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SOCIAL TRENDS



FEATURES

Widows living alone

*Three generations
living together*

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Youth and crime

A third baby

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Widows Living Alone

by Irwin Bess

The death of a spouse can be very stressful, particularly for many older women who may have devoted most of their lives to their husband, children and home. They are suddenly alone — often for the first time ever — and in addition to the emotional adjustment, they also have to decide about new living arrangements. With many years of life ahead, widows have a number of options such as living on their own, sharing a home with family or friends, or moving into a seniors' residence.

According to the 1995 General Social Survey, 75% of Canada's 887,000 widows aged 65 and over lived alone. Most of these widows had left home before age 25 to marry and have children. They remained married to the same man for an average of 39 years, and were widowed at the average age of 63. As of 1995, most (82%) had been widowed for at least four years. This article examines some of the characteristics that appear to predispose widowed women to live on their own, with particular emphasis on the extent of their contact with family and friends.

Half of senior widows still live in the home once shared with their husband

Although the majority of widows have at least one son or daughter, most do not live with their children.¹



Living with family may provide emotional and economic support, but it raises a number of other practical questions such as the widow's involvement in day-to-day decisions about household and family activities, and the effect on her friendships, lifestyle and privacy.² Thus, a widow may feel that sharing a home would jeopardize her independence while increasing the likelihood of conflicts with her children, many of whom have children of their own.

This argument finds some support in the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS), which found that three in four Canadian widows aged 65 and over

1. Connidis, Ingrid Arnet. 1989. *Family Ties and Aging*. Toronto: Butterworths.
2. According to the 1996 General Social Survey, 17% of widows living with a married son or daughter felt that they had little to no control over day-to-day decisions affecting their lives, while less than 4% of those living alone felt that way.

(about 661,000) lived by themselves. Another 11% (about 95,000) lived with an unmarried adult son or daughter, while a further 11% shared a home with a married adult child and their families. The remainder (36,000) lived with siblings, other relatives or friends.

Some researchers contend that newly widowed women should not leave the home they shared with their husband for at least one year, since its many family memories and traditions can provide stability and emotional security; but they also warn that the therapeutic value of living alone in the family home may diminish over time and delay the transition to independence.³ Nevertheless, slightly more than half (53%) of widows living alone in 1995 still occupied the home they had shared with their husband, and the large majority of these women (92%) had been widowed for more than three years. Homeowners were particularly well-grounded in their neighbourhood: among widows living by themselves, those who owned the family home had resided there for an average of 29 years, while widows in rental housing once shared with their husband had lived there for about 12 years.⁴

After the death of their husband, widows may see less of other couples with whom they previously had close contact; similarly, they may sense increasing emotional distance from their husband's friends and family as the years pass. For example, when respondents to the 1996 GSS were asked how many relatives they felt close to emotionally (excluding their children), widows living alone reported an average of only four relatives, compared to an

average of six for married women. To compensate for the diminution of their previous social network, widows who live alone may look to strengthen their emotional ties with friends.

Three-quarters of senior widows living alone said they felt most close emotionally to a neighbour

Supportive relationships are key to dealing with the changes wrought by widowhood.⁵ Whether continued residency in the family home helps or hinders long-term adjustment to widowed life, staying in the neighbourhood can help to maintain these relationships. Living alone is often balanced by frequent social contact, and senior widows seem to depend on a network of other women their own age. About one-half of widowed women living on their own in 1996 had a strong attachment to four or more friends; in fact, three-quarters of senior widows living alone said they felt most close emotionally to a neighbour. Being close friends with a neighbour allows frequent social contact, help with household tasks and emotional support during stressful times. Homeowners were likely to have more close friends

than widows who rented, probably reflecting the length of time most had lived in the same residence.

Children and grandchildren living nearby may also provide a stable source of support for widows on their own.⁶ According to the GSS, well over half (59%) of widows living by themselves in 1995 reported at least one adult child residing within 10 kilometres and almost one-fifth had a child within 50 kilometres. Although daily visits from a son or daughter were more common for widows in only fair or poor health (28%) than for those in good to excellent health (17%), weekly visits were equally frequent regardless of health status (43% and 45%, respectively).

Who is most likely to live alone?

A number of factors are significantly associated with a widow's living arrangement at age 65 and over. A statistical technique called logistic regression estimates the likelihood that, when the

5. Lopata, Helena Z. 1996. *Current Widowhood: Myths and Realities*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

6. Martin Matthews, Anne. 1987. "Widowhood as Expectable Life Event," in *Aging in Canada*, Victor W. Marshall (ed.), Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside.

CST What you should know about this study

The General Social Survey (GSS), conducted since 1985, gathers data on social trends and policy issues of current or emerging interest. It covers all persons aged 15 and over residing in private households in the ten provinces. This study uses data primarily from the 1995 GSS, which focused on the family, marital histories and contact with children. Analysis is based upon over 600 female respondents representing 887,000 women age 65 and over in private households who were widows at the time of the interview. Additional analysis was supported by data from the 1996 GSS focusing on community and social support, as well as data from the 1996 Census.

3. Hartwigsen, Gail. 1987. "Older Widows and the Transference of Home," *International Journal of Aging and Human Development* 25, 3.

4. Over one-half (55%) of widows living alone in 1995 owned their dwelling.

Current age	
<i>65 to 69</i>	1.0
70 to 74	1.0
75 to 79	1.7*
80 and over	3.7
Age at widowhood	
<i>Before age 65</i>	1.0
Age 65 to 74	3.0
Age 75 and over	1.2*
Number of living children	
<i>Had raised no children or has no living children</i>	1.0
One or two	0.2
Three or more	0.1
Experience living alone before age 60	
<i>Never</i>	1.0
For at least three consecutive months	8.9
Occupying residence previously shared with husband	
<i>No</i>	1.0
Yes	1.0*
Health status	
<i>Fair to poor</i>	1.0
Good	2.1
Very good to excellent	2.5
Limited in amount of physical activity can do at home	
<i>No</i>	1.0
Yes	1.3*
Income	
<i>Above \$20,000</i>	1.0
\$10,000 to \$20,000	0.5*
Less than \$10,000	0.2

Note: Reference group shown in italics. An odds ratio close to 1.0 for the comparison group means there is little or no difference between widows in the comparison group and the reference group, when the effects of other factors shown in the table are controlled for.

* Not statistically significant.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

effects of other factors are controlled for, widows with certain characteristics will live alone as opposed to living with family or friends.

Many people assume that widows who live alone tend to be younger seniors. This is not the case. In fact, the odds that widows aged 80 and over would live alone was close to four times greater than those for widows aged 65 to 69, perhaps because the older group has lost other kin with whom they might have lived.

A woman's age at the time of her husband's death also influences the likelihood of living alone in the senior years. Women who lost their husband between the ages of 65 and 74 are three times more likely to live by themselves than women who lost their husband before they were 65. This finding supports other research which has found that women widowed younger in life may adjust to widowhood differently.⁷ Women experiencing their husband's death at a younger age may still have dependent children at home. Also, women widowed early in life may not be able to benefit from a social network that could support them living independently, since they are probably the first of their friends and acquaintances to be widowed.

The overwhelming majority of widows who do not live alone are sharing a home with their adult sons or daughters, so there is a strong relationship between kin and living arrangement. Depending on the number of children they have, widows with children were only 10% to 20% as likely to be living by themselves as childless widows.

Although living independently requires some basic physical capability — taking care of personal needs, moving about in the home, and so on — having some activity limitations did

7. McPherson, Barry. 1990. *Aging as a Social Process: An Introduction to Individual and Population Aging*. Toronto: Butterworths.

not affect the likelihood that a widow would live on her own, after controlling for other factors. However, general overall health was an important determinant; the odds were over twice as great for widows in good to excellent health as for those whose health was fair to poor.

Widows now in their senior years tend to be an economically vulnerable group because most did not work outside the home during their married life; in fact, two-thirds of their children reported in the 1995 GSS that their mother had never been employed in the paid workforce while they were growing up. Many widows rely on public pension plans, survivor benefits or income support programs. Not

surprisingly, the odds of living alone are lowest among widows with low incomes: compared with widows whose total annual personal income was over \$20,000, those with an income below \$10,000 were only one-fifth as likely to be living on their own.

The experience of living alone before being widowed may be yet another predictor. A widow will have many accomplishments to her credit, including raising her children, volunteer work and/or career. However, many had never lived by themselves for three consecutive months or more.⁸ Compared with these widows, the odds of living alone at 65 and over were nine times greater for those who had lived on their own before age 60.

Summary

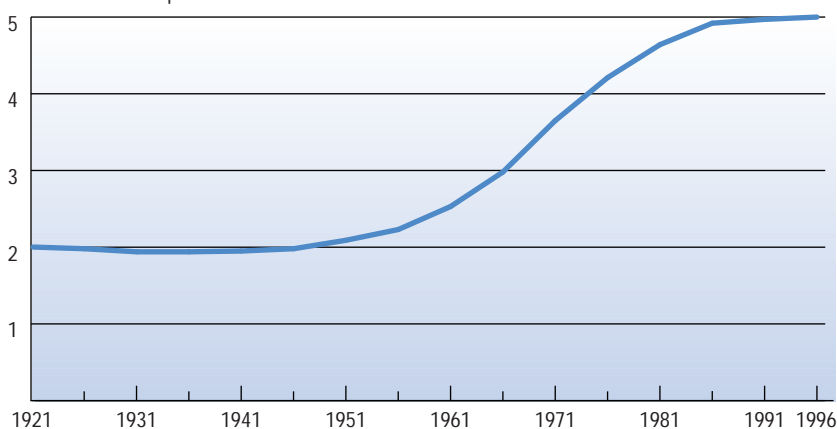
Becoming a widow often forces older women to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of sharing a home against those of living by themselves. Certainly, living on one's own can be a lonely and difficult experience at times. But the majority of widowed women aged 65 and over do live on their own, perhaps because they have strong support networks: many of them have lived in the same home for a long time and have close relationships with friends and their adult children. The belief that older widowed women living by themselves are isolated from supportive social relationships appears to be mistaken.

8. According to the 1995 General Social Survey, about 23% of senior widows who were living with others had never lived alone for 3 months or more.

CST Widowers

Men represent a small proportion of all senior widowed persons. In 1996, only 11% of senior men, compared with about 46% of senior women, were widowed. Over the century, the gap between the number of widowed women and men aged 65 and over has widened substantially, from about two widows for every widower to about five to one by 1996 (887,000 women and 164,500 men in private households). The rising ratio is due to a combination of factors, including greater female life expectancy and age differences at marriage (according to the 1995 GSS, widows had been about five years younger than their husbands).

Number of widows per widower



Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 91-535E, 1990; 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population.



Irwin Bess is an analyst with Statistics Canada.

Under one roof: Three generations living together

by Janet Che-Alford and Brian Hamm

In contemporary Canadian society it is rare to find grandparents, parents and children living together. In the vast majority of cases, grandparents live in one home, while their children and grandchildren live in another. This “intimacy-from-a-distance” relationship, which largely reflects both grandparents’ and parents’ mutual preference for privacy and independence, has become somewhat like a prescribed norm. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that in 1996, three-generation households represented less than 3% of all family households in Canada.

Nonetheless, the number of three-generation households has risen 39% over the past decade, from some 150,000 in 1986 to more than 208,000 in 1996, a rate of increase more than twice that of all family households. This article uses census data to examine the characteristics of three-generation households in 1986 and 1996. It also explores why some families may be more likely than others to settle into an arrangement where grandparents, parents and children live under the same roof.

Over half of three-generation households have one grandparent
Canada’s 208,000 three-generation households take many different shapes and forms. In 1996, the most common arrangement consisted of a home shared by one grandparent, two parents and any number of children — 31% of three-generation households fell into this category. The next two most common arrangements were

those centred around a single parent and children, but while one grandparent rounded out the first type of family (some 24% of three-generation families), two grandparents were present in the second (24%). Finally, in 21% of cases, three-generation households were made up of two grandparents, two parents and children.

Although many people might believe that extended family living is

CST What you should know about this study

This study is based on data from the 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population.

Three-generation household: one in which at least one member of each of the three direct, parent-child generations is present.

Family household: one which contains at least one economic family, that is, a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption.

Activity limitations: sometimes called disability, it is the consequence of an impairment in terms of functional performance and activity by the individual. For instance, the consequence of spina bifida may be the inability to walk.

more common in rural Canada, the vast majority of three-generation households (80% in 1996 and 74% in 1986) live in cities. The urban concentration of these households is no different than that of the general population.

The provincial distribution of three-generation households also resembles that of the general population. The majority of these households were found in Ontario (44%), British Columbia (16%) and Quebec (16%), which taken together accounted for 76% of the nation's three-generation households in 1996, up from 70% in 1986. However, as a percentage of all households, they were most common in Newfoundland (just over 4%) and least common in Quebec (less than 2%).

Asian immigrants contribute to rise in three-generation households

The provincial distribution of households reveals strong associations between three-generation households and the immigrant population. Overall, nearly half of all three-generation households in Canada were headed by immigrants.¹ This average, however, masks some widely varying scenarios; in both British Columbia and Ontario, immigrants headed every six out of ten three-generation households, while the proportion was closer to four out of ten in Alberta and just three out of ten in Quebec.

Through successive waves of arrivals over the years, immigrants have come to account for a substantial share (17%) of Canada's population. Since the 1970s, the overall number of immigrants from the United Kingdom and Europe has declined, while the number of those from Asia has increased. Three-generation families are part of

this trend. In 1996, more than one out of five family households (22%), and nearly half of three-generation households (46%), were headed by immigrants. Among immigrants who arrived between 1986 and 1996, Asians made up the majority (75%) of three-generation household heads.

The gain of Asian immigrants may explain, at least in part, the rising number of three-generation households in Canada

This gain of Asian immigrants may explain, at least in part, the recent rise of three-generation households in Canada. People born in Asia are more culturally accustomed to live in a large, extended family system. And because most Asian immigrants are recent arrivals, they are more likely to uphold the traditions of their country than immigrants who have been in Canada longer.

Family re-unification may also have contributed to the increase of three-generation households. Indeed, between 1986 and 1996, family re-unification accounted for more than 30% of all immigrants.² The arrival of an elderly parent joining the family of

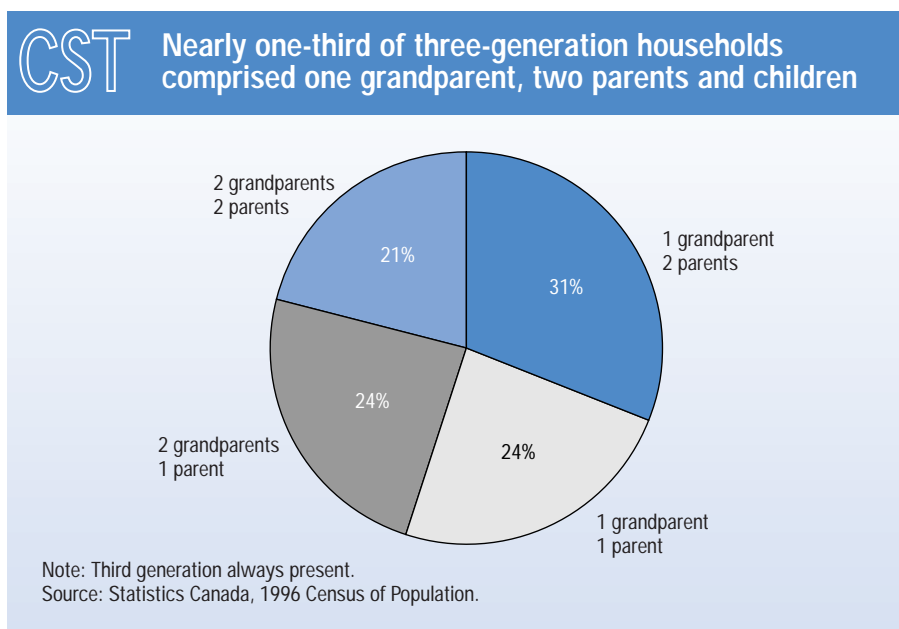
an adult child can add to the pool of three-generation households.

40% of three-generation households include someone with an activity limitation

Health is one of the key factors affecting people's living arrangements. This is particularly so when one's ability to perform specific household tasks (such as getting in and out of bed, cutting food, walking up and down the stairs) is compromised. The loss of functional independence is often a reason for a person to live with others, very often with relatives. According to the 1996 Census, 40% of three-generation households included someone with an activity limitation. The majority (over 70%) of these activity limitations had lasted, or were expected to last, at least six months. Three-generation households were also likely to have more than one family member with a disability; in 1996, for example, 13% of these households included two or more persons with limitations compared with 6% of all family households.

2. Citizenship and Immigration Canada. *Landed Immigrant Data System*.

1. Census respondents are asked to identify a reference person or "head" for their household and then to describe the relationship of each household member to this individual.



Because older people are generally more susceptible to chronic health conditions, physical ailments and activity limitations, it is often assumed that grandparents account for the high proportion of persons with disabilities in three-generation households. However, 1996 Census data do not confirm this view. Indeed, they suggest that members with activity limitations were just as likely to belong to the younger as the older generation; for example, in 1996, 37% came from the oldest and 38% from the middle generation, with children accounting for the remaining 25%. The pattern was nearly identical in 1986, when the first and second generations each accounted for 38% of household members with limitations. It appears, then, that three-generation households act as family support systems for all members with disabilities, young or old.

Three-generation households pool resources for higher family incomes and larger homes

Pooling resources among family members can help secure shelter payments and reduce economic hardship. The 1996 Census asked each household to report who paid the rent or mortgage, taxes, electricity, and other expenses for the dwelling. These persons were labelled "household maintainers." It is reasonable to assume that if more than one maintainer is reported in a household, income pooling has taken place.

According to census data, households with multiple maintainers were quite common; about 45% of all family households and 48% of three-generation households had more than one maintainer. But it is in the case of three or more maintainers that major differences between households can be observed. While the probability of

having three or more maintainers was 13% in three-generation households, it was only 2% in all family households (and only slightly higher, 3%, in family households with three or more persons). It appears that pitching in for shelter payments among extended kin is quite an acceptable arrangement in three-generation households.

Three-generation households were also more likely to have multiple income recipients. In 1996, over 80% of these households had at least three income recipients compared with less than one-quarter of all family households. As a result, three-generation households had higher average incomes: \$66,000 versus \$57,000 for all family households. However, since these households also had more members, averaging five persons per household compared with three for all family households, their per capita



Three-generation households were more likely to have a member with an activity limitation...

	Three-generation households		All family households	
	No.	%	No.	%
Total households	208,500	100	7,841,000	100
With a person with activity limitation	82,700	40	1,594,200	20
Long-term	58,700	28	1,226,700	16
Not long-term	24,000	12	367,500	5
No person with activity limitations	125,800	60	6,246,800	80

... and to have multiple income recipients

Number of income recipients in the household				
None	35	0	8,140	0.1
One	2,800	1	1,052,075	13
Two	36,620	18	4,866,980	62
Three	77,905	37	1,233,845	16
More than three	91,100	44	679,955	9

Note: Numbers may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.



income (\$13,000) turned out to be lower than that of all family households (\$19,000). And if per capita income is used as a proxy for economic well-being, then members of three-generation households were considerably less well off than their counterparts in other families. However, pooling of resources does allow for economies of scale, which have the effect of raising the standard of living.

Like other family households, the majority of those with three generations (69%) lived in single detached houses in 1996 and most (77%) owned their homes. About one-third were mortgage-free. Unlike all family households, however, almost two-thirds of three-generation households (61%) lived in houses with more than seven rooms. But because they tend to have more members than the average household (five versus three), despite their larger accommodations, three-generation households ended up with less room per person. Considering that their houses were larger, it is not surprising that average shelter costs — for both owned and rented accommodation — were higher for three-generation families.

Grandparents help families cope financially

It is interesting to identify which generation in three-generation families contributes to household maintenance. In households with only one maintainer, that maintainer was most

often the grandparent: in 59% of cases in 1986 and 55% in 1996. In situations where there were multiple maintainers, the contribution of grandparents for shelter payments was also considerable. At least one grandparent helped out with household payments in about 55% of three-generation households in 1991 and 54% in 1996.³

From these figures it is clear that, over the past decade, grandparents have played a key role as contributors to shelter payments in three-generation households. This period coincides with a time when structural changes in the economy eroded the ability of many young families to be economically self-sufficient. The financial contribution of grandparents may have alleviated the harsher aspects of tough economic circumstances.

Summary

Despite a general preference for nuclear family households, some Canadians have settled into a living arrangement involving three generations — an arrangement which became much more common between 1986 and 1996. With current trends to longer lives, aging populations, and high levels of immigration, three-generation households will likely continue to increase in number, possibly at an

even faster rate. Increased longevity will result in more families with three or perhaps four generations living at the same time; older Canadians, particularly women, will likely spend more years in family roles such as grandparenthood. Many generations living together could have positive or negative implications for family life. On the one hand, it may generate new kinds of stresses on families' needs and obligations; on the other, it could signal inter-generational cohesion and family resilience.



Janet Che-Alford is a senior analyst and **Brian Hamm** is an analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

3. Information on multiple maintainers was not collected in 1986.

Search for success: Finding work after graduation

by Warren Clark

Postsecondary graduates may have different priorities when they start looking for that first job after graduation. The main intention of many is to find a job that helps pay off their student debt. In fact, most recent graduates say they entered their program to learn job skills and to make a good income. For some, the ideal situation might be well-paying part-time employment, which would allow them to balance the demands of work and family, or a job where they could be their own boss.

Previous research has revealed a strong relationship between field of study, students' expectations and employment outcomes. This article examines what recent graduates looked for in a job and what contributed to their success in finding that first job: special skills, job search methods, or field of study.

What's important in a job is high pay

Graduates have certain expectations of what they want in a job. For many who graduated in 1995, finding a job with high pay was the most important. On their list of criteria for selecting a job, 21% of college and 13% of bachelor's degree graduates rated high pay as number one. Job location ranked second, liking the work ranked third and having a job related to their field of study ranked fourth for both groups of graduates.

High pay and job security may be particularly important to graduates with high student loans. At the bachelor's level, those with large student loans (more than \$20,000) were more likely than graduates who did not borrow at all to consider a high-paying job as most important (18% versus 13%). College graduates, on the other hand, reported

CST 1995 graduates were least successful finding full-time work and high level jobs

Two years after graduation	Class of 1982	Class of 1986	Class of 1990	Class of 1995
Working full-time				
				%
College	77	82	76	70
Bachelor's	71	73	72	66
Working full-time in high level jobs¹				
College	51	54	56	47
Bachelor's	78	77	77	73

1. Six highest categories of the Pineo-Carroll-Moore socio-economic classification of occupations including self-employed and employed professionals, semi-professionals, technicians, and senior and middle managers.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Graduates Survey, 1997.

that a job with high pay was their most important criterion regardless of the extent of their student loan indebtedness at graduation.

People at different stages in their lives and careers seek different qualities in a job. Although high pay remained the most important characteristic of a job for graduates at all ages, graduates over age 40 placed less importance on pay than those in their early 20s. Job location was very important to both college and university graduates in all age groups, though women university graduates under 40 placed a higher importance on job location than those aged 40 and over. Married women, especially those with children, placed less importance on a high-paying job than men or single women. When people have children, family-friendly job characteristics become more significant, while the importance of other job qualities may decline. For example, job location was more important to married women with children under age 5 than it was for women without children, for women with older children or for men. And while women university graduates placed almost as much importance on liking their work as they did on job location, when they had young children, the priorities changed. With men university graduates, marriage seemed to change their view of the importance of liking their work.

Single university men judged liking their work to be as important as job location, while their married counterparts placed much less importance on it. However, for college graduates, the importance of liking the kind of work they did, did not vary in the same way.

Networking most effective in finding first job

Learning about a job opening through friends, relatives, co-workers or associates was the most successful way of finding a first job. Perhaps one reason for this is that acquaintances can share information about jobs and about who is hiring. In addition, they can provide direct referrals to employers or people who know more about jobs of interest. In a sense, networking expands the circle of people helping with the job search. In a small U.S. survey, for example, referrals from current employees were considered extremely important by employers.¹ It is therefore no surprise that nearly one-third

1. In a survey of 192 employers during the summer of 1997, 77% of employers considered referrals from current employees important or extremely important in finding new employees. Richard Fein. 1998. "Traditional or Electronic Tools: How Do People Get Hired?" *Journal of Career Planning and Employment* 58, 4: 40-43.

CST	High pay was the most important job selection criterion for 1995 graduates					
	College			Bachelor's		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Criteria considered when selecting a job	(Importance score 0 to 3)					
High salary/pay	1.53	1.61	1.47	1.34	1.43	1.28
Job location	0.80	0.76	0.84	0.73	0.69	0.75
Like the kind of work	0.57	0.56	0.59	0.67	0.63	0.70
Job is in my field of study	0.45	0.47	0.44	0.52	0.45	0.56
Uses and develops my skills and abilities	0.32	0.30	0.34	0.44	0.39	0.48
Job security	0.28	0.33	0.24	0.17	0.20	0.14
Career advancement	0.27	0.36	0.21	0.37	0.45	0.32
Able to work with people	0.24	0.19	0.28	0.20	0.18	0.22
Feeling of accomplishment	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.32	0.34	0.31
Job allows flexibility	0.16	0.13	0.18	0.13	0.12	0.14
Well respected or prestigious occupation	0.10	0.11	0.09	0.07	0.08	0.07
<p>Note: Graduates identified the three most important criteria they would consider when selecting a job. A value of 3 was assigned to criterion selected as the most important, a 2 for the second most important, a 1 for the third most important and a value of 0 for those criteria that were not in the top three. An importance score was calculated by averaging the values assigned across all graduates for each job selection criterion.</p> <p>Source: Statistics Canada, National Graduates Survey, 1997.</p>						

During the summer of 1997, Statistics Canada, in partnership with Human Resources Development Canada, interviewed 43,000 people in the National Graduates Survey of 1995 Graduates (NGS). This sample represented more than 295,000 Canadians who had graduated from trade/vocational, college and university programs during 1995. Interviewers asked respondents about their education, training and labour market experiences during the two years immediately following graduation. They also asked graduates about how they found their first job after graduation, difficulties they may have had looking for a job, and what they considered important in a job.

The results presented in this article are for college graduates (graduates from publicly-funded community colleges, technical institutes, hospital schools of nursing and radiology, and similar institutions) and for graduates from bachelor's degree programs. Undergraduate certificates and diplomas, and first professional degrees (e.g., medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine and law) are excluded from the bachelor's degree group. About 11,000 college and 11,500 bachelor's graduates were interviewed. The terms bachelor's and university are used interchangeably in the text to indicate graduates from bachelor's degree programs.

First post-graduation job: The first job graduates had after graduation. It includes jobs that may have started before graduation but continued after graduation.

Difficulty with job search tasks: Graduates indicated how difficult job-search activities for their first post-graduation job had been. On a four-point scale, responses ranged from no difficulty (0) to great difficulty (3).

of college (33%) and bachelor's (32%) graduates found their first job through friends or family.

Unsolicited calls or visits to employers helped one-sixth (17% of college and 18% of bachelor's) of graduates find their first job. A person using this method of finding work may have to make many unsuccessful calls or visits before finding a job. It needs high motivation and good interpersonal skills, but cold-calls made to the right person at the right time are likely to turn up jobs listed nowhere else.²

Many people start their job search by looking through want ads because it is easy to do and newspapers contain lists of specific openings that are frequently updated. However, the wide circulation of newspapers ensures much competition. Moreover, some sources say that over 80% of job openings are not advertised in newspapers.³ According to the 1997 NGS, only about one in seven (14%) graduates found their first job after graduation through newspaper ads.

Previous employers may be a valuable source of information about new jobs. About 10% of graduates found their first job through this method. Although campus placement offices are often valuable sources of career information, only about 9% of graduates found their first job using them. Even fewer (3% of college and 4% of bachelor's) found their first job with the help of public or private employment agencies and less than 1% via the Internet.⁴

Many graduates experienced trouble in their job search

Searching for employment after graduation involves a lot of hard work for most new graduates. About one-quarter of college and bachelor's graduates had great difficulty finding a first job that paid enough, while one-third of bachelor's and one-quarter of college graduates had great difficulty finding one related to their field of study.⁵

One-sixth of graduates also had problems finding a job in the location of their choice. Newfoundland graduates had the most trouble, with 38% of college and 30% of bachelor's graduates experiencing great difficulty finding a job in the right location. In the other Atlantic provinces, about 24% of college and between 22% and 26% of bachelor's graduates had similar trouble. In contrast, only in Alberta and British Columbia did less than 15% of college and bachelor's graduates report great difficulty finding work in a place where they wanted to live.

Uncertainty about long-term goals can hamper a job search, and many university graduates — particularly in the humanities and social sciences — had trouble deciding what they wanted to do after graduation. Fourteen percent of bachelor's graduates reported having great difficulty making up their minds compared with 7% of college graduates. And the younger these graduates were, the higher their level of indecision.

The actual leg work involved in finding job openings was very difficult for about 7% of graduates. Although job interviews can be a problem for new job seekers, 51% of college and 45% of bachelor's graduates reported having no trouble in doing well during interviews for their first job. Most college (69%) and bachelor's (61%) graduates had no difficulty writing résumés and letters of introduction, or completing job applications.

Age played a role in the problems encountered in the job search. Generally older graduates (over age 30) had less difficulty finding job openings than younger graduates (under age 22). Graduates of all ages reported finding a job that paid enough among their most difficult tasks, but older bachelor's graduates found it easier than young bachelor's graduates. In contrast, college graduates of all ages reported the same degree of difficulty in finding a well-paying job.

Graduates in some fields had a much less difficult job search experience than others; the health professions, sciences and technologies field was one of these. Many health-related fields have restrictive entrance requirements with very limited numbers of spaces, thereby controlling the number of graduates entering the labour market. Bachelor's graduates from these fields had the least trouble of all university graduates deciding what they wanted to be, knowing how to find jobs, finding jobs related to their field of study and finding a job that paid enough. For them, finding a job in the desired location was the hardest task, although still less difficult than for other fields. College graduates from health-related fields enjoyed similar experiences but also had more difficulty than other college graduates finding a job where they wanted to live.

Previous work experience most useful in finding a job

In 1995, 17% of college and 7% of bachelor's graduates had completed their studies through a co-op program. About half of the college and two-thirds of the bachelor's co-op

graduates said that their co-op experience was helpful in finding a job after graduation. Even more graduates indicated that previous work experience had been helpful. Although over 80% of graduates had participated in career counselling or job search courses, only about 18% of college and 13% of university participants found them useful in finding a job.

Volunteering helps some find employment

Some graduates found their way into the paid workforce through volunteer activities. During the two years after graduation (1995 to 1997), about 54% of bachelor's and 39% of college graduates had done volunteer work, although women were more likely to do so than men. Over half of the volunteers reported that their volunteer activities were related to their field of study. About 39% of both college and bachelor's volunteers felt their activities had helped a great deal in developing positive work attitudes and about one third indicated they had helped greatly in developing work skills. About 13% of college and 18% of bachelor's volunteers indicated that these activities were a great help in finding a job. However, volunteers were less likely to be working full-time in June 1997 than those who did not volunteer; perhaps some graduates hoped to obtain work experience through volunteering if their employment prospects were not promising.

Bachelor's graduates had more difficulty deciding what to do after graduation than college graduates

CST

Over one in four graduates reported great difficulty in finding a well-paying job

	College	Bachelor's
	%	
Finding a job that paid enough	28	27
Finding a job related to my field of study	25	33
Finding a job where I wanted to live	17	16
Knowing how to find job openings	7	8
Deciding what I wanted to be	7	14
Performing well in job interviews	2	2
Completing job applications, writing résumés or letters of introduction	1	1

Source: Statistics Canada, National Graduates Survey, 1997.

- Wagner, Judith O. 1992. "Job Search Methods." *ERIC Digest No. 121*, ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education. Columbus.
- Student Employment Network. 1999. *The 1999 Canada Student Employment Guide*. Toronto, p.31.
- Although the Internet now provides numerous resources to post job openings and résumés, it was still in its infancy when 1995 graduates were seeking their first jobs.
- Bachelor's graduates from the humanities and related fields, social sciences, agriculture and biological sciences and technologies had the greatest difficulty in finding a job related to their education.

The first post-graduation job

By the time the class of 1995 was interviewed in June 1997, 95% had found their first post-graduation job. On average they had held 2.1 jobs between graduation and June 1997, but one in sixteen had held five or more jobs. Young workers typically show their quest for a good career with frequent job moves, while more experienced graduates move less often.⁶ Graduates aged 20 or 21 went through 2.3 jobs on average; 7% had had five or more jobs. Meanwhile those aged 40 and over had had about 1.5 jobs, with only 2% reporting five or more jobs in the previous two years.

Graduates who accepted their first job because it was the only one they could find tended to stay in that job for a period averaging 21 or 22 months. In contrast, first jobs selected for other reasons (better pay, more opportunities for advancement, curiosity about the work) lasted an average of 31 or 32 months.

Some graduates began their first post-graduation job long before they graduated, and in some cases before they began their program: 6% of college and 8% of bachelor's graduates had been working at their first post-graduation job for five or more years before they graduated. About one-third of bachelor's graduates in this group were over age 30 working full-time in professional, semi-professional, senior or middle

management, or technician jobs while pursuing part-time studies. Another 39% were under age 30 working as semi-skilled or unskilled labourers. About 29% of college graduates who started five years or more before graduation were in high level jobs.

Other graduates started working while they were at university or college. Among graduates with jobs that began one to four years before graduation (early starters), over half were in clerical, sales and service occupations: in other words, the type of part-time jobs that many students use to help finance their education. In contrast, graduates starting their first post-graduation job after graduating were more likely to be in professional or technical jobs. Early starters were more likely to stay in the same job than graduates who started to work after graduation. In fact, more than 70% of early starters had the same job one year after graduation, but only 47% of bachelor's and 52% of college graduates who had started their first job within three months of graduation were still in that job 12 months later.

Graduates who accepted their first job because it was the only one they could find stayed in that job an average of 21 or 22 months

Summary

Many colleges and universities now offer job search seminars and workshops to help students find employment. These activities seem to have paid off in that the class of

CST

Over half of 1995 graduates began their first job within three months of graduation

	College			Bachelor's		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
First post-graduation job began...						
5 or more years before graduation	6	5	6	8	6	9
1 to 4 years before graduation	12	11	13	13	12	13
Less than 1 year before graduation	9	9	9	9	10	9
Less than 3 months after graduation	32	33	31	27	29	26
3 to 5 months after graduation	11	11	11	14	14	14
6 to 11 months after graduation	10	10	10	9	9	9
12 to 23 months after graduation	12	14	11	13	13	13
2 or more years after graduation	3	3	3	3	3	3
No job yet as of June 1997	6	5	6	5	5	6

Source: Statistics Canada, National Graduates Survey, 1997.

1995 had little difficulty filling out job applications, writing résumés and letters of introduction. But few found their first job with the help of career counselling; in fact, networking with friends, family members and acquaintances remains the most successful method of finding a first post-graduation job. For graduates in both college and university, high pay was the single most important criterion for choosing a job. Many found a first job in a professional or technical occupation, but turnover was high. Those who had started their first job back in the days when they were still in school were least likely to leave it, while more recent job starters were more keen to switch. Both college and bachelor's graduates experienced the greatest difficulty in finding work that paid enough.

6. Lankard Brown, Bettina. 1998. *Career Mobility: A Choice or Necessity?* ERIC Digest No. 191, ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career and Vocational Education.



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Over one in ten children now have asthma

In 1978/79, less than 3% of children under age 15, or about 141,000, were reported to have asthma. By 1994/95, the proportion had risen to 11%, or about 672,000 children. Asthma is more common among boys than girls. In 1978/79, just over 3% of boys under 15 had asthma compared with under 2% of girls; in 1994/95, asthma was reported for 13% of boys and 9% of girls. Children in both lower- and higher-income households had a significantly higher prevalence of asthma than those in middle-income households, although children in lower-income households were most likely to have had a recent attack. Asthma is one of the most common causes of hospitalization among children; in 1994/95, over 4,300 out of every 100,000 children diagnosed with asthma had spent some time in hospital because of the disease.

Health Reports

Winter 1998, Vol. 10, no. 3
 Statistics Canada
 Catalogue no. 82-003-XPB or
 Internet product 82-003-XIE



Charitable donations up even though donors down

For most of the 1990s, the number of taxfilers reporting charitable donations and the value of their donations have remained fairly stable, at around 5.4 million donors and \$3.5 billion. But in 1997, fewer

than 5.3 million taxfilers reported charitable deductions of \$4.3 billion on their 1997 personal income tax returns. The 3% decline in the number of donors was the largest this decade, while the 6% increase in donations was the second highest. Part of the increase in donations in 1997 could be due to the new, higher maximum deduction limit (75% of net income, up from 50%) allowed by Revenue Canada as of the 1997 tax year. The median charitable donation in Canada was \$170. The highest median provincial donation was \$270 (Newfoundland) and the lowest was \$100 (Quebec).

Client Services

Small Area and Administrative
 Data Division
 (613) 951-9720



Hours of television viewing still declining

In the last decade, there has been a small but steady decline in the number of hours Canadians spend watching television, from 23.5 hours each week in 1988 to 22.7 hours in 1997. The only exception to this trend was in 1995, when new specialty cable services were introduced, and viewing hours rose by about half an hour before resuming their decline. Viewing habits are also different between linguistic groups: in 1997, francophones spent more than 66% of their viewing time watching Canadian programs, compared with only 30% of anglophone viewers. Francophones were more likely to watch news and public affairs programs (29% versus 22% of

anglophones) and variety and game shows (15% and 9%). Anglophones were more likely to watch comedy (14% versus 9%) and sports (9% and 6%). Both francophones and anglophones spent under one-third of their viewing time (30%) watching dramas.

Culture Statistics Program

Culture, Tourism and Centre for
 Education Statistics
 (613) 951-3136



Direct sales approach losing steam

In 1997, Canadians bought \$3.4 billion worth of goods from direct sellers, up a marginal 0.3% from 1996. By contrast, in-store retail sales (excluding the auto sector) increased almost 6%. The value of personal sales, such as group demonstrations at house parties, increased 3% in 1997, while sales by mail or telephone declined almost 1%. The biggest sales increases were recorded for newspapers (7%) and cosmetics (6%), while sales declined for books and encyclopedias (-7%) and audio tapes, compact discs and equipment (-9%).

Client Services

Distributive Trades Division
 (613) 951-3549



Cases in adult criminal court decline slightly

In 1997/98, adult criminal courts in nine reporting jurisdictions (about 80% of the national caseload) handled

over 411,500 cases, over a 1% drop from the previous year. Almost two-thirds (63%) of the accused who appeared were between the ages of 18 and 34, although this age group makes up only one-third (33%) of the adult population overall. The most common offence dealt with was impaired driving (15% of all offences), followed by common assault (12%). Convictions for at least one charge in each case were secured for 6 out of every 10 cases. Convictions jumped to 76% for cases involving Criminal Code traffic offences.

Juristat

Vol. 18, no. 14
 Statistics Canada
 Catalogue no. 85-002-XPE or
 Internet product 85-002-XIE



Spending almost the same in 1997 as previous year

The average household spent an estimated \$49,950 in 1997, virtually unchanged from 1996. Personal income taxes still made up the largest share of household spending, at 21 cents of every dollar. The next highest expenses were shelter (20 cents) and food (11 cents). On average, the one-fifth (quintile) of households with the lowest incomes spent \$16,700, compared with \$97,930 for the quintile with the highest incomes. After adjusting for differences in household size, the average expenditure per person was \$10,250 in the lowest income quintile and \$28,800 in the highest quintile.

Client Services

Income Statistics Division
 (613) 951-7355

Youth and Crime

by Kathryn Stevenson, Jennifer Tufts, Dianne Hendrick and Melanie Kowalski

It is what every parent dreads. The phone rings. It's the police. They ask you to collect your child, who has just been charged with a criminal offence. Fortunately, very few parents receive such a phone call: contrary to popular belief, youth crime is neither widespread, nor is it rising. Just the opposite, in fact. In 1997 less than 5% of young Canadians aged 12 to 17 (approximately 121,000 youths) were charged with a federal statute offence. And the rate of youths charged has been declining steadily since 1991.

Nonetheless, some young people do get into trouble with the law. What happens in the life of a child that leads to criminal activity? Although experts disagree about motivations for crime and delinquency, most would agree that the risk of becoming involved in antisocial behaviour varies with both personality and social conditions. The first part of this article examines young offenders and their crimes; the second explores current theories about the causes of youth crime in the context of Canada's social and economic landscape.

Theft most common charge

Young people are most commonly charged with theft. In 1997 nearly half of youths charged (49%) were involved in property crime,¹ most often theft, and break and enter. Violent offences,² including assault and robbery, were much less frequent, accounting for about 18% of young people charged, while "other" Criminal Code and "other" federal statute offences made up the remainder of charges. In comparison, in 1987 a larger proportion of youths were charged with property crimes (67%) and a smaller proportion with violent crimes (9%) and all other offences.

The total number of criminal charges against youths increased between 1987 and 1991, peaked in that year and

then began to decline. By 1997 the rate was virtually the same as it was in 1987. In contrast, the violent crime rate for youths doubled (102%) over the decade. Some experts, however, question whether these figures indicate a real rise in violent crime or simply changing attitudes, resulting in an increase in the reporting of crime, particularly common

CST What you should know about this study

Most of the data in this article come from the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR) and the Revised Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR11). In operation since 1962, the UCR is a nationally representative survey that records the number of criminal incidents reported to police. It collects information on the number of persons charged by sex and by an adult/youth breakdown. Incidents that involve more than one infraction are recorded under the most serious violation. As a result, less serious offences are undercounted.

The Revised Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR11) was developed in 1984 (and has since been conducted concurrently with the UCR) to provide detailed information on criminal incidents. Information collected by the UCR11 includes the age and sex of the accused and the victim, the relationship of the victim to the accused, injuries sustained during a violent incident, location of the incident, and the presence of a weapon. The 1997 data, collected from 179 police departments in six provinces (New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia), represented about 48% of the national volume of crime. These data are not nationally representative.

1. Property offences consist of unlawful acts to gain property, but do not involve the use or threat of violence against a person.

2. Violent offences involve the use of, or threatened use of, violence against a person.

assault.³ For example, more aggressive “zero tolerance” strategies have meant that students involved in a schoolyard fight, who would previously have been disciplined by the school principal, are now more likely to be dealt with by the police and to become “justice statistics.”

Common assault, major assault and robbery constitute the majority of violent crimes, with common assault being by far the most frequent. On the other hand, the number of youths charged with homicide (54 youths in 1997)

represents a very small proportion of young people charged with a criminal offence (about 2 in 100,000). Over the last 10 years, the actual number of youths charged with homicide fluctuated considerably and ranged from a low of 36 in 1987 to a high of 68 in 1995.

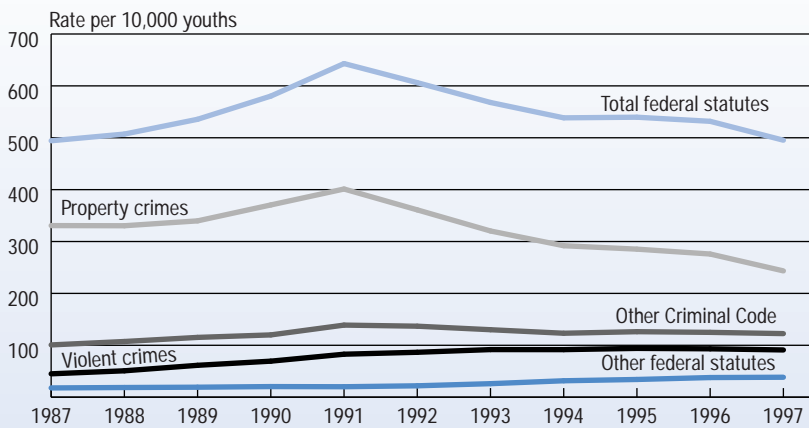
16- to 17-year-old boys are most likely to be charged

According to police data, the peak age for involvement in criminal activity differs for boys and girls. Girls aged 14 to 15 are most likely to be charged, while boys accused of crimes tend to be 16 to 17 years old. But while criminal activity continues as boys age, among girls it begins to decline at around 16 years.

The majority of young people involved in crime are boys (78% in 1997), although the gap between the sexes has been narrowing over the past decade (in 1987, 84% of youths charged were boys). Compared with 10 years before, the total charge rate in 1997 was 7% lower for boys and 38% higher for

3. Common assault is the least serious form of assault and includes pushing, slapping, punching, and face-to-face verbal threats. In contrast, major assault involves carrying, using or threatening to use a weapon against someone or causing bodily harm, or in the most serious case, maiming, disfiguring or endangering the life of a person.

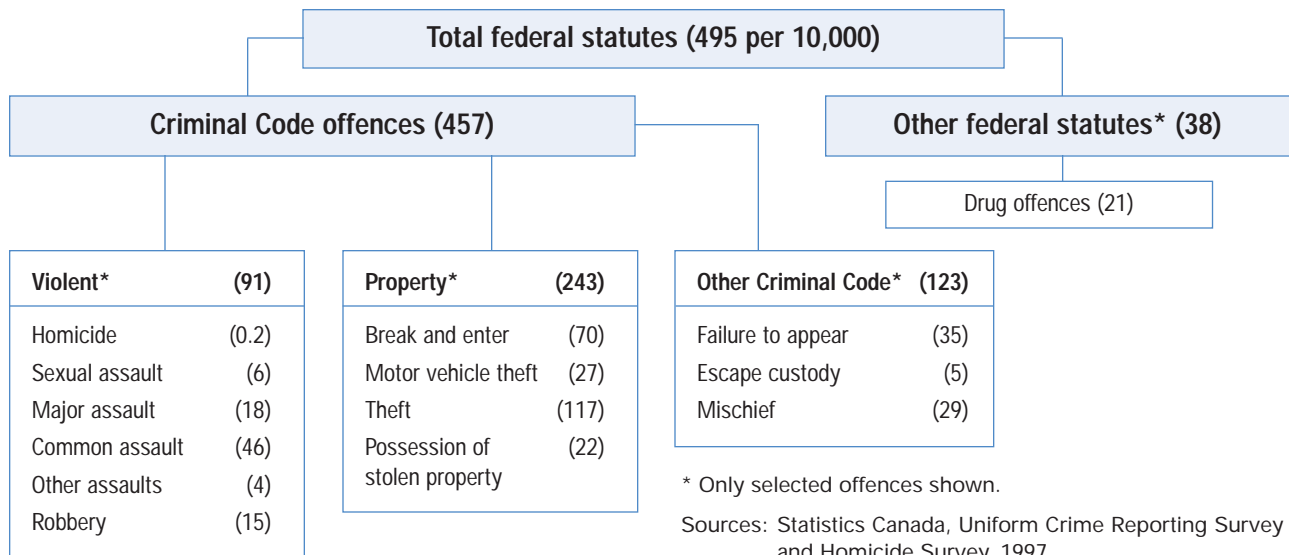
CST Since 1991, the total crime rate for youths has declined



Note: The rate of youths charged includes only those 12- to 17-year-olds who have been apprehended and charged by police. The police-reported crime rate may be affected by changes in the law, policing practices, community attitudes, the public's willingness to report crimes, and the use of alternative measures (actions other than judicial proceedings used to deal with a young person alleged to have committed an offence).

Sources: Statistics Canada, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey and Homicide Survey, 1997.

CST Youth crime rate per 10,000 youths for types of federal crimes



* Only selected offences shown.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey and Homicide Survey, 1997.

girls. In the area of violent crime, the rates increased for both boys and girls, but much faster for girls: 85% versus 179% over the past decade. However, in 1997 the actual rate of girls charged with violent crime (47 per 10,000) was still substantially lower than that for boys (133 per 10,000).

Boys and girls tend to be involved in similar types of offences. The three most common crimes for young men were theft under \$5,000, break and enter, and common assault. Young women were also most often charged with theft under \$5,000, followed by common assault, and failure to appear in court.

Repeat offenders account for over 4 in 10 youth court cases

In 1996-97, over 40% of cases dealt with by youth courts involved repeat offenders (youths with prior convictions)

of whom 21% had one prior conviction, 10% had two and 11% had three or more. A previous study on recidivism, conducted in 1993-94, yielded very similar results, implying that repeat offenders represent a substantial proportion of youths involved with the justice system. This situation has not changed substantially over the past few years.

Like first-time offenders, repeat offenders are brought to court most often for property offences (59%). In terms of specific offences, however, repeat offenders are more likely to be involved in more serious infractions. For example, possession of stolen property represented 17% of all property offences for repeat offenders and 12% for first-time offenders. In contrast, the less serious crime of theft under \$5,000 accounted for 31% of all property offences for repeat offenders and 35% for first-time offenders. The same patterns held true for violent offences.

CST Victims of youth violence are usually other young people

When youths commit a violent act, other youths — young men in particular — are their most likely victims. In 1997, more than half (56%) of all victims of youth violence were other youths, 34% were adults while the remaining 10% were children under 12 years. Some 62% of victims were male; boys aged 12 to 17 accounted for 36% of all victims.

Most victims of youth violence know their assailant. Police data from 1997 show that 74% of victims knew the perpetrator in some way. For the majority (57%) of victims, the accused was an acquaintance, for 13% the accused was a family member, and for 4% of victims the accused was a close friend. Common assault was the crime most frequently perpetrated against both male and female victims. However, major assault and robbery were the second and third most common violent crimes against male victims, while females tended to be victims of sexual assault and major assault.

The vast majority of victims of violent youth crime do not sustain serious physical injuries. In 1997, 49% of victims reported that no injuries resulted from the incident and about 47% suffered minor injuries that did not require medical attention. Some 5% of victims experienced major injuries (medical attention was required), while 0.1% died.

Most youth violence occurs in a public place, such as a parking lot or public transportation. In 1997, 35% of victims were assaulted in a public place, 26% in private homes, 22% in schools, and 17% in commercial places and public institutions. The location of youth violence varied depending on the type of offence. Homes tended to be the predominant setting for sexual assaults and homicides, while public areas were most often the sites for robbery, major assaults and common assaults.

Offence	Victims		
	Total	Female %	Male
Common assault	53	57	51
Major assault	18	13	21
Robbery	14	8	17
Sexual assault	8	16	3
Homicide	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other*	7	6	8

Note: Excludes 21 victims (0.2%) whose sex was unknown.

* Includes all other violent offences.

Source: Statistics Canada, Revised Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, 1997.

Repeat offenders are also more likely to be charged with multiple offences. Youths facing multiple charges per case are assumed to be more criminally active than those having only one charge per case. In 1996-97, half of first-time offenders were charged with multiple charges compared with 62% of offenders with one prior conviction, 69% with two and 72% with three or more prior convictions. Young men were more likely than young women to be repeat offenders: 43% versus 32%.

Both personality and society play a part in youth crime

Most experts agree that the risk of becoming involved in criminal activities is influenced by personal as well as social factors. Biological or genetic predisposition, alcoholism and drug abuse, mental illness, family structure, low income, dropping out of school, and unemployment are just a few of the factors that have been linked to young people's involvement in crime. In a recent public opinion survey, the majority of respondents felt that poor parenting and broken homes were the most important factors contributing to involvement in crime, followed by illegal drugs, a lenient justice system, poverty, low moral standards, unemployment, violence on television and lack of discipline in schools.⁴

Economic disadvantage, coupled with difficult family circumstances, is a common explanation for delinquency. Children living in low-income households can be affected by low-quality housing and transient, run-down neighbourhoods. Parental frustration may lead to substance abuse and violence in the home,⁵ which in turn may place children at risk of becoming involved with a delinquent peer group and potentially criminal activity. Indeed, according to the

National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY), children in low-income households are at risk of indirect and physically aggressive behaviour that may persist from early childhood through adolescence.⁶

In 1996, more than 20% of children under 18 (1.5 million) lived in a low-income family. At the same time, some 17% of children were cared for by a lone parent. As many lone-parent families are economically disadvantaged, children growing up in these households may be especially vulnerable. NLSCY findings suggest that children from lone-parent families are at greater risk of emotional, behavioural, academic and social problems than children from two-parent families.⁷ However, data from this source also indicate that good parenting practices act to counter the impact of low income and negative peer pressure.⁸

Social bonds may help to prevent criminal behaviour

Delinquency is often explained by the absence of strong bonds to society. People who are "bonded" tend to have strong attachments to others who conform to society's goals and who participate in conventional work, education and leisure activities. A young person's ties to parents, teachers, community leaders and conforming peers are important sources of informal control that can help monitor leisure time and discourage criminal behaviour.⁹

4. Environics Research Group. 1998. *Focus Canada Environics 1998-1*. Ottawa: Environics.

5. Trocme, N. D. McPhee, K. Kwan Tam and T. Hay. 1994. *Ontario Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect*. Toronto: Institute for the Prevention of Child Abuse. Also Thompson, R.A. 1994. "Social Support and the Prevention of Child Maltreatment," *Protecting Children from Abuse and Neglect: Foundations for a New National Strategy*. G.B. Melton and F.D. Barry. (eds.) New York: Guilford.

6. Tremblay, Richard E., et al. 1996. "Do Children in Canada Become More Aggressive as They Approach Adolescence?" *Growing Up in Canada: National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth*. Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada and Statistics Canada (Catalogue no. 89-550-MPE, no.1).

7. *ibid.*

8. Landy, Sarah and Kwok Kwan Tam. 1996. "Yes, Parenting Does Make a Difference to the Development of Children in Canada." *Growing up in Canada: National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth*. Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada and Statistics Canada. (Catalogue no. 89-550-MPE, no.1).

9. Sacco, V. and L. Kennedy. 1994. *The Criminal Event*. Scarborough: Nelson Canada. p. 64.

CST Multiple charges were most common among repeat offenders



Note: Excludes Nova Scotia data, Young Offenders Act and post-disposition offences. Source: Statistics Canada, Youth Court Survey, 1996-97.

In the absence of social bonds, and with exposure to norms and beliefs that support law-breaking, criminal behaviour may be quick to surface. Within certain gangs, for example, violence and other criminal behaviour are not only acceptable, but also expected. Additionally, violent behaviour can also be learned through mainstream society (for example, through easy access and widespread exposure to violence on television, movies and video games) as a response to frustration or a technique for achieving goals.¹⁰

Dropping out of school linked to youth crime

Lack of attachment to school may be associated with youth crime. Students who leave school before graduating do so for many reasons, including boredom, the perception that school rules are too strict, associations with non-student friends who place little value on education and, in the case of many teenage girls, pregnancy. According to the 1991 School Leavers Survey (SLS), approximately 184,000 or 16% of all 18- to 20-year-olds had left school before graduating; as of 1995, the vast majority (160,000) had not returned. Almost 40% of school leavers were under 17 years when they left and 32% had no more than a grade nine education. The rate of leaving school was considerably higher for men (18%) than for women (10%).

Youths who leave school are more likely to become involved in other high-risk behaviour associated with crime. For example, according to results from the SLS, regular consumption of alcohol was more common among school leavers than graduates (18% versus 11%) as was use of soft and prescription drugs (30% versus 16%).¹¹ School leavers also experience higher rates of unemployment than graduates. In 1997, unemployment rates for youths without a high school diploma were almost two times higher than the corresponding rates for high school graduates and three times higher than those of university graduates.

Higher jobless rates may contribute to crime

Unemployment may lead to criminal activity when youths have no legitimate means of earning money. Being unemployed also reduces formal involvement in community life and can lead to an abundance of unstructured time, which in turn increases the risk of becoming involved in deviant or criminal activity.

In the early 1990s, it became increasingly difficult for young Canadians to find employment. Many adult workers

are hanging on to entry-level positions that have generally been available for youths. Furthermore, without job security or seniority, youths are primary targets for lay-offs during corporate restructuring. At around 22% in 1997, the unemployment rate for 15- to 19-year-olds was more than double that of the overall population. Summer jobs are also difficult to find, which, in turn, can affect job prospects after graduation. The percentage of 15- to 19-year-olds without job experience has more than doubled over the past decade, to 40% in 1997.

Summary

The risk of becoming involved in criminal activities has been associated with living in a lone-parent family, lacking adequate social bonds, belonging to a gang, dropping out of school and being unemployed. Other factors, which are much more complicated to measure, such as physical and sexual abuse, television violence and poor parenting, may also increase the chances of becoming involved in crime. In many cases, by the time youths become involved in the criminal justice system, they have already exhibited warning signs.

However, the proportion of youths charged with a crime has been declining for the past six years. In 1997, among those involved in crime, most were charged with theft under \$5,000. Although the gap in crime rates between the sexes has fallen over the past decade, the majority of young people charged continue to be 16- to 17-year-old males.

- This article was adapted from *A Profile of Youth Justice in Canada*, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 85-544-XPE.



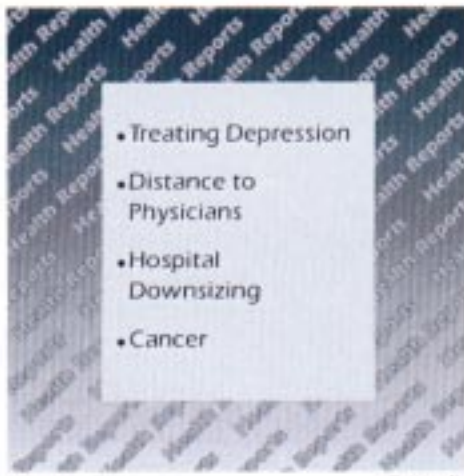
Kathryn Stevenson, Jennifer Tufts, Dianne Hendrick and Melanie Kowalski are analysts with the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.

10. Reiss, A. and J. Roth (eds.). 1993. *Understanding and Preventing Violence*. Washington D.C.: National Academy Press.

11. See also Galambos, Nancy L. and Lauree C. Tilton-Weaver. 1998. "Multiple-Risk Behaviour in Adolescents and Young Adults." *Health Reports* 10, 2:9-20. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003-XPB.



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Who has a third child?

by Alain Bélanger and Cathy Oikawa

The size of the average Canadian family has shrunk rapidly since the 1960s. The two-child family is more and more the norm, and large families now make up only a small share of all families. A good deal of the decline in fertility is due to the decrease in what demographers call “higher order fertility rates.” In essence, the majority of women continue to have two children, but fewer and fewer are having three or more; in 1991, for example, over half of women aged 60 to 64 but only one-quarter of women aged 35 to 39 had three or more children.¹

Nevertheless, the third child continues to have an appreciable impact on Canada’s population growth; in fact, third births account for about 15% of the total fertility rate in a given year. In a time of declining fertility, it is worthwhile to examine the factors affecting the likelihood that a woman will have three children.

Researchers have long identified a number of factors that can affect fertility. This study uses data from the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS) to assess the effect of these factors on the

likelihood that a woman with two children will have a third.

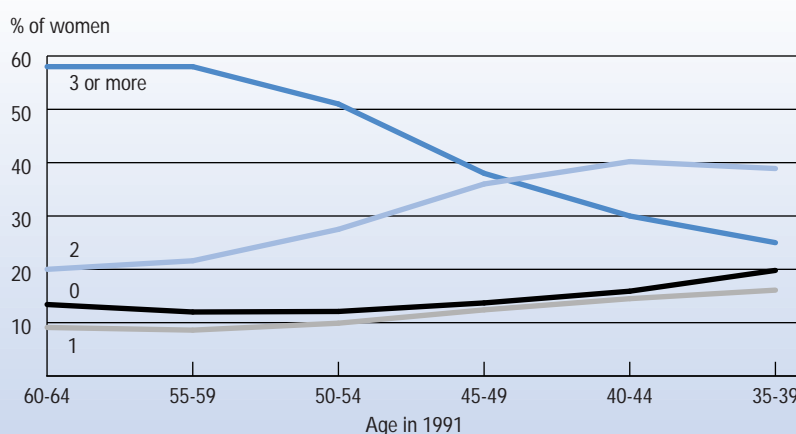
Previous fertility history key deciding factor

Economists have argued that women who have been in the labour market tend to have fewer children than women who have not worked for pay, and that highly educated women tend to have fewer children than women with less schooling. Sociologists have focused on cultural characteristics such as attendance at religious services, country of birth and number of siblings. Demographers, on the other hand, have emphasised the timing of life-cycle events and have focused on

marital status, the mother’s age and the interval between births.

Analysis of 1995 GSS data indicate the two strongest predictors of the probability that a woman will have a third child are her age at the birth of her first child and the length of time between the first and second births. When the effects of other variables in the analysis are taken into account, women who had their first child before they were 25 are 2.5 times more likely to have a third baby than those whose first child was born when they were over 30. And women who waited a long time between their first and second children (over 53 months) were only one-third as likely to have a

CST Three or more children are less common among younger women



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Population.

1. At the time of the 1991 Census, the fertile period of women aged 35 to 39 was incomplete. However, fertility rates in Canada are very low after age 39, at less than 6 births per 1,000 women aged 40 to 44 and virtually zero for those aged 45 to 49.

third child as women who had their second child fairly quickly (less than 30 months between births).

The mother's year of birth is also an important predictive factor. The probability of a third birth is 76% higher for women born before 1945 than for women born after 1965, even after controlling for all other variables included in the analysis. On the other hand, the probability of having a

third child is no different for women born during the baby boom (1945 to 1964) than for women born during the baby bust (after 1965).

Marital status has a weaker effect than other demographic factors. Being in a common-law union rather than a legal marriage does not significantly reduce the likelihood of bearing a third child, all other things being equal. However, the probability of having a

third child is over one-third lower for women who are not in a union than for women who are.

Labour force participation reduces likelihood of third baby

The effect of employment status on a third birth is substantial. Compared with other women, mothers who returned to the workforce after giving birth to their second child were about one-third less likely to have another baby. Higher education has about the same dampening effect on third-order fertility as employment experience. Women without high school are one-third more likely than those with high school or more to have a third child. Interestingly, the difference between women with secondary as opposed to postsecondary completion is not statistically significant.

These results support researchers who argue that declining fertility stems from women's rising level of education and increasing labour market participation. At the same time, women's greater economic independence has increased the costs of motherhood, both directly (daycare, child's education) and indirectly (loss of income, setbacks or delays in career advancement). These costs mount with every birth.

Religion plays a role in higher-order fertility

Several cultural variables are also valuable predictors of the probability of a third birth. The most important is attendance at religious services, with women who attend every week being about 50% more likely than other women to have a third child. Since the effects of other variables strongly associated with religious attendance are controlled for (age of mother, fertility history and marital status), it seems that religiosity affects fertility in ways that are not captured by this analysis.²

The woman's country of birth also plays an important role. Studies based

CST What you should know about this study

This article draws on data from the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS). The 1995 GSS interviewed nearly 11,000 respondents aged 15 years and over living in private households in the ten provinces. The data collected included information about respondents' fertility history, such as the number of children each woman had, the date of birth of each child, the woman's marital history (including common-law unions), and the dates they started and stopped working.

Using this information, a sample of almost 2,600 women who had given birth to at least two children was selected. A technique called "event history analysis" was then applied to the data in order to estimate the relationship between various characteristics and the probability of having a third child.

"Event history analysis" combines two tools — life tables and regression analysis — to measure the net effect of different factors on an individual's probability (or risk) of experiencing an event. In this article, event history analysis is used to estimate the likelihood that Canadian women who already have two children will give birth to a third child, given certain demographic, cultural and socio-economic characteristics. The results show the net effect of a given factor after other factors included in the analysis have been neutralised.¹

The results are presented in a table showing the risk ratios for a number of characteristics. Each variable uses a reference group as a benchmark; by definition, the risk ratio for this reference group is equal to 1.0. A ratio greater than 1.0 for the comparison group means that the factor being examined has a positive effect on a woman's probability of having a third child; a ratio of less than 1.0 indicates the factor's effect is negative, compared with the reference group. A ratio of 1.0 means that, compared with the reference group, the factor has no influence.

1. The characteristics selected for the model are assumed to be the only ones that affect third-order fertility.

on vital statistics have shown that Canadian-born women have a higher fertility rate than women who immigrated many years ago, but a lower rate than more recent immigrants.³ This difference is probably due to a shift in immigrants' countries of origin. The majority of women who immigrated before the 1980s came from Europe, where fertility declined earlier than it did in Canada. In contrast, the majority of more recent immigrants came from developing countries, where fertility is generally higher. Even when controlling for variables that might explain some of these differences (education, fertility history and religious service attendance), the analysis shows that the mother's place of birth still has a significant effect on the likelihood she will have a third child. Compared with Canadian-born women, the probability of bearing a third child is 20% lower for women born in Europe and the United States, while it is 50% higher for women born in other parts of the world.

The data show that something of the same pattern exists within Canada itself. In Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta — provinces whose total fertility rates have long been slightly above the national average — the probability of having a third child is 17% higher than in other provinces.

On the other hand, having siblings does not increase a woman's chances of giving birth to more than two children. Some analysis has indicated that there is an association between having brothers and sisters and having a third child, perhaps because people develop their sense of appropriate family size

2. Canadian adults who regularly attend religious services place greater importance on having children than those who do not. Clark, W. "Religious observance, marriage and family," *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1998.

3. See, for example, *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1994*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91-209-XPE.



Previous fertility history is the strongest predictor a woman will have a third child

Year of birth	
Before 1945	1.76
1945 to 1954	1.06*
1955 to 1964	1.07*
<i>After 1965</i>	<i>1.00</i>
Age at birth of first child	
Under 25	2.53
25 to 29	1.60
<i>30 or over</i>	<i>1.00</i>
Interval between first two births	
<i>Less than 30 months</i>	<i>1.00</i>
30 to 53 months	0.66
More than 53 months	0.31
Marital status	
Not in union	0.63
Common-law union	1.05*
<i>Married</i>	<i>1.00</i>
Employment status after second birth	
Working	0.65
<i>Not working</i>	<i>1.00</i>
Education	
No secondary completion	1.31
<i>Secondary completion</i>	<i>1.00</i>
Postsecondary completion	1.02*
Province of residence	
High fertility rate ¹	1.17
<i>Average fertility rate</i>	<i>1.00</i>
Religious attendance	
Weekly	1.46
<i>Other</i>	<i>1.00</i>
Number of siblings	
None	0.96*
<i>One</i>	<i>1.00</i>
More than one	1.11*
Place of birth	
<i>Canada</i>	<i>1.00</i>
Europe and North America	0.80
Other countries	1.48

Note: Reference group (1.0) shown in italics.
 * Not statistically significant.
 1. Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.
 Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

from the family they grew up in. However, the GSS data indicate that this relationship is not significant when the effects of the other variables are accounted for.

Summary

GSS data indicate that women's fertility history is the most important predictor of higher-order fertility. Women who were young when they had their first child, and who had a second child quickly afterwards, have the greatest chance of bearing a third child. It is also true, however, that certain cultural and socio-economic characteristics have a substantial effect on the probability of a third birth. Regular attendance at religious services tends to increase the probability, while the effect of the mother's place of birth differs depending on country of origin. Without doubt, labour market participation reduces the probability of having a third child. Employed women are much less likely to bear a third child than women who are not in the labour market, even when their fertility history and other variables have been controlled for. This suggests that measures to reduce the direct and indirect costs borne by families, such as day-care subsidies or flexible working hours, might have a positive effect on the fertility of Canadian women.

• This article is adapted from *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1997*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91-209-XPE.

CST

Alain Bélanger is a senior analyst with Demography Division and **Cathy Oikawa** is an analyst with Special Surveys Division, Statistics Canada.

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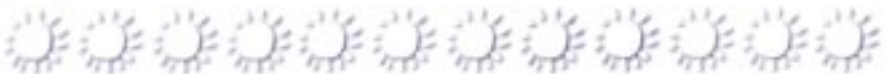
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Melanoma

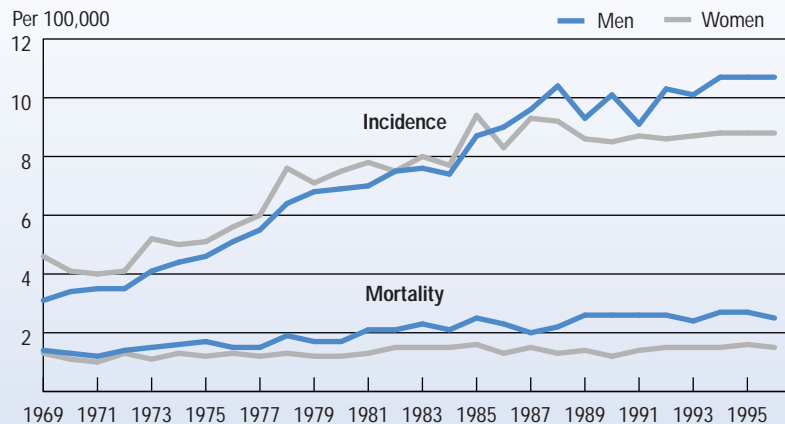
by Leslie A. Gaudette and Ru-Nie Gao

Cancer is one of the leading causes of death in Canada, second only to cardiovascular disease. In 1998, an estimated 62,700 Canadians died from the various forms of this disease. One of the most rapidly increasing forms of cancer is melanoma, the most serious type of skin cancer. An estimated 3,150 new cases of melanoma were diagnosed in 1998, representing just over 2% of all new cancer cases; a total of 740 people died from melanoma, accounting for 1% of all cancer deaths. Since exposure to ultraviolet light is a major factor related to melanoma, there is concern that incidence rates may continue to rise due to the predicted depletion of the Earth's protective ozone layer, which filters the harmful UV radiation emitted by the sun.

However, after rising during the 1970s and 1980s, the incidence of melanoma has leveled off in recent years. Among men, the rate has been relatively flat since the late 1980s,

while among women, it has actually declined slightly since the mid-1980s. In fact, the incidence rate is now about 10% higher for men than for women. This contrasts with much

CST Incidence rates for melanoma have levelled off in recent years



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

CST What is melanoma?

Melanoma is a cancer of the cells that colour the skin (melanocytes) and can occur in other organs of the body. It is by far the most serious type of skin cancer compared to the more common forms that occur in the basal and squamous cells of the epidermis. According to the Canadian Cancer Society, warning signs of melanoma include changes in the size, shape or colour of a mole; a sore that does not heal; or patches of skin that bleed, ooze, swell, itch or become red or bumpy. Once considered a near-

lethal disease, survival rates for melanoma five years after diagnosis are now relatively high: 88% for women and 74% for men.

To reduce the risk of skin cancer, the Canadian Cancer Society recommends reducing sun exposure between 11:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m.; seeking shade; wearing clothing that covers arms, legs and trunk; and wearing a sun hat, sunglasses and sunscreen. It also advises keeping young babies under a year old out of the sun.



During 1989-1993, the highest incidence rates for melanoma were found in British Columbia and Nova Scotia

	Incidence rate		Mortality rate	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per 100,000			
Canada	9.8	8.7	2.5	1.4
Newfoundland	4.9	7.0	1.0	0.4
Prince Edward Island	12.3	11.5	3.6	1.1
Nova Scotia	12.7	11.5	3.1	1.1
New Brunswick	10.9	10.4	3.0	1.0
Quebec*	4.8	4.4	1.8	1.2
Ontario	12.1	9.8	3.0	1.6
Manitoba	9.2	9.1	1.9	1.3
Saskatchewan	10.5	9.3	2.2	1.3
Alberta	10.1	9.9	2.5	1.4
British Columbia	12.4	12.2	2.8	1.7
Yukon	8.1	2.8	5.7	--
Northwest Territories	3.0	6.5	3.0	--

Note: Rates are age-standardized to the 1991 Canadian population.

-- Data not available.

* Quebec has a somewhat lower incidence rate due in part to an incomplete registration of new cases.

Source: National Cancer Incidence Reporting System, Canadian Cancer Registry, Canadian Vital Statistics Data Base.

of the previous quarter century, when women were more likely than men to be diagnosed with melanoma. Age-standardized mortality rates in 1996 have also tended to level off since the mid- to late 1980s.

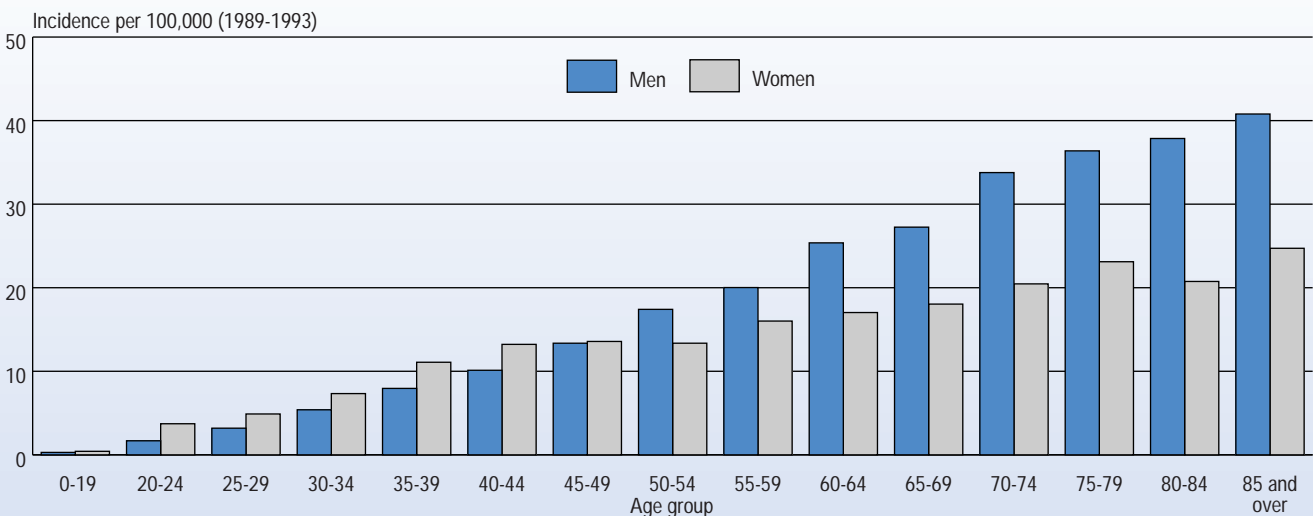
Both incidence and mortality rates for melanoma have declined since 1985 among younger Canadians, and increased among older age groups. For men, incidence rates have been falling for those under 50 and rising for those age 50 and over; the same fall and rise is observed among women on each side of age 60. The pattern for mortality rates is somewhat similar, with both men and women aged 30 to 39 experiencing particularly large declines.

Are sun protection measures paying off?

It is well-established that sunburns during childhood may initiate the development of melanomas which appear later in life. Sun exposure can also play a role in promoting its development among adults. Data from the 1996 Sun Exposure Survey indicate that many Canadians have now adopted a variety of strategies to reduce this risk by protecting themselves from the



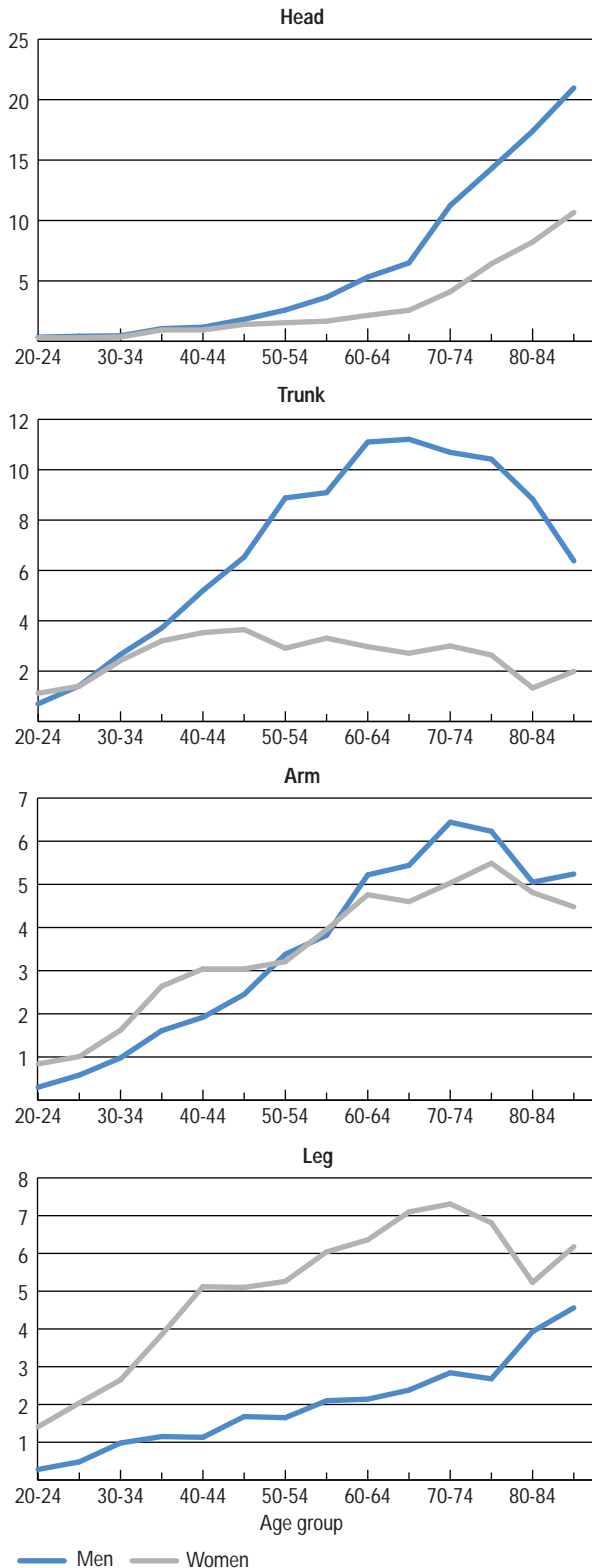
Melanoma is most common among older people, especially men



Source: National Cancer Incidence Reporting System, Canadian Cancer Registry.

CST Melanoma sites vary by age and sex

Incidence per 100,000 population (1989-1993)



Source: National Cancer Incidence Reporting System, Canadian Cancer Registry.

sun. About four in ten Canadians aged 15 and over wore protective clothing during their leisure hours, covered their heads, used sunscreen on their faces and stayed in the shade as much as possible. Men were more likely to wear protective clothing, while women were more likely to use other measures to protect themselves from the sun.

Trends in the incidence and mortality rates for melanoma appear to be related to changes in sun exposure or to protective behaviours in early childhood. Part of the increase in incidence rates during the 1970s may be explained by changes in the previous 70 years in recreational activities and the style of outdoor dress which increased the sun exposure of children and adults. Meanwhile, the recent declines in melanoma rates among younger Canadians suggest that sun exposure patterns may have changed among those born since 1950.

This suggestion is supported by data on the sites of the body on which melanomas develop. The incidence rates for melanoma are somewhat different for the different parts of the body, depending on the age of the affected person and whether they are male or female. This may reflect the fact that women and men have different levels of exposure to the sun during their lifetimes. For example, melanomas appear on the head twice as frequently among men 50 and over as among women the same age, probably because many men go bald. Men also have much higher rates for melanoma of the trunk after age 35, a likely consequence of their additional exposure to the sun during both recreational and work activities. On the other hand, incidence rates for melanoma of the leg are typically two to three times higher among women in almost all age groups, and have increased rapidly, probably because women more frequently expose their legs to the sun in shorts, skirts and bathing suits. The stability of incidence rates for the leg since the mid-1980s may reflect women's tendency to "cover up" beginning in the mid-1970s.

- This article is adapted from "Changing Trends in Cancer Incidence and Mortality," *Health Reports*, Volume 10, no. 2, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003-XPB.



Leslie A. Gaudette is currently on an assignment at the Cancer Bureau, Health Canada and Ru-Nie Gao is with Health Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

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

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
LABOUR FORCE									
<i>Labour force ('000)</i>	14,329.0	14,407.8	14,482.2	14,663.5	14,832.4	14,927.6	15,145.4	15,354.0	15,631.5
<i>Total employed ('000)</i>	13,165.1	12,916.1	12,842.0	13,014.7	13,291.7	13,505.5	13,676.2	13,940.6	14,326.4
Men	7,320.3	7,104.1	7,030.8	7,126.1	7,289.9	7,396.5	7,478.9	7,648.8	7,802.6
Women	5,844.8	5,812.0	5,811.2	5,888.6	6,001.8	6,109.0	6,197.3	6,291.7	6,523.8
<i>Workers employed part-time (%)</i>	17.0	18.1	18.5	19.1	18.8	18.6	18.9	19.0	18.7
Men	9.1	10.1	10.5	11.0	10.7	10.6	10.7	10.5	10.5
Women	26.8	28.0	28.2	28.8	28.6	28.2	28.9	29.4	28.6
Involuntary part-time ¹	20.2	25.1	29.5	32.2	31.8	31.9	35.3	31.4	29.4
Looked for full-time work	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10.7	10.1
% of women employed whose youngest child is under 6	15.1	15.4	15.4	15.7	15.7	15.5	15.5	15.4	14.8
% of workers who were self-employed	14.4	14.9	15.1	15.8	15.9	15.8	16.6	17.8	17.6
% of employed working over 40 hours per week ²	20.3	19.7	20.3	21.0	21.8	21.9	21.4	19.3	19.1
% of workers employed in temporary/contract positions	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11.3	11.8
% of full-time students employed in summer	58.6	54.9	51.3	49.0	49.4	49.1	46.7	45.5	47.1
<i>Unemployment rate (%)</i>	8.1	10.4	11.3	11.2	10.4	9.5	9.7	9.2	8.3
Men aged 15-24	13.9	18.8	20.2	20.2	18.5	17.0	17.5	17.6	16.6
Aged 25-54	7.1	9.5	10.7	10.3	9.5	8.6	8.7	7.9	7.2
Women aged 15-24	11.3	13.3	15.1	14.9	14.3	14.0	14.6	15.7	13.7
Aged 25-54	7.5	9.0	9.4	9.7	9.0	8.3	8.5	7.9	7.1
Population with high school or less	10.2	13.1	14.2	14.2	13.2	12.4	12.5	12.3	11.4
Population with postsecondary completion	6.3	8.2	9.4	9.5	8.9	7.9	8.1	7.5	6.6
Population with university degree	3.7	4.9	5.5	5.7	5.4	4.9	5.2	4.8	4.3
EDUCATION									
<i>Total enrollment in elementary/secondary schools ('000)</i>	5,141.0	5,218.2	5,284.1	5,327.8	5,362.8	5,440.3	5,447.8	5,594.9	5,661.7
Secondary school graduation rate (%)	68.5	70.4	73.2	74.6	71.5	74.8	–	–	–
<i>Postsecondary enrollment ('000)</i>									
Community college, full-time	324.5	349.1	364.6	369.1	377.9	389.5	395.3	396.7	–
Community college, part-time	193.5	216.8	185.5	179.2	164.0	158.5	153.7	152.9	–
University, full-time ³	532.1	554.0	569.5	574.3	575.7	573.2	576.9	582.2	–
University, part-time ³	309.2	313.3	316.2	300.3	283.3	273.2	251.3	237.9	–
% of population 18-24 enrolled full-time in postsecondary	29.0	31.3	32.6	32.9	33.4	33.9	–	–	–
% of population 18-21 in college	19.8	21.7	23.0	23.4	23.9	24.4	–	–	–
% of population 18-24 in university ³	18.0	19.2	19.8	20.0	20.3	20.2	–	–	–
<i>Community college diplomas granted ('000)</i>	83.8	85.9	92.5	95.2	99.0	100.4	102.9	105.7	–
<i>Bachelor's and first professional degrees granted⁴ ('000)</i>	109.8	114.8	120.7	123.2	126.5	127.3	127.0	125.0	–
Agriculture, biological sciences	7,207	7,284	7,485	7,722	8,121	8,399	–	–	–
Education	18,343	19,995	21,454	21,064	21,123	21,277	–	–	–
Engineering and applied sciences	7,810	7,925	8,244	8,309	8,799	9,098	–	–	–
Fine and applied arts	3,579	3,532	3,960	4,049	4,189	4,194	–	–	–
Health professions	7,599	7,548	7,770	7,778	7,970	8,375	–	–	–
Humanities	13,864	14,759	15,937	16,721	16,643	16,127	–	–	–
Mathematics and physical sciences	6,290	6,377	6,429	6,580	6,816	7,142	–	–	–
Social sciences	42,229	44,319	46,525	47,844	49,172	49,035	–	–	–
% of bachelor's graduates with student loans	50.9	–	–	–	–	50.3	–	–	–
Average amount of loan (1995 dollars)	9,700	–	–	–	–	13,300	–	–	–

– Data not available.

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

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

3. Includes undergraduate and graduate.

4. Includes field of study not reported.

EDUCATORS' NOTEBOOK

Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom

Lesson plan for “Under one roof: Three generations living together”

Objectives

- To examine less common living arrangements among families.
- To consider values and responsibilities within the family.
- To discuss the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren.

Method

1. Take a quick poll of the class to determine how many students live in three-generation households. How does this proportion compare with the national figure?
2. Divide the class into four groups and assign a different household structure to each group (see Chart 1). Have the groups explore, through discussion, at least three possible situations which may have led to the formation of their assigned household structure. One person from each group should present the results to the class.
3. In Canada and in most other industrialized nations, the vast majority of grandparents and parents do not live together. According to the article, this is so because they prefer not to. Do you agree; why or why not? What other reasons may explain this situation?
4. Three-generation families must learn to live with more than one generation gap. Discuss some of the age-related conflicts that exist between you and your parents, you and your grandparents, and your parents and grandparents. For example, think of the type of music each generation prefers to listen to.
5. The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is usually a special one. List five ways in which your grandparents treat you differently than your parents do. What would you miss out on if you didn't have grandparents? Would a “surrogate grandparent,” such as a neighbour, family-friend or other relative, be able to substitute for a grandparent?

Using other resources

- Visit the Statistics Canada website at <http://www.statcan.ca>. Look under “Canadian statistics, The people” and collect more data on family structure, the immigrant population and population age structure.

Share your ideas!

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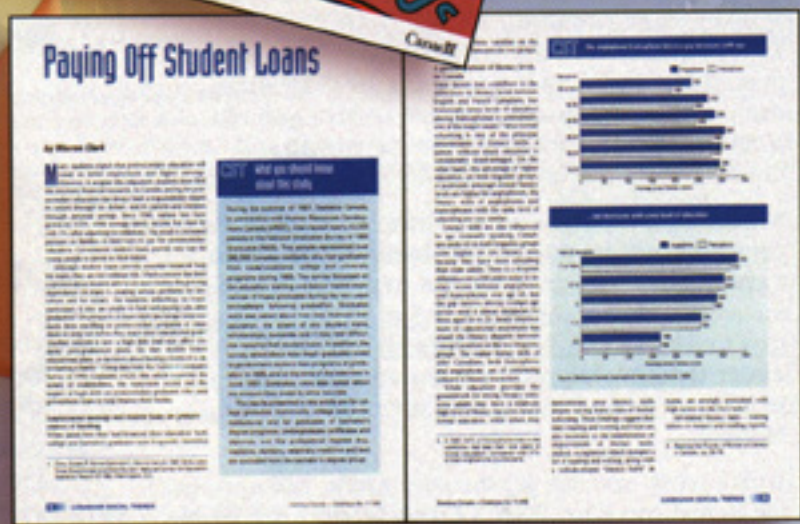
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