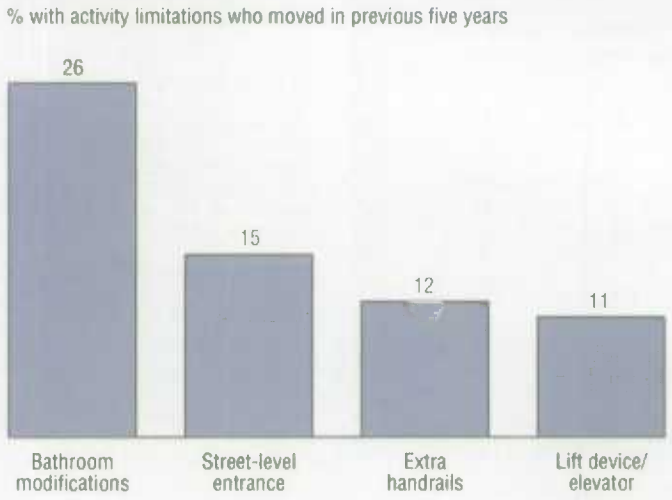
implies that older people move to smaller accommodation in response to children leaving home or the desire for a home that requires less work to maintain.

Among people in their sixties, the second most frequently cited reason for having relocated in the previous five years was to purchase or build a home, while movers over 70 wanted to be close to family. The third most common reason was cited by movers in both age groups — they had wanted to relocate to a better neighbourhood. As well, almost one in ten movers in their seventies or more reported that they were now living in a seniors' residence,[3] suggesting that they had wanted a change of lifestyle.

The reasons for moving were ranked somewhat differently by the 1991 SAI, mainly because the wording of the questions was slightly different. Nonetheless, as with the 1995 GSS, housing issues dominated, with the size of the house being the most common response in each age group. Retirement ranked second for movers aged 60 to 69, while those aged 70 and over reported they had moved due to a decline in health. On the other hand, almost as many movers aged 70 and over had wanted access to more recreation and leisure activities, reflecting the fact that many senior citizens are still active and involved in the community.

While people may enjoy the privacy, security and stability of owning their home, they may decide to jettison the demands of its upkeep. Some older Canadians sell their homes as they become empty-nesters, seek the companionship of others their own age, adjust to a fixed income or become concerned about their health. According to the 1995 Household Income, Facilities and Equipment Database (HIFE), 14% of Canadians aged 60 and over who had moved in the previous five years switched from owning to renting. This shift was more common among more elderly movers, at 17% for those aged 70 and over compared with 10% among those in their sixties.

Older movers with activity limitations often choose a home with special features



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Survey of Ageing and Independence.

Older Canadians most often moved because of the size of their home

	Age group		
	Total 60 and over	60-69	70 and over
	(% who moved in previous 5 years)		
In 1995 (GSS)			
Smaller home	19	18	21
Better neighbourhood	14	15	14
Purchase/build a home	12	16	--
Closer to family	10	--	16
Move to seniors' residence	5	--	9
In 1991 (SAI)			
House too big/small	26	25	28
Retirement of self/spouse	17	21	--
Decline in health	15	12	18
More recreation/leisure activities	10	--	14

-- Sample too small to release.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Survey of Ageing and Independence and 1995 General Social Survey.

One-third of older movers with activity limitations choose new homes with special features In 1991, 1.2 million Canadians aged 60 and over had activity limitations such as being unable to walk three city blocks without resting, to dress themselves, or to use the toilet without assistance.[4] About 270,000 of them (22%) had moved in the previous five years, with over one-third (98,600) relocating to new homes with special health features. The most common adaptation was bathroom modifications (26% of all older movers with activity limitations), followed by a street-level entrance, extra handrails and a lift device. With advancing age, the demand for special adaptations to the home increases.

[3] Senior's residences refer to private dwellings (for example, apartment or condominium complexes) specially designed to meet the needs of older people. These needs can include everything from being within easy walking distance of a mall or golf course, to providing housekeeping services.

[4] Activity limitation refers to any illness, physical condition or health problem existing for more than six months that limits the kind or amount of activity in which a person can engage. The Survey of Ageing and Independence estimated that Canadians with activity limitations accounted for 31% of persons aged 60 and over in 1991.

Summary A large number of Canadians aged 60 and over have changed their place of residence in recent years (23% between 1986 and 1991). They moved for many of the same reasons that younger people do: because their house no longer "fits;" they want to live in a better neighbourhood; they would like to be closer to their family. However, the older the person at the time of the move, the more likely their reasons were influenced by the desire for social support, whether to be closer to family or to live in a seniors' residence.

Given the rising proportion of older households,[5] older Canadians on the move may present a considerable challenge to the housing industry. The fact that a substantial share of older movers seek smaller homes is significant. If the trend persists, the supply of larger houses available to younger families should increase, leading to better use of the housing stock in some communities. At the same time, there may be a surge in demand for other types of housing. Innovative housing options and technology will help older Canadians, especially those with activity limitations, to remain in their own homes as they age. An increasing number of alternatives, such as seniors' residences and sheltered housing, are also becoming available for seniors who want housing that is designed to meet their needs for a low-maintenance home, health care or convenient access to recreation and leisure activities.

Movers aged 70 and over were more likely to exchange home ownership for tenancy

	Age group		
	Total 60 and over	60-69	70 and over
	(% who moved in previous 5 years)		
No change			
Rent to rent	41	38	45
Own to own	32	39	26
Change			
Rent to own	13	14	12
Own to rent	14	10	17
Total[1]			
Own	45	52	38
Rent	55	48	62

[1] Excludes persons who did not maintain their households five years ago.
Source: Statistics Canada, Household Income, Facilities and Equipment Database, 1995.

[5] The percentage of households aged 55 years and over is expected to increase from 32% (3.3 million) in 1991 to almost 43% (5.6 million) in 2011. Roger Lewis, *The Long Term Housing Outlook, Household Growth in Canada and the Provinces, 1991-2016*. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Catalogue no. NH15-154/2016E, 1997.

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Breast Cancer and Mammography

by Leslie A. Gaudette, Jane F. Gentleman and Judy Lee

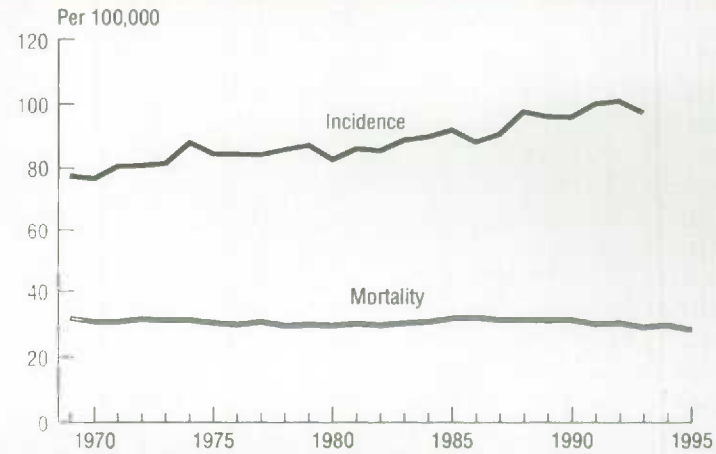
Breast cancer is by far the leading form of cancer diagnosed in Canadian women, accounting for about 30% of all newly reported cancers. Approximately one woman in nine can expect to develop breast cancer during her lifetime; about one in 25 will die of it. Although a number of risk factors for breast cancer have been identified, few lend themselves to preventive action. However, early detection of tumours can help control the impact of the disease. Recent Canadian data confirm a promising trend: the mortality rate is falling. This article briefly surveys trends in breast cancer incidence and mortality rates for women in different age groups, and examines women's use of mammography to screen for breast disease.[1]

[1] Men can get breast cancer too, but its occurrence is rare. In 1991, one case of breast cancer was diagnosed in men for about every 140 cases diagnosed in women.

Incidence rates stable for younger women Over 80,000 Canadian women alive today have been diagnosed with breast cancer. Although most common among older women, breast cancer can also strike women at the peak of their work and family responsibilities. It is the leading cause of death for women aged 35 to 49. While some people have expressed concern that it is becoming more common among women aged 40 to 49, the growth in numbers of new cases can be entirely explained by the movement of baby-boomers into their forties during the 1990s. When changes in the size of the population aged 40 to 49 are accounted for, incidence rates for breast cancer have actually remained fairly stable for younger women, at about 130 per 100,000 women aged 40 to 49.

On the other hand, the rate of new cases diagnosed in women aged 50 to 79 has increased considerably, and is most

Breast cancer incidence has been increasing but mortality shows slow decline



Note: Rates are age-standardized to the 1991 Canadian population adjusted for net census undercoverage.
Source: Canadian Cancer Registry, National Cancer Incidence Reporting System, and Canadian Vital Statistics Data Base.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

Data source and definitions

This article is adapted from four articles recently published in the quarterly Statistics Canada journal *Health Reports*. The analysis uses both administrative and household survey data drawn from a number of sources. The analysis of trends in incidence and mortality uses data collected by the Canadian Cancer Registry (1992 onwards), the National Cancer Incidence Reporting System (1969 to 1991), and the Canadian Vital Statistics Data Base (1969 to 1995). These administrative databases are maintained by the Health Statistics Division of Statistics Canada. Rates were age-standardized to the 1991 Canadian population to account for changes in the age structure of the population over time.

Administrative data on the annual number of mammograms provided to Canadian women were obtained from departments of health and provincial and territorial breast screening programs. Information about women's responses to questions about their mammography history were collected by the 1994-95 National Population Health Survey (NPHS). In asking women about their mammography history, it did not distinguish between mammograms received in organized breast screening programs and those received from other sources. The analysis focuses mainly on women aged 50 to 69 (2,111 respondents, representing about 2.6 million women).

Mammogram — a safe, low-dose X-ray of the breast that uses a special technique to find tumours at an early stage.

Mammography is used for two purposes:

Screening — to detect tumours in the early stages of development. Breast screening may be provided through organized provincial programs at no cost to women in the target age group (50 to 69), or through the fee-for-service system to women of all ages.

Diagnostic assessment — to assist in the diagnosis of suspected or existing breast problems. Diagnostic mammograms are provided only through the fee-for-service system, where physician referrals are required.

For more information, see:

- Gaudette, Leslie A., Carol Silberberger, Chris A. Altmayer and Ru-Nie Gao, "Trends in Breast Cancer Incidence and Mortality," *Health Reports*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 82-003-XPB, Vol. 8, no. 2; pp. 29-37.
- Gaudette, Leslie A., Chris A. Altmayer, Karla M.P. Nobrega, and Judy Lee, "Trends in mammography utilization, 1981 to 1994," *Health Reports*, Vol. 8, no. 3; pp. 17-25.
- Gentleman, Jane F. and Judy Lee, "Who Doesn't Get a Mammogram?", *Health Reports*, Vol. 9, no. 1; pp. 19-28.
- Gaudette, Leslie A., Ru-Nie Gao, Marek Wysocki and François Nault, "Update on breast Cancer Mortality," *Health Reports*, Vol. 9, no. 1; pp. 31-34.

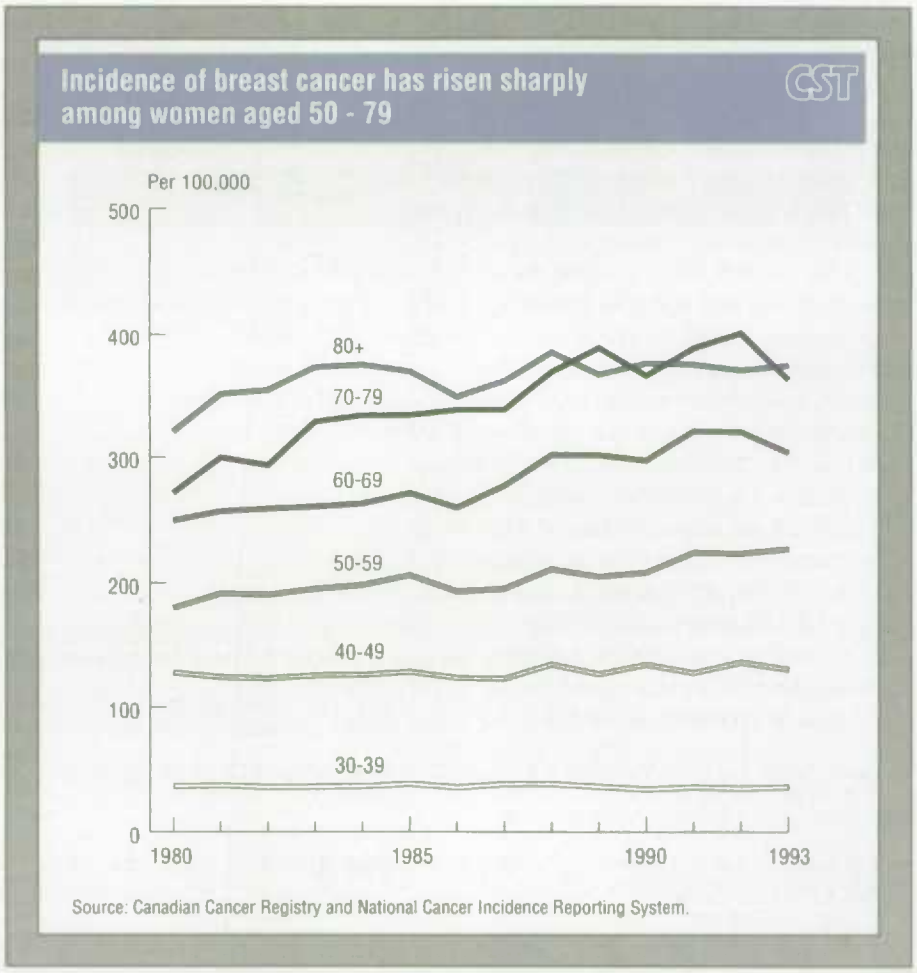
likely due to women's increasing use of screening mammography.

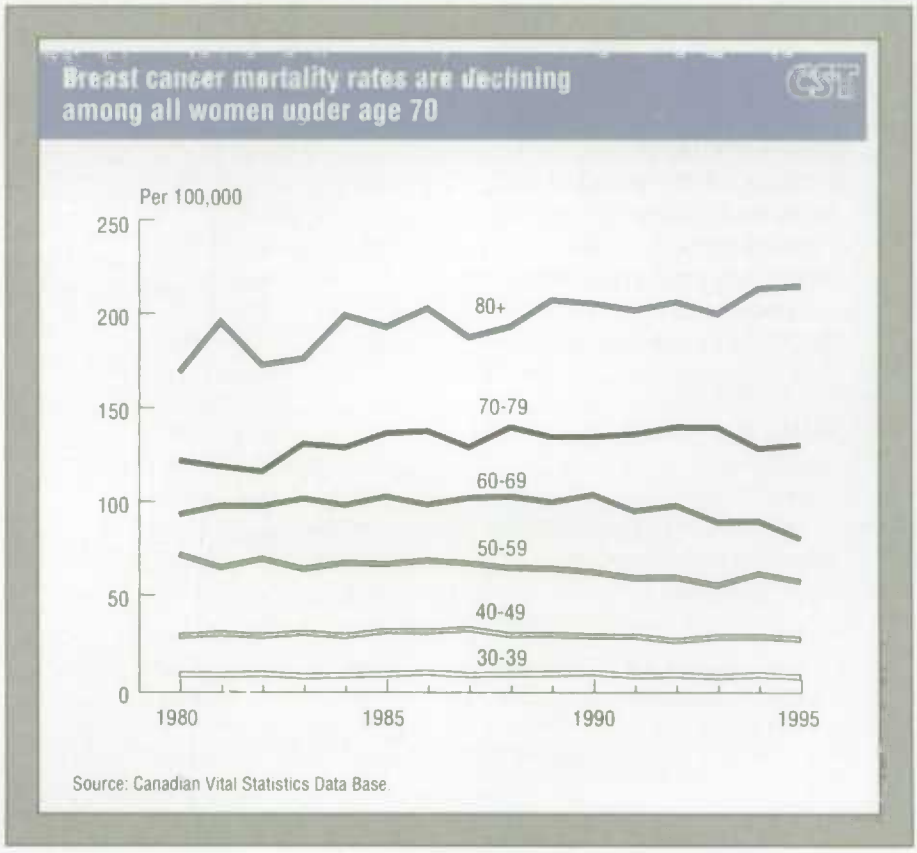
Mortality rates declining Between 1969 and 1995, the annual number of deaths due to breast cancer almost doubled from 2,750 to 4,925. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, however, the age-standardized mortality rate was fairly stable, at 30 to 32 per 100,000 women. Then it began to drop: by 1995, the mortality rate was 28.4 deaths per 100,000 women, the lowest rate reported since 1950. This decline is not dramatic, but it is statistically significant.

Furthermore, for people concerned that breast cancer is becoming more common among younger women, the mortality rate declined for all women under age 70. Some of this was due to the appreciable decline in rates for women in their sixties, and may be partly explained by their reproductive experiences: this cohort became mothers at a younger age than did earlier cohorts, and a younger age at first childbirth is associated with lower rates of breast cancer. Declines in mortality may also be caused by earlier detection of tumours through mammography or the use of more effective treatments, particularly for cancers diagnosed at an early stage.

A favourable survival rate Survival rates for breast cancer are more favourable than those for many other forms of cancer. According to data from the Alberta and Saskatchewan cancer registries, almost 70% of women with breast cancer can expect to live for at least five more years after being diagnosed, and about 50% will live for at least another 10 years. However, survival rates vary considerably by age: younger women are more likely to survive for at least 10 years, partly because older women are more likely to die from other causes. Also, while survival rates for most types of cancer stabilize after five years, those for breast cancer do not; instead, they continue to fall. This means that for many years after diagnosis, constant vigilance is needed to monitor for the recurrence of the disease.

Can breast cancer be controlled with earlier detection? Surviving breast cancer also depends greatly on the stage the cancer has reached at the time of





Risk factors

Over the past 50 years, many studies have attempted to determine the factors associated with a higher risk of developing breast cancer. Factors identified by these studies as presenting a moderate to high relative risk for breast cancer include age, country of birth, family history of breast cancer, and biopsy-confirmed benign proliferative breast disease; factors associated with minor relative risk include reproductive history and lifestyle.

In many studies, increased risk is linked to what could be called hormonal factors — such as use of oral contraceptives, estrogen replacement therapy and the number of children born — but the level of association is still uncertain. Prolonged breast feeding, which has been shown in a number of populations to reduce risk, is thought to explain at least part of the low incidence of breast cancer among Inuit women. Diet has long been thought to be important, although a strong association between breast cancer and specific dietary components has yet to be confirmed. Yet despite the work done to identify possible causes of breast cancer, only about half of new cases can be explained by known risk factors.

Risk factors for breast cancer in women

	High-risk	Low-risk
High relative risk		
Age	Old	Young
Country of birth	North America, Northern Europe	Asia, Africa
Family history (mother and sister with breast cancer)	Yes	No
Moderate relative risk		
History of cancer in one breast	Yes	No
Family history (mother or sister with breast cancer)	Yes	No
Biopsy – confirmed benign proliferative disease	Yes	No
Chest X-ray (moderate to high doses)	Yes	No
Minor relative risk		
Socioeconomic status	High	Low
Marital status	Never-married	Ever-married
Place of residence	Urban	Rural
Age at menarche (first menstruation)	Under 12	15 or over
Age at first full-term pregnancy	30 or over	Under 20
Age at menopause	55 or over	Under 45
Obesity		
Breast cancer at age 50 or more	Obese	Thin
Breast cancer at less than age 50	Thin	Obese

Source: Adapted from J.L. Kelsey. "Breast cancer epidemiology: Summary and future directions." *Epidemiologic Reviews 1993*, Vol. 15, no 1, pp. 256-263.

diagnosis. Generally speaking, when the cancer is confined to the breast and is less than 2 cm in size (Stage I), women survive far longer than when the tumour has metastasized to other organs (Stage IV). This is why early detection of tumours can extend life, and why mammography is an important element in such a strategy. Finding tumours when they are still small, in conjunction with advances in treatment, affords some hope of improving survival rates. Because mammographic screening offers one of the best chances of defeating breast cancer at this time, the Canadian Cancer Society recommends that women aged 50 to 69 have a mammogram every two years.

The number of mammograms performed in Canada every year climbed rapidly from 250,000 in 1985 to 1.3 million in 1991, and stabilized at 1.4 million in 1994. The sharp upturn between 1985 and 1991 largely reflects increases in the number of mammograms performed to screen for breast cancer. (For example, in 1994-95, 80% of women aged 40 to 79 reported that their last mammogram was a "check-up," while 17% had had one because of an existing "breast problem," such as a palpable lump.) The numbers reported in the 1990s are relatively stable partly because governments introduced breast screening programs targeted at women aged 50 to 69, and partly because women may have begun to receive mammograms every two years rather than annually.

Majority of women over 40 have had at least one mammogram As the increase in the annual number of mammograms indicates, a growing number of Canadian women have had the procedure. According to the 1994-95 National Population Health Survey (NPHS), 64% of women aged 40 and over had had at least one mammogram in their lives, with the highest lifetime rates reported by women in their fifties (74%) and sixties (71%), the age groups targeted by breast screening programs. This was up substantially from 58% and 51%, respectively, as reported in the 1990 Health Promotion Survey.

A number of different factors are related to the likelihood that a woman in the target age group has had at least one mammogram in her life; these factors include income, education, place of

residence (urban or rural), physician advice and immigrant status. A multivariate analysis of odds ratios helps to identify characteristics that are associated with mammography utilization.

Having a mammogram is associated to some extent with the availability of a coordinated, organized breast screening program. For example, the odds that women aged 50 to 69 had had a mammogram were low in Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Manitoba (provinces without an organized breast screening program), compared with Saskatchewan and British Columbia (the two provinces with the longest-running breast screening programs). Contact with the medical system for one reason or another also had a considerable impact: women who had seen a doctor in the previous year had much higher odds of having used mammographic screening, as did those who had cancer of any kind.

Married women (including common-law) also had higher odds of ever having had a mammogram compared with women who had never been married. Women whose primary activity was working for pay had significantly higher odds than women who were caregivers or retired; similarly, university or college graduates had higher odds than women without high school completion. Interestingly, household income was not significantly associated with a woman ever having had a mammogram, perhaps reflecting the universal accessibility of health care in Canada.

Place of birth is linked with ever having had a mammogram. Women who had emigrated from countries where breast cancer rates are considerably lower than in Canada — Asia, South and Central America, the Caribbean and Africa — had significantly lower mammography odds than either Canadian-born women, or women who had emigrated from the United States, Australia or northern Europe.

Who has recently had a mammogram?

Whether women who had had a mammogram complied completely with the recommendation for women aged 50 to 69 to have a screening mammogram every two years, depended on most of the same factors associated with whether they had had a mammogram at all. Among women

Almost two-thirds of women aged 40 and over have had a mammogram

	Age group					
	Total 40 and over	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80 and over
	%					
Canada	**64**	**59**	**74**	**71**	**59**	**40**
Newfoundland	43	48	52	--	--	--
Prince Edward Island	58	50	76	71	--	--
Nova Scotia	49	47	54	57	--	--
New Brunswick	57	57	75	50	38	--
Quebec	67	66	81	67	57	--
Ontario	63	56	71	77	61	40
Manitoba	58	52	67	64	66	--
Saskatchewan	65	52	83	81	57	--
Alberta	65	55	71	83	67	--
British Columbia	69	66	82	70	64	--

-- Sample too small to be released.
Source: Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1994-95.

CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS BACKGROUNDER

Across Canada

The incidence of breast cancer has traditionally been higher in the western provinces and lower in the eastern provinces. In recent years, incidence rates have begun to converge, although they are still relatively high in British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia. The rates now reported in the provinces east of Ontario are relatively higher than they have historically been, perhaps partly because of the improved methods now used to register new cases. For example, some women develop more than one primary breast cancer, and various provincial cancer registries may use different rules to count these multiple primaries. On the other hand, changing fertility patterns and differing rates of implementation of breast screening mammography programs may contribute to provincial variations in incidence rates.

Breast cancer incidence rates and mortality rates vary by province and territory[1]

	Incidence rate (1989-1991)	Mortality rate (1991-1993)
	Per 100,000 women	
Canada	**97.6**	**29.9**
Newfoundland	80.0*	29.1
Prince Edward Island	102.2	25.4
Nova Scotia	102.3*	32.9*
New Brunswick	95.1	29.0
Quebec	91.2*	31.6*
Ontario	98.1	30.6*
Manitoba	104.7*	27.5*
Saskatchewan	102.7*	27.0*
Alberta	97.7	29.9
British Columbia	106.8*	26.0*
Yukon	68.8	18.8
Northwest Territories	67.1*	37.1

* Statistically significant difference from national rate.
[1] Rates are age-standardized to the 1991 Canadian population adjusted for net census undercoverage.
Source: Statistics Canada, Health Statistics Division.

who had ever had a mammogram, the odds of compliance with the Canadian Cancer Society recommendation were highest for married women, women in the paid workforce, those with a college or university education, and those who had recently visited a doctor.

Summary Breast cancer is one of the most serious health concerns of Canadian women. The incidence rate for this disease has not changed for women under 50, while it has risen for women aged 50 to 79. By contrast, in 1995, the Canadian breast cancer mortality rate was at its lowest point since 1950, the result of declining mortality rates for women in all age groups under age 70.

Mammography is an important contributor to the increased diagnosis of breast cancer, but the crucial question is whether earlier detection will affect breast cancer mortality rates over the long term. Because the decline in the breast cancer mortality rate has occurred so soon after the increase in screening mammography, it is unlikely that screening alone is behind the decline. The earlier diagnoses achieved with mammography may be playing a role, together with treatment advances and fertility patterns, as seen in the United States. In Canada, the most rapidly falling mortality rates are recorded for the two provinces (British Columbia and Saskatchewan) with the most extensive breast screening programs and among the highest mammography rates. Continued monitoring and analysis of breast cancer mortality trends will be needed to assess the relative effect of mammography, treatment and various risk factors.

Doctor visits, marital status and education are associated with women aged 50 to 69 having a mammogram

(Reference category shown in italics)	Ever had a mammogram	Had a mammogram in previous two years (if ever had one)
Province		
Saskatchewan	*1.00*	*1.00*
British Columbia	0.82	0.84
Alberta	0.76	1.18
Quebec	0.74	0.26*
Ontario	0.74	0.48
Prince Edward Island	0.73	1.40
New Brunswick	0.41*	0.55
Manitoba	0.40*	0.23*
Nova Scotia	0.28*	0.46
Newfoundland	0.23*	0.39
Lives in Census Metropolitan Area		
No	*1.00*	*1.00*
Yes	1.23	1.63*
Visited doctor in last 12 months		
No	*1.00*	*1.00*
Yes	3.08*	3.43*
Has cancer		
No	*1.00*	*1.00*
Yes	2.85*	1.80
Marital status		
Never-married	*1.00*	*1.00*
Now married	2.15	1.21
Common-law	2.07	0.99
Separated/divorced	1.41	0.73
Widowed	2.29*	0.78
Main activity last 12 months		
Working	*1.00*	*1.00*
Working and caregiving	0.72	0.92
Caregiving	0.53*	0.74
Looking for work	0.58	0.20*
Retired (includes at school and ill)	0.56*	0.77
Education		
Less than secondary	*1.00*	*1.00*
Secondary	1.53*	0.83
More than high school	1.27	1.02
College or university	2.15*	1.16
Household income		
Low	*1.00*	*1.00*
Lower middle	0.74	0.72
Upper middle	1.00	0.78
High	0.98	1.07
Place of birth		
Canada	*1.00*	*1.00*
Other North America, Europe, Australia	0.81	1.45
South/Central America, Caribbean, Africa	0.33*	0.27*
Asia	0.29*	3.39

* Statistically significant.
Source: Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1994-95

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EDUCATORS' NOTEBOOK

Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends *in the classroom*

Lesson plan for "Older Canadians on the Move."

Objectives

- To identify the elements of a neighbourhood.
- To identify the services needed by people of different ages.
- To understand how demography affects the economic well-being of the community.

Method

1. Ask the students to build a profile of the neighbourhood around the school (define the boundaries clearly). As they walk around the area chosen, ask them to record such things as the number and type of retail stores (e.g. grocery, hardware, and clothing stores); housing (e.g. single family homes, apartment buildings); businesses (e.g. architects, plumbers); educational institutions; community services (e.g. fire stations, health care professionals); churches; transportation services (e.g. bus routes, parking lots, bike paths).
2. Based on the characteristics observed, what kind of neighbourhood is it? That is, are most of the residents families with teenagers, families with pre-schoolers, older couples, young singles, or a mix of different types of families and individuals.
3. Read "Older Canadians on the Move." Assume that 300 people, mostly seniors, arrive in the neighbourhood in the next 6 months. How might this change the neighbourhood? For example, would an old mansion be converted into a seniors' residence, a new gardening store open, the hardware store sell more adaptive aids like grab-bars for shower stalls, a dentist or General Practitioner open a new practice? Would the changes be different than those that followed the arrival of young families?
4. Assume that another 300 people, mostly young families, move into the neighbourhood in the next year. How might the neighbourhood change? For example, would portable classrooms be put up around the elementary school, children's shoe store open, more teenagers be hired to work in the local stores, traffic calming measures be introduced in the streets?
5. Assume that instead of an influx of new residents, 300 people leave the neighbourhood. Which elements of the neighbourhood would be the first to change?

Using other resources

- Use the E-STAT CD-ROM to develop a social and economic profile of a town. Identify the differences between its current conditions and those prevailing 5 or 10 years ago, in terms of employment levels, main industries, age and education of population, and so on.
- Read *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, 1996*, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91-209-XPE, to see how fertility rates differ in common-law relationships and legal marriages.
- Use the 1996 Census data available on the Statistics Canada website at www.statcan.ca.

Share your ideas!

Do you have lessons using CST that you would like to share with other educators? Send your ideas or comments to Joel Yan, Dissemination Division, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, K1A 0T6. FAX (613) 951-4513 or Internet e-mail: yanjoel@statcan.ca.

EDUCATORS – **You may photocopy *Educators' Notebook* and any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.**

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ANNUAL LABOUR FORCE ESTIMATES, 1980-1997

	Population 15+	Labour force (000s) Total	Employed	Unemployed	Participation rate (%)	Unemployment rate (%)	Employment/ population ratio (%)
1980[1]	18,550	11,983	11,082	900	64.6	7.5	59.7
1981	18,883	12,332	11,398	934	65.3	7.6	60.4
1982	19,177	12,398	11,035	1,363	64.7	11.0	57.5
1983	19,433	12,610	11,106	1,504	64.9	11.9	57.1
1984	19,681	12,853	11,402	1,450	65.3	11.3	57.9
1985	19,929	13,123	11,742	1,381	65.8	10.5	58.9
1986	20,182	13,378	12,095	1,283	66.3	9.6	59.9
1987	20,432	13,631	12,422	1,208	66.7	8.9	60.8
1988	20,690	13,900	12,819	1,082	67.2	7.8	62.0
1989	20,968	14,151	13,086	1,065	67.5	7.5	62.4
1990	21,277	14,329	13,165	1,164	67.3	8.1	61.9
1991	21,613	14,408	12,916	1,492	66.7	10.4	59.8
1992	21,986	14,482	12,842	1,640	65.9	11.3	58.4
1993	22,371	14,663	13,015	1,649	65.5	11.2	58.2
1994	22,171	14,832	13,292	1,541	65.3	10.4	58.5
1995	23,027	14,928	13,506	1,422	64.8	9.5	58.6
1996	23,352	15,145	13,676	1,469	64.9	9.7	58.6
1997	23,687	15,354	13,941	1,413	64.8	9.2	58.9

[1] Estimates for 1980 to 1994 were revised to reflect results of the 1991 Census of population, including historical adjustments for census undercoverage and inclusion of non-permanent residents.

Employment-to-population ratio of youths aged 15-24, 1980 to 1996

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

Earnings profile of husband-wife families, 1981 to 1995

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 13-215-XPB.

SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
POPULATION								
Canada, July 1 (000s)	27,790.6	28,120.1	28,542.2	28,946.8	29,255.6 R	29,617.4	29,969.2	30,286.6
Annual growth (%)	1.5	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.1 R	1.2	1.2	•
Immigration[1]	202,979	219,250	241,810	265,405	234,457	215,470	208,791	•
Emigration[1]	39,760	43,692	45,633	43,993	44,807	45,949	47,230	•
FAMILY								
Birth rate (per 1,000)	15.3	14.3	14.0	13.4	13.2	12.9	12.5 E	•
Marriage rate (per 1,000)	6.8	6.1	5.8	5.5	5.5	5.4	5.2	•
Divorce rate (per 1,000)	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.4	•
Families experiencing unemployment (000s)	879	1,096	1,184	1,198	1,130	1,044	1,079	1,048
LABOUR FORCE								
Total employment (000s)	13,165	12,916	12,842	13,015	13,292	13,506	13,676	13,941
– goods sector (000s)	3,809	3,582	3,457	3,448	3,545	3,653	3,681	3,769
– service sector (000s)	9,356	9,334	9,385	9,567	9,746	9,852	9,995	10,172
Total unemployment (000s)	1,164	1,492	1,640	1,649	1,541	1,422	1,469	1,413
Unemployment rate (%)	8.1	10.4	11.3	11.2	10.4	9.5	9.7	9.2
Part-time employment (%)	17.0	18.1	18.5	19.1	18.8	18.6	18.9	19.0
Women's participation rate (%)	58.7	58.5	58.0	57.9	57.6	57.4	57.6	57.4
Unionization rate – % of paid workers	34.7	35.1	34.9	34.3	–	–	–	33.9
INCOME								
Median family income	45,618	46,389	47,199	46,717	48,091	48,079	49,411	•
% of families with low income (1992 Base)	12.3	13.0	13.5	14.6	13.5	14.5	14.5	•
Women's full-time earnings as a % of men's	67.7	69.6	71.9	72.2	69.8	73.1	•	•
EDUCATION								
Elementary and secondary enrolment (000s)	5,141.0	5,218.2	5,284.2	5,347.4 P	5,402.4 P	5,458.5 R	5,442.2 E	5,594.9 E
Full-time postsecondary enrolment (000s)	856.6	903.1	931.0	951.1 P	964.7 E	962.7 R	971.5 E	980.3 E
Doctoral degrees awarded	2,673	2,947	3,136	3,356	3,552	3,716 R	3,798 E	3,727 E
Government expenditure on education – as a % of GDP	5.8	6.3	6.4	6.2	5.9	5.7	•	•
HEALTH								
% of deaths due to cardiovascular disease – men	37.3	37.1	37.1	37.0	36.3	36.0	•	•
– women	41.2	41.0	40.7	40.2	39.7 R	39.3	•	•
% of deaths due to cancer – men	27.8	28.1	28.4 R	27.9	28.3	30.3	29.3 E	•
– women	26.5	27.0	27.3	26.9	27.0	27.3	27.0 E	•
Government expenditure on health – as a % of GDP	6.2	6.7	6.8	6.7	6.2	6.1	•	•
JUSTICE								
Crime rates (per 100,000) – violent	970	1,056	1,077 R	1,072	1,038 R	995	973	•
– property	5,593	6,141	5,868 R	5,524 R	5,212 R	5,235 R	5,192	•
– homicide	2.4	2.7	2.6	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.1	•
GOVERNMENT								
Expenditures on social programmes[2] (1995 $000,000)	183,505.7 R	190,745.5 R	207,245.8 R	214,317.3 R	215,567.4	208,494.6	•	•
– as a % of total expenditures	56.0 R	56.8 R	58.5 R	60.0 R	60.1	58.3	•	•
– as a % of GDP	24.5 R	26.7 R	28.8 R	29.4 R	28.2	26.9	•	•
UI beneficiaries (000s)	3,261.0	3,663.0	3,658.0	3,415.5	3,086.2	2,910.0	•	•
OAS and OAS/GIS beneficiaries[m] (000s)	3,005.8	3,098.5	3,180.5	3,264.1	3,340.5	3,420.0	3,500.2	•
Canada Assistance Plan beneficiaries[m] (000s)	1,930.1	2,282.2	2,723.0	2,975.0	3,100.2	3,070.9	•	•
ECONOMIC INDICATORS								
GDP (1986 $) – annual % change	-0.2	-1.8	+0.8	+2.2	+4.1	+2.3	+1.5	•
Annual inflation rate (%)	4.8	5.6	1.5	1.8	0.2	2.1	1.6	1.6
Urban housing starts	150,620	130,094	140,126	129,988	127,346	89,526	101,804	•

– 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.

Teenagers least likely to wear bicycle helmet

Although the majority of the 1,665 bicycle-related deaths from 1980 to 1994 (57%) occured among riders under age 20, few teenaged riders wear a bicycle helmet. According to the 1994-95 National Population Health Survey, only 16% of cyclists aged 12 to 14 and only 8% of those aged 15 to 19 always wore a helmet when riding. Most teens said they did not own a helmet, while others said they were uncomfortable wearing one. Girls were more likely to say they worried about being ridiculed, a fear reflected in the fact that girls were less likely than boys to wear a helmet.

Helmet use was highest in Ontario and British Columbia, and lowest in the Prairies and Quebec. Both adults and children in rural areas were less likely than urban residents to wear a helmet regularly when cycling. Higher rates of helmet use were also associated with high income and higher levels of education.

Health Reports, Autumn 1997, Vol. 9, no. 2
Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 82-003-XPB

Tuition financing bigger share of university budgets

Almost one-quarter of university operating revenues came from student fees in 1995, compared with only one-sixth in both 1975 and 1985. Between 1990 and 1995, students have seen an average 62% tuition fee increase in real terms (after inflation). The increase occurred mainly because government grants did not keep pace with increasing enrolments. In 1980, universities received almost $6.50 in government grants for every one dollar they collected from students; by 1995, this had fallen to just under $3. Despite the fee increases, the percentage of young people attending university continued to rise, perhaps because the recession of the early 1990s convinced many youths to further their education.

Education Quarterly Review, Summer 1997, Vol. 4, no. 2
Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 81-003-XPB

Canadians going back to the movies

The number of movie theatre admissions reached 85 million in 1995-96, its highest level in 13 years. Although overall growth was up 3% from the previous year, five provinces reported declines in attendance, with the largest drops experienced in Manitoba (-11%) and New Brunswick (-6%). Attendance increased the most in the Yukon and Northwest Territories (+19%) and Alberta (+8%). Renewed interest in movies may have been kindled by larger multi-screen theatres and by lower ticket prices, which have declined an average of 12% over the last four years thanks to discount specials like cheap Tuesdays and children's matinées.

Motion Picture Theatre Survey, 1995-96
Statistics Canada, Product no. 87F0009XPE

Proportion of adults attending school full-time doubles in 20 years

Between October 1976 and October 1996, the percentage of adults enrolled in school full-time doubled from 1.0% to 2.1%, or from 107,000 to 344,000. Although men were more likely to outnumber women at the start of the period, by the mid-1990s roughly equal numbers of men and women were sitting in the classroom. Most adult students are studying to improve their work prospects, with 8 in 10 citing their present or future job as the main reason for returning to school full-time.

Perspectives on labour and income, Autumn 1997, Vol. 9, no. 3
Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 75-001-XPE

Almost one in five workers self-employed in the 1990s

Almost three-quarters of the increase in jobs between 1989 and 1996 went to self-employed workers. The self-employed now account for 18% of the workforce, up from 14% in 1989 and 12% in 1976. Women entrepreneurs have recorded the strongest growth, accounting for one-third of the self-employed in 1996 compared with one-quarter in 1976.

In 1996, half of the self-employed worked in the trade, business services and personal and households services; and one-quarter worked in agriculture or construction. Most of the self-employed were drawn to the independence, flexibility, and opportunity to run a business or the possibility of making more money. But the average earnings of the self-employed were only about 91% of paid workers. This average masks the fact that self-employed earnings were "polarized" – about 45% made less than $20,000 in 1995 but over 4% made more than $100,000.

Labour force update: The self-employed
Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 71-005-XPB

Self-employed earnings more polarized than paid workers

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 71-005-XPB

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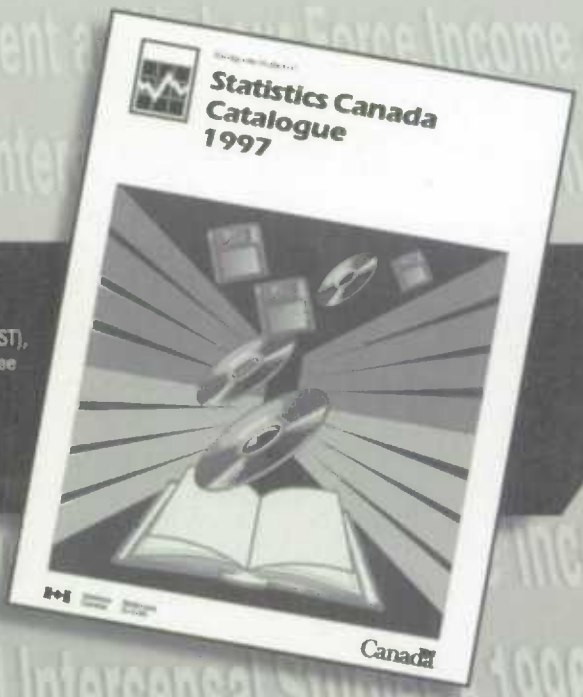

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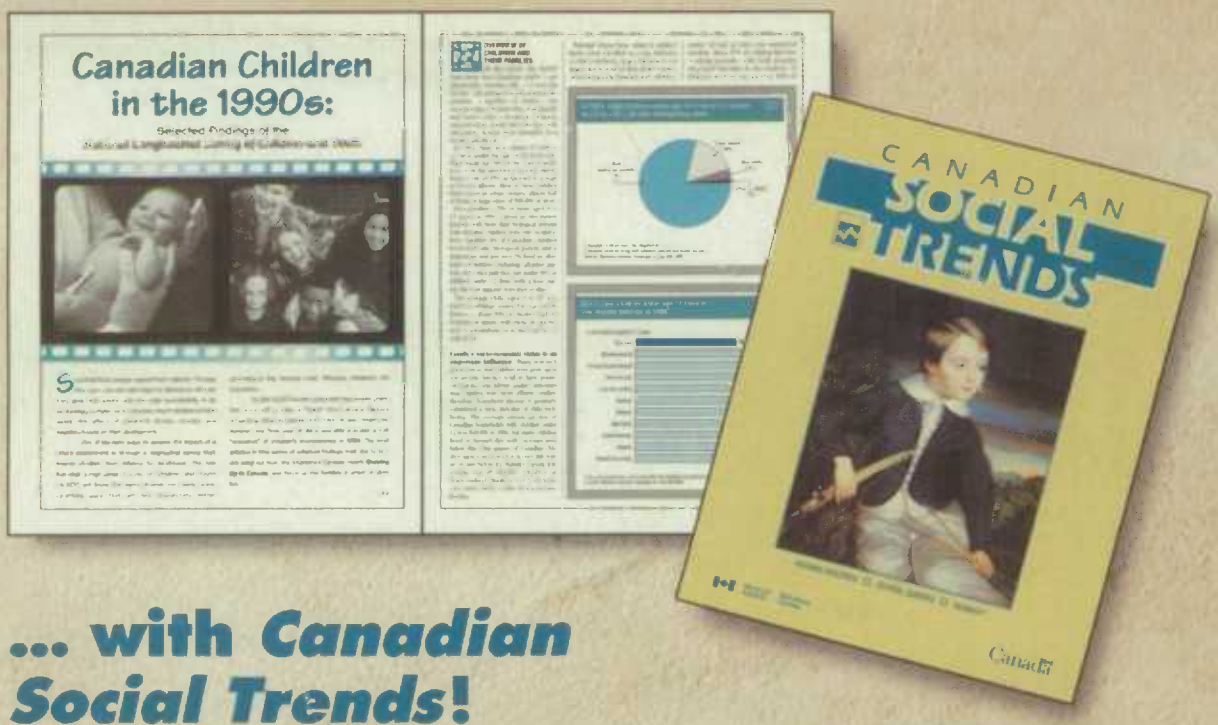

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